CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS

SEU POTIUS

HISTORICA FIDES

IN

REBUS HIBERNICIS GIRALDO CAMBRENSI ABROGATA;

IN QUO

PLERASQUE JUSTI HISTORICI DOTES DESIDERARI, PLERASQUE NÆVOS INESSE,

OSTENDIT

GRATIANUS LUCIUS, HIBERNUS,

QUI ETIAM RES ALIQUOT MEMORABILES HIBERNICAS VETERIS ET NOVÆ MEMORIÆ PASSIM E RE NATA HUIC OPERI INSERUIT.

"Posuit mendacium spem suam, et mendacio protectus est."—*Isaiæ* xxviii. 15.

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WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

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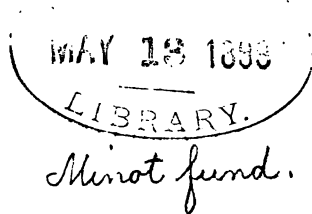
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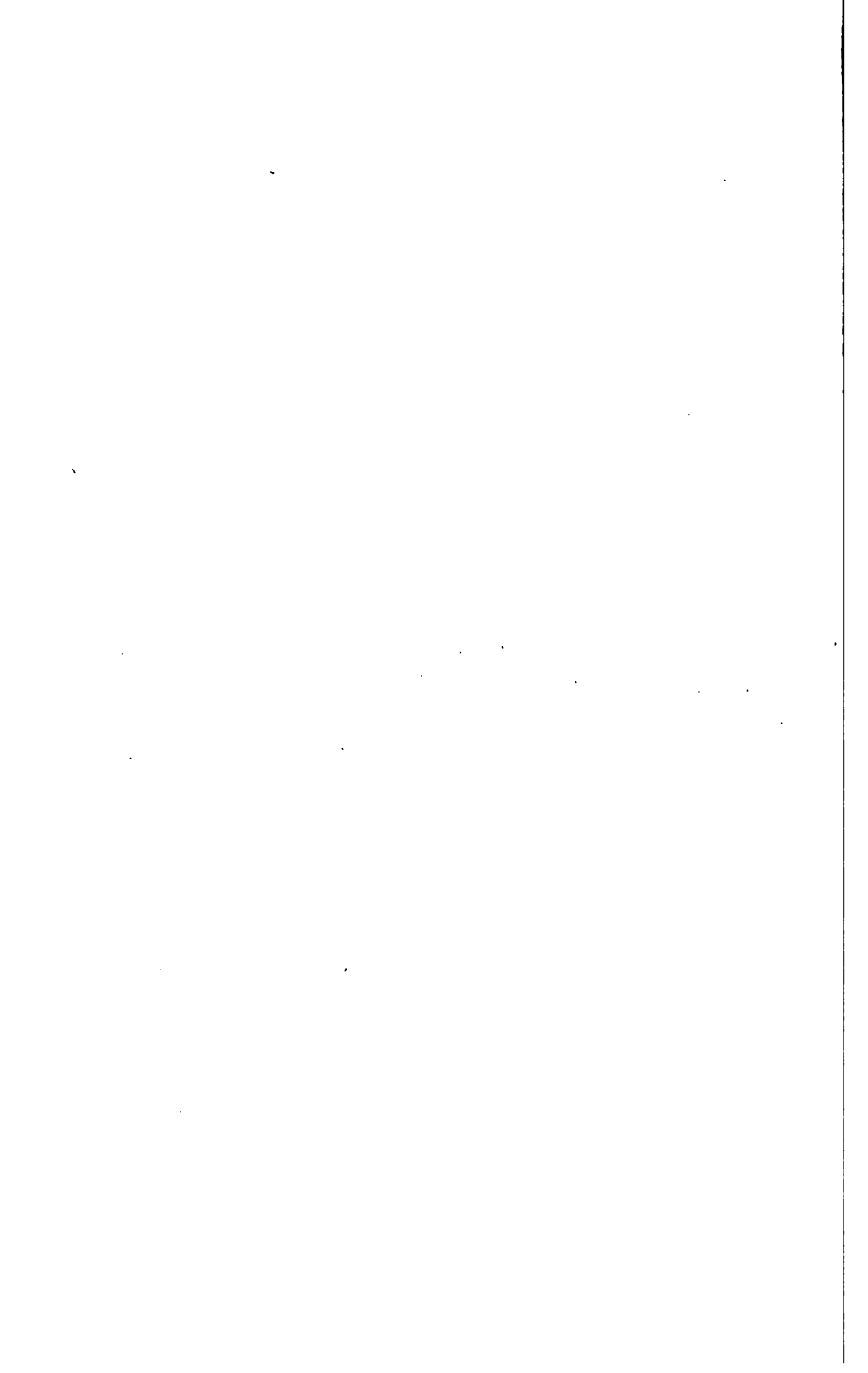
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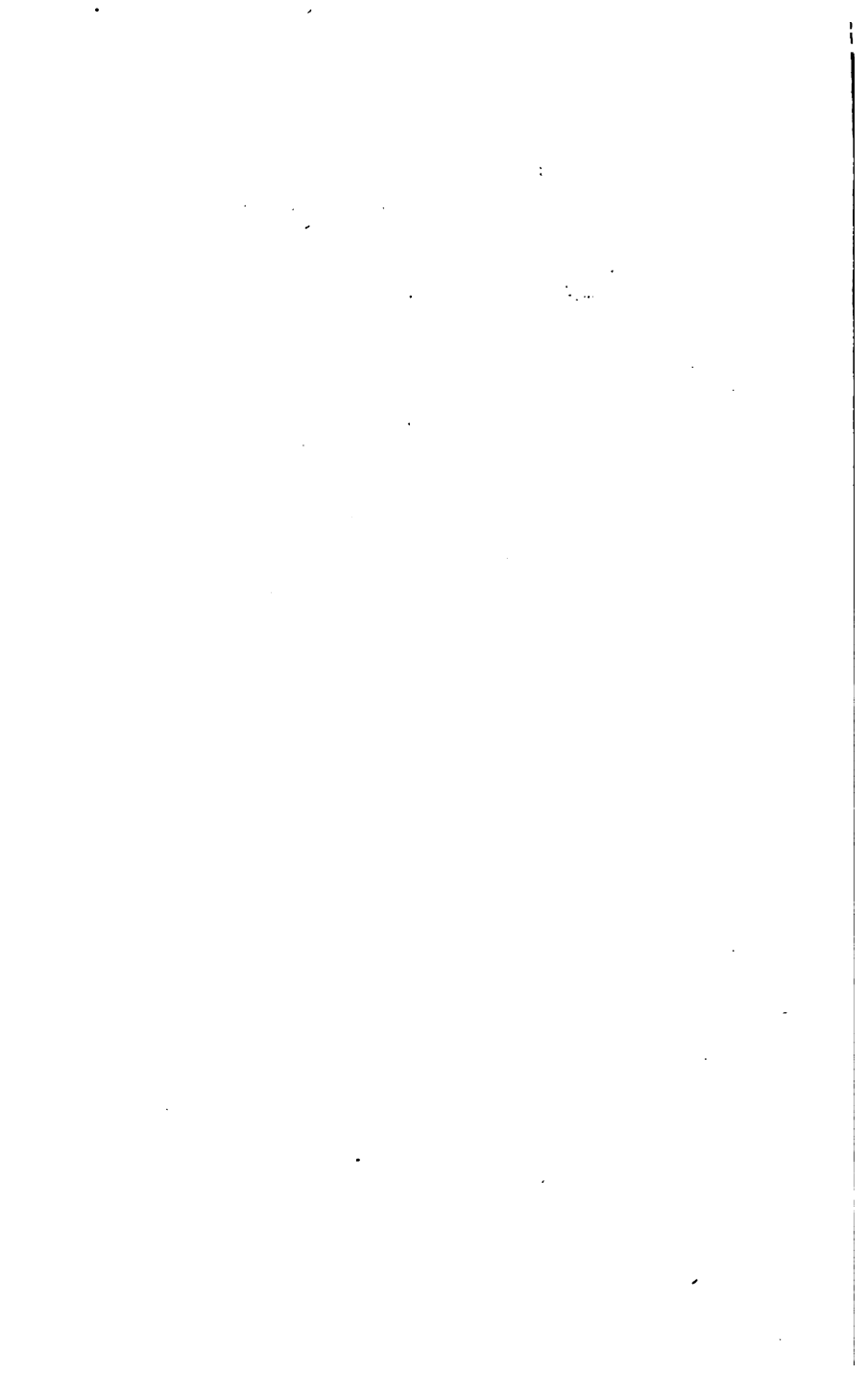
CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.

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&c.

CAPUT XXVI.

ALII TITULI QUIBUS HIBERNIÆ REGNUM CAMBRENSIS REGIBUS ANGLIÆ VENDICAT IRRITI ET INANES ESSE CONVINCUNTUR.

Fabula de donata Hibernia Bascleensibus a Gurguntio.—Partholanus non fuit Bascleensium dux.—Partholanus et Cantaber idem.—Bartholanus Cantabrigiam condidisse fertur.—Num Gurguntius extiterit anceps. [237] Uganius Magnus fuit Hiberniæ rex tempore Gurguntii.—Giraldus in hac re sibi contradicit.—Gurguntii possessio Hiberniæ nullum jus acquirit Henrico II. [238] Acta comitiorum Dubliniensium decepta.—Hibernia non fuit a Gurmundo devicta.—Error scribæ de Hibero et Herymone. [239] Bayona non est caput Biscaiæ. Instabilitas comitiorum.—Conversio religionis in comitiis Hibernicis facta. [240] Aliquorum non omnium culpa ea mutatio facta est.—Gurmundus non fuit Hiberniæ rex. [241] Quæ de Gurmundo narrantur fabulæ sunt.—Res contrarias connectere vult Giraldus.—Vestigia Gurguntii in Hibernia.—Gurmundus ille non alius quam O'Gormain. [242] Turgesius falsó dictus Hiberniæ rex.—Causæ cur Henricus II. Hiberniam invasit. Dermitius ad angustias redactus accersivit ex Anglia subsidiarios. Ex ambitione Hiberniæ rex Henricus II. inhiavit.—Henricus II. bellum Hibernis intulit ob vicinitatem et metum ne inde subsidia Gallo subministrarentur.

VIDISTI lector quantopere Cambrensis in supremâ Hiberniæ potestate regibus Angliæ asserendâ desudarit, et illam his Pontificum largitione obvenisse contenderit. Nunc alia quædam argumenta operosius quam utilius ab illo congesta, quibus reges Angliæ summum Hiberniæ jus olim retulisse frustra comminiscitur propius inspice. "Rex Britonum" (inquit) "Gurguntius apud insulas Orchadum classem invenit, qui Bascleenses de Hispaniarum partibus illuc advectaverat: de suorum consilio insulam istam quæ nunc Hibernia dicitur, et quæ tunc vel vacua prorsus fuerat, vel per ipsum inhabitata, eis inhabitandam concessit. De suis etiam navigationis duces ipsis adhibuit.[1] Ex quo patet

[1] Topo. d. 3, c. 8.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE OTHER TITLES ON WHICH GIRALDUS CLAIMS THE CROWN OF IRELAND FOR THE KINGS OF ENGLAND, EXPOSED AND REFUTED.

[236] Fabulous story of Ireland's being granted by Gurguntius to the Basclеans.—Partholanus was not leader of the Basclеans.—Partholanus and Cantaber are the same.—Barthdlanus is said to have founded Cambridge.—Doubtful whether such a person as Gurguntius ever existed. [237] Ugaine Mor was king of Ireland in the time of Gurguntius.—Giraldus contradicts himself on this point.—The possession of Ireland by Gurguntius could give no title to Henry II. [238] An act of a parliament held at Dublin in error.—Ireland never conquered by Gurmund.—Error of the scribe regarding Eireamon and Eibhear.—[239] Bayonne not the capital of Biscay.—Fickleness of parliaments.—Change made in religion by the Irish parliament. [240] That change effected through the fault of some not of all.—Gurmund was never king of Ireland. [241] Stories told of Gurmund are all fables.—Giraldus endeavours to combine contradictory things.—Traces of Gurguntius in Ireland.—This Gurmund was no other than O'Gormain. [242] Turgesius falsely called king of Ireland.—Reason why Henry II. invaded Ireland.—Diarmaid when reduced to extremity called in auxiliaries from England.—Ambition induced Henry II. to invade Ireland.—Henry II. invaded Ireland because it was near him, and he feared that aid might be sent from it to the French.

You have now seen, dear reader, how zealously Cambrensis labors to establish the claims of the kings of England to the Irish crown, which he maintains was granted to them by the popes. Come we now, to inspect more closely many other arguments, compiled with more diligence than success, to demonstrate the ancient dominion of English kings over the kingdom of Ireland. "Gurguntius king of the Britons discovered," says Giraldus, "near the Orkney islands, a fleet in which the Bascleans had been wafted thither from the coast of Spain. With the consent of his subjects he granted to the strangers the island of Ireland, which was then either uninhabited, or at least tenanted only by himself. He even appointed some of his own subjects to command and direct the fleet. The kings of Britain therefore had, though at a

nonnullo jure licet antiquo Britanniæ reges Hiberniam contingere." Nomen ducis eorum qui tum Hiberniam capessiverant tacitum Cambrensis præteriit:[2] sed illud Joannes Rooffius Warwicensis apud Brianum Twinium aperuit dicens: "Belino successisse Gurguntium, cujus regni anno sexto, certis Hispanis à regno suo expulsis, sub Partholani eorum principe, Hiberniam tunc vacantem de se suisque sub homagio tenendum rex Gurguntius gratiosè concessit, et eorum principis fratrem Cantabrum nomine secum retinuit." Chronicon vero S. Albani "de quodam Gurguntii temporibus profugo, quem Irelemale vocat (unde Irlandiæ nomen) hoc ipsum refert." Non est absimile Cambrensem Partholani nomen ideo datâ operâ siluisse, ne ipse sibi adversari videretur asserenti,[3] "Partholanum tricesimo post diluvium anno, vel casu, vel industria, hoc est, vel errore viæ, vel optima opinione patriæ Hiberniæ littoribus applicuisse." Retectio quippe nominis Giraldi instituto non parum officeret, suis in Hiberniam regibus è memorata Bascleensium in illam profectione jus frustra expiscanti, qui unam fabulam in duas, nullo veteris memoriæ testimonio nixus, consultò partitus est, ut titulum indè qualemcunque ad suæ causæ patrocinium arriperet. Certè dissensio illa scriptorum diversa nomina Bascleensium duci assignantium non modicum præ se fert indicium toti narrationi falsum inesse. Quid quod aliqui dixerint Cantabrum, et Partholanum eundem fuisse?[4] Alii "Gurguntium regem Partholano et Cantabro fratri Hiberniam inhabitandam dedisse;" alii "præcipuum authorem cùm ædificationis Cantabrigiæ, tum quod muris cingeretur fuisse ducem, et Hiberniæ regem Partholanum."[5] Cui conformia Polydorus Virgilius aliundè producit dicens:[6] "Rege Gurguntio Belini filio, Bartholomeum quendam hominem Cantabrum in Britanniam pervenisse,[7] et illum deinde duxisse uxorem Chembrigiam regis filiam, condidisseque oppidum ex uxoris nomine Cantabrigiam." Ita ut hæc de nomine, aliisque adjunctis in ipso narrationis aditu discrepantia narrationis ejusdem recessui, reliquisque capitibus ruinam portendat.

Imo vero præstantissimorum antiquariorum opinio ambigentium an

[2] Antiq. Oxoni. lib. 1, p. 8. [3] Topo. d. 3, c. 2. [4] Antiq. Oxoni. [5] Ibidem. [6] Ibid. p. 21. [7] Ibid. p. 20. [8] Antiq. Oxoni. p. 29.

very remote period, some dominion over Ireland." Cambrensis does not mention the name of the leader of this naval expedition, but the defect is supplied by John Roos of Warwicke, as cited by Twine: "Belinus," he says, "was succeeded by Gurguntius, who in the sixth year of his reign, graciously granted Ireland, then uninhabited, to certain Spaniards, who were banished with their leader Partholanus, from their own country. The strangers were bound to do homage to Gurguntius and his successors for Ireland, and Cantaber, brother to Partholanus, was detained in Britain." The chronicle of St. Albans relates the same fact "of a certain exile, in the reign of Gurguntius, who was called Irelemali, and gave his name to Ireland." Giraldus suppressed the name of Partholanus, very probably, lest he might contradict his own statement in another place, "that in the 30th year after the deluge, Partholanus landed on the shores of Ireland, either by accident, or design; having either lost his way or been allured by the reported fertility of the soil." Had he mentioned the name, his object would be defeated, which was to ground some right of his kings to the crown of Ireland on this expedition and colonization of the Bascleans. He, therefore, deliberately metamorphoses one fable into two, without any warrant from ancient authorities, in order to manufacture some species of argument for his assertion. But the sole discrepancy of authors regarding the name of Basclean leader throws well-grounded doubts on the whole narrative. Thus some will have it, that Partholanus and Cantaber were one and the same; others that king Gurguntius granted Ireland as a settlement to two brothers, Partholanus and Cantaber;" others, "that the principal founder of Cambridge, the man who encircled it with walls, was Partholanus, king of Ireland." Polydor Virgil chimes in with a different view of the same statement, "During the reign of Gurguntius, son of Belinus, a certain Cantabrian, named Partholanus, arrived in Britain, and married there Chembrigia, the king's daughter, in whose honor he founded the city of Cambridge." Now those contradictions regarding the hero of the narrative and other circumstances in the very outset augur ominously for the sequel and issue of the story.

Nay, do not eminent antiquarians question the very existence of this Gurguntius? a circumstance which must endanger the ill-digested

Gurguntius ipse unquam extiterit necne?[9] ad totam historiæ struem labefactandam multum confert. Briani Twini verba sic habe. "Si Gurguntium monarcham fuisse negarem, non aberrarem." Additque "Lelandum dixisse quis ille fuerit Britannorum rex se nescivisse." Alibi vero ejusdem Lelandi verba è commentario in cygneam cantionem profert.[10] "Extat" (inquit Lelandus) "Gruntæ Girviorum in Archivis historiola incerti authoris, et fidei longe incertioris: hinc apparet Gurguntium nescio quem regem Britannorum dedisse Cantabro Hispano qui Athenis studuerat, Orientalem Britanniæ partem," etc.[11] Et orationem totam his verbis claudit: "Profectò nihil legi unquam vanius, sed neque stultius, aut stupidius." Ut videas Lelandum decantatissimum illum et omnium calculis comprobatum antiquarium, narrationis molem funditus evertere, cum è regum Britanniæ albo Gurguntium penitus expungat.

[237] | Dissonantia etiam scriptorum diversa tempora Gurguntii regno tribuentium iis quæ de Gurguntio memorantur fidem omnino abrogare videntur. Legimus enim in antiquitatibus Cantabrigensis Cantabrum Gurguntio coævum Academiæ fundamenta jecisse anno Dom. ut aliquibus placet 1829, ut aliis 3377, ut aliis 3588, ut aliis 4095,[12] et ut aliis 4321, additque Twinus initium illius Academiæ à nonnullis ad annum 4348, relatum fuisse. Jam sibi exploratissima Chronologiæ regula ad veritatem rerum præteritarum eruendam à peritis adhiberi solita tantæ temporum varietati excutiendæ admoveatur. Cum non centenorum tantum, sed et millenorum etiam annorum intervallo memorata Gurguntii tempora inter se dissita sint; certè narrationem de illo institutam eodem spatio à veritate remotam esse compertum erit. Nam ut jurisperiti censent, multi testes sententiis variantes pro uno, et singulari sunt habendi; imo ne pro uno quidem, si de re cujus certitudinem ignorant contestantur. Nec insolitam istam temporum discrepantiam ipse Giraldus abnuere videtur, dum Gurguntii facinus commemorans, Partholani nomen celat, cujus adventum in Hiberniam ad annum post diluvium trecentesimum, id est annum mundi 1656, aut circiter retulerat, ejus vitam ad Gurguntii tempora protrahere non potuerit, veritus ut causæ in se receptæ patrocinio nocumentum

[9] Ibidem, p. 11. [10] Ibidem, p. 21. [11] Ibid. p. 11. [12] Antiq. Oxoni. p. 23.

narrative. "If I denied," says Brian Twine, "that Gurguntius was a king, I could not be far from truth;" he also adds, "that Leland said he could not discover any such king of Britain." In another place he transcribes a passage from Leland's commentary on the song of the swan. "In the archives of Grunta Girviorum there is extant a sort of history by some unknown hand, and of very doubtful authority: it states that some fabulous Gurguntius, king of the Britons, granted the Eastern part of Britain to Cantaber a Spaniard, who had studied at Athens." He closes his remarks with the following censure, "any thing more baseless, more foolish, more stupid, I never read in the course of my life." Thus does the far-famed Leland, whose antiquarian lore is the theme of every pen, utterly demolish the whole fabric, by expunging the name of Gurguntius from the line of British monarchs.[a]

The discrepancy of those various authors, on the time in which Gurguntius flourished, is equally fatal to their statements. The Cambridge antiquities say, that Cantaber, a contemporary of Gurguntius, laid the foundation of the university in the year of our Lord (A.M.) 1829 according to some, or in 3377, or in 3588, or in 4095, or in 4321 according to others; and some are of opinion as Twine informs us, that the foundation of the college dates from the year 4348. Now let us test these statements by these sound principles of chronology, which are applied by learned men to ascertain historical truth and what conclusion must we deduce from those conflicting dates? dates removed hundreds, nay, thousands of years, from each other; is not the conclusion that Gurguntius is an imaginary personage as inevitable, as those dates are irreconcileable? Jurists lay it down as a maxim, that if many witnesses contradict each other, their evidence has no more force than the evidence of one man, and not even so much if the discrepancy be on a point whose certainty they know not. Giraldus himself appears to admit the outrageous contradiction, for while he describes the feats of Gurguntius, he suppresses all allusion to Partholanus, who

[a] Though this Gurguntius is a fabulous personage, the stories regarding him confirm those ancient traditions which trace the origin of the Irish people from a Spanish colony.

indè potius quam subsidium accerseret, tam disjuncta tempora connectere non valens. Itaque Giraldus è commentitio Gurmundo perinde jus in Hiberniam Angliæ regibus, ac è gallina lac eliciet.

Verum esto, vitâ Gurguntius ille ac regno quondam floruerit. Aliquorum etiam studio indulgeamus illum anno mundi 3588, id est, ut aliis placet "anno ante Christum natum" vel 335, vel 375 Britanniæ regem egisse. Quid tum postea? Hibernia tum "nec prorsus vacua fuit, nec per Gurguntium inhabitata:" ut per errorem Giraldo excidit. Nullam enim à Gurguntio, vel à quovis alio Britanniæ majoris rege coloniam unquam illò deductam fuisse legimus, sed à Milesii sobole longe lateque per universam insulam propagata passim cultam fuisse compertum habemus, quorum è prosapia Uganius Magnus octogesimus post Slanium quem "primum Hiberniæ regem" Giraldus appellat Monarcha tunc Hiberniæ dominabatur (Ketingi calculos sequor): qui tantum abest ut in Hiberniam quibuscumque peregrinis aditum aperuerit, ut potius alias insulas Occidentales ditioni suæ (ut Annales nostri tradunt) adjunxerit. In Hibernia saltem rerum summâ hic extra controversiam potitus est, ut viginti quinque liberis ex ipso genitis, universam Hiberniam in totidem partes distributam elargitus fuerit, singulorum ditionem certis limitibus circumscribens, ut eorum nemini extra fines suos excurrere licuerit.

Huc accedit quod Giraldus à priori sententia protinus abscedens asserat, "Gentem Hibernicam à primo adventus sui tempore,[14] et primi illius Herimonis regno, usque ad Gurmundi, et Turgesii tempora (quibus et turbata quies, et interrupta aliquandiu fuit ejus tranquillitas) iterumque ab eorum obitu usque ad hæc nostra tempora, (tempus quo ipse floruit indicans) "ab omni alienarum gentium incursu liberam permansisse et inconcussam." Et alibi addens, "Historias Hibernicas tantum semel ante hæc tempora" (Anglorum scilicet in Hiberniam appulsorum) "et tunc à Turgesio gentem Hibernicam testari expugna-

[13] Topo. d. 3, c. 5. [14] Topo. d. 3, c. 46.

[b] According to some traditions, the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danaan came to Ireland directly from Britain, vol. i., p. 414, &c. &c.

landed in Ireland, he says, about 300 years after the deluge, that is the year of the world 1956. Finding it impossible then to make him a contemporary of Gurguntius, he thought it would do more harm than good to his cause to attempt to jumble so distant dates. Giraldus, therefore, has as great a chance of confirming the claims of England to the Irish crown, from this imaginary Gurguntius, as he has of drawing milk from a hen.

But suppose that Gurguntius did live and hold a sceptre; suppose, as some will have it, that he flourished in the year of the world 3588, is, according to some computations, 335 or 375 years before the birth of Christ, what follows from this admission? Even at that time Ireland was not nearly uninhabited, nor tenanted by Gurguntius, as Giraldus falsely asserts. There is not the slightest allusion in any of our records, to a colony planted in Ireland by Gurguntius or any other British king.[b] The whole island was certainly occupied by the descendants of Milesius, and at this very period one of his race, Ugaine Mor, the eightieth in succession from Slane, whom Giraldus styles the first king of Ireland, held the sceptre, according to Keating's chronology. Now Ugaine, so far from allowing any foreigners to settle in his kingdom, incorporated the other islands of the West under his Irish sceptre, according to our annalists. In Ireland, at least, his supremacy was so incontestable, that the whole country was partitioned among his 25 children, each having his own lot distinctly marked out for him, with a strict injunction not to encroach on the lands of his kindred.[c]

We might add, if necessary, that even Giraldus himself, contradicts his own statement, for he says, "that from the first arrival of the Irish people, and the reign of their first king Eireamon down to the time of Turgesius and Gurmund (when peace was broken and tranquillity interrupted), and again from their death to our own day (namely, when Giraldus wrote), the Irish were free and unmolested by any invasion of foreign enemies."[d] In another passage he adds, "that according

[c] See volume 1, p. 444, for the traditional account of this Ugaine Mor. Even, according to those accounts, he possessed only the central and richer parts of the island.

[d] Giraldus does not contradict him-

tam."[15] Ut vertumno mutabilior esse illudque è Terentii Phormione usurpasse videatur. Volo, nolo: quod dictum est, non dictum est: ac aliud stans, aliud sedens loqui.

Sed extra veritatis, et rationis gyrum cum eo tantisper abeamus, fingamusque supremam Hiberniæ potestatem apud Britanniæ reges aliquandiu mansisse. Trecentis autem vel amplius ante Christum natum annis ea potestate illos excidisse. Quid inde authoritatis in Hiberniam ad Henricum secundum eorum ditiones post mille quingentos annos consecutum manebit?[16] Argumenta longe petita Cicero valida esse negat: causa igitur Giraldus cadet qui à sesquimille annis, sui Principis jus [238] quam longissime accersit. | Tantundem temporis à Galliâ, Hispaniâ, et Britanniâ Romanis ereptâ nondum effluxit. Et earum provinciarum si Romani summum imperium adeo sibi modo arrogarent, quod suæ potestati quondam illæ subjicerentur, omnium profecto sibilis, et etiam armis impeterentur. Quid quod cujuscunque Principis regnum aliquod inique consecuti hæredes regnum illud majorum aliquo per injuriam comparatum, post centum annos citra injustitiam Theologorum scitis annuentibus possideant? Quare illud Gurguntii jus in Hiberniam (si quod post homines natos unquam extitit) tam antiquum est, ut jampridem penitus antiquatum fuerit. Authoritas enim tanta temporis longitudine semel emortua, nunquam denuo reviviscit. Nec ulla unquam possessio à quovis vel ultro aliis collata, vel pretio vendita, vel armis amissa, tam firmi roboris est, ut ad primi possessoris posteros, jus illius possessionis post quam diuturnissimum tempus elapsum sibi vendicandæ profluat.[17] Nam "Deus ipse mutat tempora, et ætates, et transfert regna atque constituit." Nimirum nulla post hominum memoriam potestatis quamvis firma fruitio jus cuiquam adeo affixit, ut ad quam longissimam nepotum ejus seriem integra transierit.

Post ineptias Giraldi explosas, vanitatem seu potius delirium istius, qui decreta comitiorum an. Elizabethæ reginæ undecimo, et Christi nati 1570, mense Februario Dublinii habitorum scriptis mandavit ad oculos

[15] Ibidem, c. 38. [16] Lib. 1, de muen. [17] Daniel. 2.

self on this point: for the invasion, by Gurguntius, if such it can be called preceded, according to him, the reign of the "first Irish king Heremon."

to the Irish annals, Ireland was only once conquered by a foreign enemy before the descent of the English, and that was by Turgesius." The man must have been more fickle that the breezes of spring: he must have adopted from the Phormio of Terentius—"yes; no; what was said was not said; I say one thing when I sit, but another when I stand."

But let me bid adieu for a moment to truth and common sense, and suppose with him that really the kings of Britain did at one time enjoy the sovereignty of Ireland, but lost it full three hundred years before Christ; what authority, I ask, had Henry II. to resume British dominion over Irish soil, 1500 years afterwards? Cicero denies that antiquated claims have any force; what force then has this claim of Giraldus for his prince, grounded as it is on an event a thousand and a-half years old? So many years have not elapsed since Gaul, Spain and Britain were wrested from the Romans. Yet, if the Romans were now to claim dominion over those countries, because they were once their territories, they would be answered at once by ridicule and the sword. Even one hundred years prescription, according to divines, justified an heir in retaining a crown which had been unjustly seized. The title of Gurguntius (if such a man ever existed) to the crown of Ireland, is so antiquated, that it is utterly valueless. A claim once annulled by lapse of time never revives; nor can any possession, whether amicably acquired or by force of arms, or purchase, or lost in battle, whoever be the parties concerned, ever have such an efficacy, that said right of possession could descend intact to the posterity of the first possessor, after a long lapse of ages. For "God changeth times and ages, and taketh away kingdoms and establisheth them." In truth no species of possession, however firm, ever devised since the creation of the world, could invest any man with a right, which would be entailed in all its integrity on his latest posterity.

Having now exposed the follies of Giraldus, we come to analyse the falsehood or rather the madness of the man by whom the act of parliament was drawn up in Dublin, the 11th of Elizabeth, February, 1570. He gives the story of Gurguntius, as told by Giraldus Cambrensis, but with several foolish additions, his object being to trace Elizabeth's title to Ireland to remote antiquity, and thus flatter his mistress at the ex-

pono. Ille mythistoriam illam Gurguntii à Cambrensi posteritati commendatam aliis fabulis insipienter cumulavit, ab ultima nempe memoriâ,[18] majori cum assentatione quam veritate, Elizabethæ reginæ jus in Hiberniam emendicans. "Chronica, inquit, Hiberniæ Latinis, Anglicis, et Hibernis literis consignata memorant Hibernos Biscaiam (cujus Metropolis Baiona fuit) Hispaniæ provinciam ante incoluisse, quam in Hiberniam migrarent; iisdem vero in Hiberniam proficiscentibus, Gurmundum quemdam filium nobilissimi Belini magnæ Britanniæ (quam hodie Angliam appellamus) regem Baionæ Dominio potitum fuisse, et eandem potestatem plurimis ejus successoribus usque ad Henrici secundi tempora obvenisse. Quare gentes ac regiones Hiberniæ regum Angliæ imperiis esse debent obnoxiæ. Alio etiam titulo Hiberniam reges Angliæ sibi vendicant; nimirum Hibernos è Biscaia tum in exilium abeuntes sexaginta navibus vectos, regem Gurmundum prope Orcadas obvium habuisse, qui post maximam victoriam in Daniâ relatam, eò reversus est. Hunc Hibernorum duces Heberum, et Herimonem convenisse, et post causam itineris nuntiatam enixissime rogasse, ut aliquam terram in Occidente ipsis inhabitandam elargiretur. De quorum precibus cum ille suos proceres consuluisset, Hiberniæ adeundæ et incolendæ potestatem iis fecit, scientissimis etiam gubernatoribus illos vela facientes eò deducere jussis; hinc est quod Hiberniæ regum Angliæ voluntate ac arbitrio pendere teneantur:" huc usque sententiam suam scriba produxit.

Porrò è nullis primum Hibernicis monumentis istam commentorum farraginem hausit, cum Giraldus asserat,[19] "Historias Hibernicas tantum semel, et tunc à Turgesio, gentem Hibernicam testari expugnatam fuisse." Deinde à scriptis Latinis toto cœlo diversus abiit, quæ narrationem hic institutam ad tempora Gurguntii, non Gurmundi, qui nongentis post Gurguntium annis Hiberniam tumultibus infestasse perhibetur revocant. Illi vero Hibernorum expeditioni Roffius, et cæteri scriptores supra memorati Partholanum, solus scriba Hiberum, et Herymonem duces assignat, Giraldo aperte refragante, dum dicit.

[18] Lib. 1, fol. 315. [19] Topog. d. 3, c. 36.

• It was invented by the royal advisers of the day, to support Elizabeth's claim to the Irish throne; sentence of excommunication and deposi-

pense of truth. "The chronicles of Ireland," he says, "written both in the Latin, English, and Irish tongues, alledge sundry auncient titles for the kings of England to this land of Ireland. And first that at the beginning, afore the comming of Irishmen into the sayd land, they were dwelling in a province of Spain, called Biscan, whereof Bayon was a member and the chief citie. And that at the said Irishmen's comming into Ireland, one king Gurmonde, sonne to the noble king Belan, king of Great Britaine, which now is called England, was lord of Bayon, as many of his successors were to the time of king Henry the Second, first conqueror of this realm, and therefore the Irishmen should be the kings of England, his people, and Ireland his land. Another title is that at the same time, that Irishmen came out of Biscay as exiled persons in six ships, they met with the same king Gurmond upon the sea at the yles of Orcades, then coming from Denmark with great victory. Her captaines, called Hiberus and Hermon, went to the king and him told the cause of their comming out of Biscay, and him prayed with great instaunce, that he would grant unto them, that they might inhabit some land in the West. The king at the last by the advice of his counsel, granted to them Ireland to inhabit, and assigned unto them guides for the sea to bring them thither, and therefore they should and ought to be the king of England's men."

Now, this absurd stuff is not found in any Irish records. Giraldus himself asserts, "that according to the Irish histories, Ireland was only once conquered, and that was by Turgesius.' Next, the Latin records, so far from supporting the story, are diametrically opposed to it, for they narrate it of Gurguntius, not Gurmund, who is said to have invaded and plundered Ireland 900 years later than Gurguntius. Roos and the other writers already cited make Partholanus the leader of that expedition; no person but this scribe assigns the leadership to Eibhear and Eireamon; even Giraldus directly contradicts him. "There came," says Giraldus, "from the shores of Spain a fleet of 60 ships under the

tion had been pronounced against her by Pius V. in the preceding year: and some of the Irish Catholics had risen in arms, Sean O'Neill had also, some years before, made an elaborate defence of his own rights to the sovereign dominion of Ulster.

"Advenisse de Hispaniarum partibus, in lx. navium classe quatuor nobiles Milesii regis filios, qui statim totam insulam nemine rebellante sibi vendicarunt, et procedente tempore,[20] duos istorum nominatissimos Hiberum scilicet, et Herymonem duas in partes æquales, regnum inter se divisisse." Bascleensium autem qui Gurguntium ad Orcadas offendeunt expeditionem diversam prorsus ab hac Hiberi et Herymonis fuisse Giraldus statuit, ut locus ex eo productus in hujus capitis exordio palam facit. |

[239] Aliud etiam argumentum ad robur causæ suæ addendum prius à Giraldo excogitatum sciiba efformat.[21] Urbs Baionensis Basconiæ, ut ille, ut hic vult Biscayæ in Hispaniâ caput est; Baiona Henrico secundo Angliæ regi paruit; Hibernia igitur, et ejus incolæ regum Angliæ potestati subjici obstringuntur. Ratiocinationis hujusce propositio à vero quam maxime abhorret, cum Gallicia Biscayam à Baiona sic deducat, ut hæc illius tam disjuncti membri caput esse non potuerit. Nec emolumentum ullum inde percipiunt, quod Baionam Basconiæ caput fuisse statuant, quando manus illa inHiberniam Gurguntio assentiente profecta Hispaniæ regionem ut Giraldus, et scriba fatentur, extra omnes Galliæ fines incoluerit. Quid tum postea? Baionæ limites illi non insederant quos in Hiberniam per mare tendentes Gurguntius obvios habuit: Nec proinde Baionæ dominus leges illis, utpote ab ejus ditione disjunctissimis dabat. Ita ut complexio tantum à præmissis, quantum ab Hispaniis Hibernia divulsa sit. Quo enim nexu ista quæ subjicio inter se copulantur? globus hominum Biscaya solvens Hiberniam velificatione petebat, Henricus secundus Gasconiæ dominatur; oportet igitur ut Hiberni regum Angliæ jussis audientes sint. Quæ consecutio non video cur potius è sumptis profluat, quam si assererem iis assumptis effici, ut quis credat olus in olla, et murem in cavea esse. Primi possessoris ditio ad tam longum nepotum ejus ordinem serie non intercisa pervenisse nusquam legitur. Gasconia regum Angliæ manibus, ante

[20] Ibid. c. 6. [21] Ibid. 8, 9.

[f] Yes, in historic times perhaps; but it is more probable that Gascogny was originally Iberian or Celtiberian, and not Gaulish; and therefore colo-

command of the four noble sons of king Milesius, who soon acquired undisputed sovereignty over the whole island, and in the lapse of ages, Eibhear and Eireamon, who were the most illustrious of the four, divided the kingdom between them into equal parts." Giraldus, therefore, makes the expedition of the Bascleans under Gurguntius, entirely different from this expedition of Eibhear and Eireamon, as is evident from the passage already cited in the commencement of this chapter.

In support of his cause the scribe produces another argument for which he is equally indebted to Giraldus, namely, the city of Bayonne is the capital of Gascony, as the scribe has it, or of Biscay in Spain, according to Giraldus—now Bayonne was subject to Henry II., king of England, therefore Ireland and her inhabitants were subject to the kings of England. Now the major proposition of this syllogism is absurd; for Bayonne could not be the capital of Biscay, as Gallicia divides them far asunder. Neither does their cause derive any confirmation from Bayonne being the capital of Gascony, as the colonists conducted to Ireland by Gurguntius are said to have resided in Spain, outside the Gaulish boundaries.[f] The scribe himself admits it. What follows then? why, that those colonists who embarked and were discovered by Gurguntius, and sent over to Ireland, never inhabited the territory of Bayonne; and therefore the lord of Bayonne had no legal dominion over them since they were so far from his dominions. The conclusion, therefore, has as little connexion with the premise as Ireland has with Spain. What coherence, I ask, is in the following train of argument? a body of men embarked from Biscay and sailed for Ireland; Henry II. was sovereign of Bayonne; therefore the Irish must submit to the laws of kings of England. If this conclusion follow logically from the arguments, I cannot see why the same propositions would not prove that there were vegetables in the pot, or a mouse in the cellar. No man ever read of a dominion descending from the first possessor, through so long a line of successors, without any interruption in the links. It is no more than 300 years since Gascony was

nists coming thence would be considered Spaniards. These doubtful points do not, however, affect the general validity of our author's reasoning against Giraldus in this place.

trecentos annos aut circiter per vim erepta est. Eorum tamen posteri hodie superstites ab illius terræ possessione adeunda excluduntur. Imo de illâ repetendâ ii ne laborant quidem, utpote tanto ante tempore illorum majoribus ademptum.

Admiratione nonnunquam capior impudentiam istius scribæ mecum animo volvens, quem tot fabularum cumulum mundo pro veris historiis obtrudere non puduit. Ignorantiam etiam, aut potius segnitiem suffragia in iis comitiis ferentium non capio, qui narrationibus à veritate quam alienissimis, approbationis suæ calculis fidem addere contenderunt. Sed mirari desino, cum sciam consuetudine comparatum esse ut (authore Cicerone)[22] "undæ comitiorum sicut mare profundum et immensum sic effervescant quodam quasi æstu, ut ad alios accedant, ab aliis recedant." Idem vero alibi ait: "quod fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum quantas perturbationes, et quantos æstus ratio comitiorum."[23] Nimirum recte idem asserit: "Comitiorum significationes interdum veras esse, nonnunquam vitiatas atque corruptas esse;" utpote quorum "totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat aura rumoris:[24] sæpe etiam sine ullâ apertâ causâ sit aliud ac existimamus; ut nonnunquam ita factum esse etiam populus admiretur, quasi vero ipse non fecerit."[25] Suffragia namque vel prece, vel pretio, aut minis aut blanditiis sæpissime comparantur.

Nec in aliis unquam comitiis major conversio rerum, quam in his, et aliis hæc post nuntium ab Henrico VIII., fidei Catholicæ remissum antegressis facta est. Obsequium utique summi Pontificis excussum, sua cœlitibus veneratio subducta, vita functi precationum subsidio spoliati, religiosorum hominum perenni cultu divinum numen prosequentium cœtus sedibus suis exturbati sunt, et eorum domicilia legibus

[22] Pro Curio Plat. [23] Pro Murone. [24] Pro Sexto. [25] Pro Murena.

[g] Many of the Irish were deprived of their estates in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., by a process defended by arguments not unlike those so justly censured here by our author. The inquisitions into defective titles pauperized and unhoused chieftains who had held peaceable possession of their properties during nearly three hundred years.

[h] No new law was made directly against the Catholic religion in this

violently wrested from the English kings, yet their posterity are now excluded from all right to that territory. They never even dream of claiming it, it has been so long ago taken from the sceptre of their ancestors.[g]

At times I cannot suppress my amazement that this shameless scribe should have had the audacity to publish such a mass of absurd fables. I am equally at a loss to account for the ignorance or carelessness of that parliament, which sanctioned by its votes statements so utterly at variance with facts. But I cease to wonder when I reflect, it usually happens, as Cicero remarks, "that the wave of the popular assembly is agitated by every wind, like the wide and deep waters of the sea, driving on towards one point and receding from another," or, as he expresses himself in another place, "what gulph, what Euripus, is torn by such heavings, agitated by so many contending surges, as the fluctuating tides and tumults of the popular assembly." He remarks with great truth, "that the decisions of the comitia are sometimes just, sometimes prejudiced and corrupt, because their opinions are often swayed by the slightest breath of rumor; often even without any assignable cause the issue turns out contrary to our expectations; nay, even the people themselves are astounded at what had been done, as if they themselves had not done it." The truth is, votes are often won by bribe or solicitation, or flattery or threats.

A greater revolution never occurred in any popular assembly than in this parliament,[h] and those that preceded it, from the time that Henry VIII. renounced the Catholic faith. The pope's authority was rejected, the saints were robbed of their due veneration, the dead debarred from the pious suffrages of the living, communities of religious men, consecrated for ever to the service of God, were banished from

Parliament of 1569, which put forward Elizabeth's *Gurguntian* title to the Irish throne; but all laws and precedents were violated by the government party in the elections of members to serve in that parliament. Cox. Hibernia Anglicana, 1, p. 329, and vol. i. of this work, p. 28, note. One of its statutes transferred to the chief governor of Ireland for the time being the right of appointing to all dignities in most of the churches of Munster and Connacht during ten years.

olim quam optimis exculta, disciplinis instructa, viris optimis exornata, censibus locupletata, et sanctissimis religionibus consecrata nefariè compilata, et profanata sunt. Ab istis hominum hæresi delibutorum conventibus votorum pacta cum ipso Deo Opt. Maximo quondam inita rescindebantur; et potestas fiebat, ut continentiæ nexu obstricti castitatem libidine mutarent, pauperiem polliciti divitiis avaritia correpti inhiarent: qui aliorum se justis ultro subjecerunt, contumaciâ efferrentur, seu potius efferarentur. Denique idem augustissimum Missæ sacrificium abolendum esse sanciverunt; è suis finibus Eucharistiæ Sacramentum quo reficiuntur hominum non corpora sed mentes, non [240] vires sed virtutes nutriuntur eliminarunt. Non igitur | mirum est si qui Sacratissima quæque religionis Symbola, ac mysteria conculcarunt, extra veritatis gyrum, in profanis historiis, longius excurrerint.

Sed religionis hoc pacto profligatæ culpam in singulos ad ista comitia[26] suffragii ferendi causa profectos non confero. Aliqui enim majori versutiâ quam sapientiâ prædití, et magis de re familiari augendâ gratiâque Principis ineunda, quam de fidei Catholicæ integritate conservandâ laborantes religionem labefactarunt: dum reliqui, vel per supinam segnitiem, ac incuriam, vel saltem per remissiorem sollicitudinem religioni corruenti viriter, et tempestivè non subvenerunt. Nimirum Prorex vim, civium orator dolum adhibuisse perhibetur, ut qui subsellia iis vacua conspicatus, qui sententiæ in Comitiis dicendæ jus habebant, raros assessores ad veterem religionem novâ mutandam jam propensos, oratione argumentis excogitatis, et fuco aspersâ, ad decretum de abrogandâ fide Catholicâ cudendum flexisse dicitur. Accepi eó die quo lex delendæ religionis lata est, feriationem à comitiis palam, Comitiorum additionem iis clam indictam fuisse, qui religionis eversioni decernendæ addicti esse noscebantur. Illis vero Comitia non frequentantibus qui pristinæ religionis sartæ tectæ conservandæ summo studio tenebantur,

[26] Analect. de rebus Catholic. in Hiber. p. 387.

[1] It is strange that the proceedings of an assembly, which established by law a new state church in Ireland and proscribed the old faith, should be matter of conjecture. The crisis of a revolution so momentous ought, it would seem, to have been well known to all parties, especially as very minute

their retreats, their establishments once governed by the best laws, directed by the best discipline, the nurseries of illustrious men endowed with ample revenues, consecrated by the best monastic institutes, were sacrilegiously pillaged and profaned. The vows solemnly plighted to the Almighty and most merciful God were annulled by a conventicle of men tainted with heresy; full legal license was given that those who had bound themselves by vows of chastity might indulge their lusts; those who had vowed poverty might gratify their avarice; and that those who had vowed obedience to others might rise up in rebellion, savage rebellion against authority. Finally, their law makers enacted the abolition of the most august sacrifice of the Mass; they abolished the sacrament of the Eucharist, the food not of the body but of the soul of man; the support not of his corporal strength, but of his sanctity. Is it any great wonder, that men who thus trampled on the most sacred symbols and mysteries of religion should have broached absurd theories in profane history ?

But the blame of these outrages on religion must not be charged against all the members elected to serve in that parliament. Some who were more crafty than wise, and more ambitious of amassing fortunes for themselves, and of gaining the favor of their prince, than of maintaining the integrity of the Catholic faith, inflicted those injuries on religion, while others, either from supine sloth or negligence, or at least too faint solicitude, did not stand forth like men, and give timely aid to the falling creed. The lord deputy is said to have used force, and the speaker treachery. Finding that there was a very thin attendance of members of parliament, and that the benches were almost untenanted except by a few who were already resolved to abolish the old creed, he delivered an elaborate and specious harangue for the abrogation of the Catholic faith, and is said to have carried with him the votes of the house. I heard, that it had been previously announced in the house, that parliament would not sit on that very day, on which the laws against religion were enacted; but in the mean time a private summons was sent to those who were well known to be favorable to the new creed.[1] The staunch adherents of the old creed,

details are preserved of the violent opposition given by the Irish parliament to less sweeping religious innovations in the reign of Henry VIII. It should

ac proindè ad ejus delationem impugnandam omnes animi viriumque nervos intenturi esse videbantur. Orator autem hanc opportunitatem quam aucupabatur, et paucorum præsentium assensum nactus, sanctionis de fide Catholicâ extinguendâ decernendæ præcipuus author fuisse putatur. Cujus prævaricationis pœnas longus posterorum ejus ordo dedit, cum ab opibus ab illo congestis tertius hæres gavisus non fuerit. Nepos enim ejus amplissimum pàtrimonium ab avo hac arte vel comparatum, vel retentum profudit, et veteres avi fortunas obligurivit.[27] Huc accedit quod Prorex aliquos è Comitiorum suffragatoribus reclamantes minis perterritos ad obsecundandum suæ voluntati potius coegit quam persuasit, proinde ac si diceret: Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas. In Comitiis anno Elizabethæ reginæ II., et Christi nati 1560 ista prægressis memoratum oratorem initium labendi fecisse narrat pater Georgius Dillonus in hæc verba:[28] "Eo" (inquit) "anno Jacobus Stanihurstus Corduffæ toparcha, cum in parliamenti (ut vocant) alterâ Camerâ esset prolocutor, Hibernis honestioribus qui adesse debebant non monitis sed clam adscitis aliis, de mulctis furtivam legem tulit, quas ii persolverent, qui festis diebus se templorum cœtibus subducerent. Atque hæc cùm coeuntibus in frequentem Senatum postea innotescerent coram omnes fraudem, injuriam, dolum malum inclamare. At subtili astutia Proregis et aliorum nunquam eos mulctas irrogandas sacramenti fide promittentium circumventi reliqui, legem eam ut scriptis

[27] Analect. Ubi supr. p. 389. [28] Rationes et motiva, p. 87.

be remembered, however, that the enactments of the 2nd of Elizabeth could not be generally, nor rigorously enforced, and would not, therefore, provoke much inquiry regarding the manner in which they had been carried through parliament.

[k] Two of the bishops whose names appear on the roll of this parliament, namely, Leverous of Kildare and Walsh of Meath, preached publicly against its enactments in their dioceses, and were deposed by government. Ware, Bishops. Two other bishops, though also present, it is said, in this parliament, were marked out for deposition in the year 1561. Shirley's Original Letters, pp. 115, 116. One of the latter, Lacy of Limerick, was not deposed until the year 1571—ibid. p. 173—and he had never renounced the Catholic faith.

[l] In note [h], it has been shown that in Elizabeth's second Irish parliament,

who would have defended it in all its integrity, being thus excluded, it must have been apprehended that they would exert all the energies of soul and body to prevent its abolition.[k] But the opportunity was seized; the few members present assented, and the speaker won for himself the name of being the chief author of the laws enacted against the Catholic religion. But deeply have his posterity, during many long years, paid the penalty of his prevarication. His enormous wealth passed out of his family with his grandson, who not only squandered away the wages of his grandfather's guilt, but ran through the old patrimonial inheritance. We might add, that the lord deputy terrified some of the reluctant dissentients into submission; it was not persuasion, but violence that he employed. "I will it, I order it, my will must be law," was the maxim of his government. Father George Dillon describes the first prevarication of that speaker as occurring in the parliament of the 2nd of Elizabeth,[l] in the year 1560. "In that year," he says, "James Stanihurst, lord of Corduff, who was speaker of the lower house of parliament, by sending private summons to some, without any intimation to the more respectable Irish who had a right to attend, succeeded in carrying by surprise that law, by which fines are imposed on all who absented themselves from church on Sundays. As soon as the matter was discovered in the next full meeting[m] of parliament, there was a general protest against the fraud, injustice, and deliberate treachery of the proceeding. But the lord deputy and others, having solemnly sworn that the law would never be carried into

A.D. 1561, there was no enactment against the Catholic religion, except the temporary power given to the chief governor of appointing the dignitaries of the Connacht and Munster sees. The avowed object of this law was to secure the appointment of persons who would have "the English habit and language."

[m] A full meeting of that parliament, according to the published rolls, included 17 bishops and 23 temporal lords (of whom two were old Irish) Fitzpatrick of Ossory and O'Brien of Thomond. In the commons 28 cities and boroughs were represented; 8 from Munster, 2 from Ulster, viz., Carlingford and Carrickfergus; 2 from Connaught, viz., Galway and Athenry, and the rest from Leinster, especially Meath: ten counties were represented, 8 in Leinster, and two in Munster. The names of the members are generally old Anglo-Irish.

in libris remaneret permiserunt. Haec vera esse à multis aetate provectioribus non semel accepi: atque ita se habere ut facilius credam adducor, quod totis quadraginta ac duobus annis, quibus supervixit regina, lex ea vim sortita est nullam. Regnante quidem Jacobo, aulicorum et jurisperitorum technis, eas mulctas severissimè proreges nonnunquam exegerunt."

Verum ista tandem comitia missa facientes, auditum ad Cambrensem convertamus, qui alium Hiberniae regem, Hibernicis etiam Historicis, ut ipse fatetur reclamantibus imponit:[29] "Noster" (inquit) Anglorum populus Gurmundum clamat Hiberniam subiugasse, Hibernienses, et eorum historiae scriptae Gurmundum prorsus ignorant." Certe Usherus asserit: "In Anglosaxonum antiquioribus historiis de Gurmundo isto altissimum esse silentium." Quarum authoritate cum se Giraldus destitutum esse perspexerit,[30] in vulgi rumusculis praesidium se nacturum esse confisus, ad fidem popelli fabulis addendam, hoc se famae telo frustra armavit: cum iidem Anglici scriptores victoriam illam de Cretico, et urbe Cecestria reportatam non ad Gurmundum, sed ad Ceaulinum Occidentalium Saxonum regem referant. Nec è Britannicis illi monumentis tenuis quidem aura veritatis affulget, quae de Gurmundo similiora fabulae quàm historiae narrant. Ait enim Monmuthensis lib II, c. 8. "Gormundum [241] regem Africanum | in Hiberniam maximis navigiis advectum, gentem patriae subjugasse: Exin cum centum sexaginta sex millibus African-

[29] Topo. 3, c. 38. [30] De Prim. p. 569.

[n] The law exacting fines for non-attendance at the law established churches on Sunday was sometimes enforced in a few towns during Elizabeth's reign: the law prohibiting the public mass was always enforced whenever the government had the power. The new oath of supremacy was not admitted by the towns or boroughs during Elizabeth's reign, vol. ii., p. 610, note. The old Catholic oath was retained. The report made by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, March 16, 1563, 1564, is "concerning religion and the favorers of it, we are sorry to say that we find blind ignorance, the leader to superstition, so set by, as it is hard to persuade willingness to hear the truth soberly taught, and yet there appeareth in this people fear to offend, wherefore they be not to be despaired but to be hoped of; *for those we have to do with we find conformable to the laws, and the judges with other of the lawyers, ready, as they seem to us, to*

execution, the remonstrants were caught in the dexterous snare, and consented that the enactment should remain on the statute book. These facts were frequently told to me by very old men; and their authority is powerfully confirmed in my mind by the fact, that during the forty-two subsequent years of the queen's reign, that law[n] was never enforced. During the reign of James, it is true, the lord deputies sometimes employed the legal ingenuity of their courtiers and lawyers to exact the fines with the utmost rigor."

But passing now from this parliament, let us return to Cambrensis, who forces another king on the Irish, contrary, as himself admits, to the protests of our Irish annalists. "Our English nation," he says, "insist that Gurmund had subdued Ireland. But neither the Irish nor the histories know anything of Gurmund." We have Ussher's authority "that the more ancient Anglo Saxon historians observe a profound silence regarding this same Gurmund." But when Giraldus found that they supplied no sanction, he indulges his usual partiality for the rumors of the vulgar, and boldly appeals to his favorite authority to confirm the fabulous assertion. But the attempt is vain; as, according to the same English writers, the victory over Creticus and the city of Chester was gained by Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, not by Gurmund. Not even the slightest ray of truth beams from the British chronicles on this Gurmund. He appears in the mists of fable, not the light of history. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. ii., c. 8, "Gormund, an African king, sailed to Ireland in enormous ships and

execute the laws for religion, and accordingly have promised us now in the assizes and sessions to inquire specially of defaulters against those laws for religion: yet with this caution, as we thought good that they meddle not with the simple multitude *now at the first*, but with one or two boasting massmen in every shire; *that it may be seen that the punishment of such men is meant.*" Shirley, Orig. Letters, p. 140. The last clause in Italics confirms our author's traditional account of a general impression that the penal laws were not to be enforced. The other clauses in Italics are directly contradicted by Brady, Protestant bishop of Meath, writing two days before—ibid. pp. 135, 136. He complains of the obstinacy of the clergy, lawyers, and people; and both speak of the same district; for at that date Brady's diocese was almost the only place where commissioners were authorized and had the real power to execute the laws, vol. ii., p. 518, notes.

orum ad Britanniam transfretasse,[31] Cicestriam cepisse, et succendisse." His similia profert è Frisiorum historia Usherus: "Hengisti et Horsi" (inquit) "milites à Gorimonde duce Hibernico, et Hibernorum, quæ illum sequebantur copiis animati: victoriam à Britannis reportarunt, et Gurmundum regem sibi constituerint." Hic Gurmundus Hibernus et Hibernis militibus ad expeditiones usus supra et Africanus et Africanis copiis instructus fuisse traditur:[32] Et ut hâc solâ discrepantiâ fabulam hanc everti non putes, eam Usherus ad Lydium Chronologiæ lapidem exploratam nihil sinceritatis habuisse deprehendit. Scriptores enim Britannici Careticum anno salutis 584:[33] alii Gurmundum illi coævum sub. an. Dom. 474, Zenone Imperatore floruisse statuunt. Ita ut Stanihurstus rectè dixerit: "Esse qui in dubium vocant, an unquam Gurmundus, in Britannia pedem posuerit, quoniam nulla ejus mentio à Beda, aut aliis integerrimis historicis est facta."[34]

Attamen Giraldus duas hasce narrationes tanto et rationis et temporis intervallo diductas, non appositè connectere, sed præposterè consarcinare contendit. Nixus enim contrarias Hibernorum, ac Britonum de Gurmundo sententias conciliare, majus dissidium excitat, quod malo Stanihursti quàm meis verbis ediscas. "Dum" (inquit) "Giraldus aliorum errorem coarguit majorem imprudens creat.[35] Turgesium Gurmundi vicarium in Hispania ponit: Quod nullo modo prorsus fieri potuisse sic ostendo. D. Patricius è vita abiit anno salutis 480 supra cap. 20. Jam vero ab ejus tempore usque ad Turgesii adventum regnaverunt in Hibernia 30 reges, quorum Imperia 400 annos sunt continuata (supra cap. 21,) quibus computatis relinquitur Turgesium vixisse anno salutis 880. At Gurmundus (ut testis ipse Giraldus infra cap. 24,) contra Caresticum, vel ut alii volunt, Careticum Britannorum regem arma tulit. Regnavit Careticus anno 586, ut Britannicæ historiæ una consensione testantur. Quare Turgesium habere tribunum, aut proregem non potuit Gurmundus nisi ab inferis fuerit revocatus" Avunculo suo suffragatur Usherus,[36] Giraldum reprehendens, quod "Hibernienses" dixerit "Gurmundum prorsus ignorare. Quanquam," inquit, apud Dublinienses nostros, et Laghlinenses quoque Gormonis sive Gurmundi aliqua videri posset relicta fuisse memoria. Nam et in Dubliniensi civitate Gurmundi porta habetur, et suburbanum juxta cernitur

[31] Apud Usherum, p. 568. [32] Pag. 571. [33] Pag. 570. [34] Pag. 258. [35] In appendice, p. 259. [36] De prim. p. 571.

subdued the natives. He then passed over to Britain at the head of 166,000 men and sacked and burned Chester." Ussher gives the same statements from the history of the Frisians. "The soldiers of Hengist and Horsa, with the aid of Gurmund and the Irish soldiers under his command, gained a victory over the Britons, and appointed Gurmund as their king." The Gurmund who is here represented as an Irishman at the head of an Irish army appears above as an African and commanding an African army; but if this discrepancy do not subvert the whole story, Ussher will test it for us by the Lydian stone of chronology, and demolish it irrecoverably. The British historians state that Careticus flourished in the year 584, others assign the time of Gurmund, his contemporary, to the year 474, in the reign of the emperor Zeno. Hence Stanihurst truly says, "that some persons doubt whether Gurmund ever set his foot in Britain, as he is never mentioned by Beda, or other most trustworthy authorities."

These two narratives, so different both in substance and date, are connected, or rather preposterously jumbled together by Giraldus. In his attempt to reconcile the conflicting statements of the Irish and Britons regarding Gurmund, he makes confusion worse confounded, as appears from Stanihurst, "Giraldus, while censuring the errors of others, imprudently falls into a greater error. He makes Turgesius the lieutenant of Gurmund in Spain, which cannot be a fact, as I thus prove. St. Patrick departed this life A.D. 480, supra, c. 20. Now, from his time to the arrival of Turgesius, there reigned in Ireland 30 kings, whose reigns lasted 400 years, supra, c. 21, whence it follows that Turgesius must have lived A.D. 880. But according to Giraldus himself, supra, c. 24, Gurmund took up arms against Caresticius, or as some call him, Careticus, king of the Britons. Careticus reigned A.D. 586, according to the unanimous testimony of British historians. Hence, unless Gurmund was raised from the dead he could not have been lieutenant or viceroy of Turgesius." Ussher supports his uncle's views, and censures Giraldus for asserting that the Irish had no account of Gurmund. "Some traces," he says, "of Gorman or Gurmond, are probably still found among our citizens of Dublin and Leighlin men. One of the gates of the city of Dublin is called Gurmund's gate, and a villa near the city is still called Grangegorman, and fifteen miles from

prædiolum Grangegorman dictum, et quindecem ab urbe passuum millibus dissitum Gormanstowne nobilium Prætoniæ familiæ Vicecomitum notissimum domicilium. Juxta Leighliniam vero non modo Gormondi nemus, Gormondi vadum nomen illius retinent. Sed etiam in ipsa Ecclesia Cathedrali extabat nuper ejusmodi titulus saxo inscriptus sepulchrali,

> "Hic jacet humatus dux fundator Leniæ
> En Gurmundi Burchardus vir gratus Ecclesiæ."

Hoc Epitaphium anno 1589 conspectum á se fuisse, in Hibernicis suis Annalibus testatur Tadæus Dulingus, ubi Gurmundum non totam Hiberniam sed Lageniam tantam et Midiam sibi subjugasse, ac filium, suum Burchardum (Hibernis Ogormanyhen dictum) ducem montis Margei constituisse docet." Verum pace Usheri, non ab isto Gurmundo portæ Dubliniensis nomen manavit,[37] ipsius avunculo Stanihursto asserente, "quod ab hoc Gurmundo sumptum esse nomen non est credibile, quia post ejus tempora, Dublinium ab Amellano fundatum fuit, si rectè Giraldus tempora annotavit."

Itaque mihi minimè dubium est quin ab aliquo ex O'Gormanorum gente qui factis egregiis olim inclaruit, ista nomina profluxerint. Compertum enim est etiamnum hodiè Gormanstowne, Hibernicè Baillyghormain, id est eodem sensu villam O'Gormani, et nemus ac vadum Gormundi Hibernicè Keill et Athyghormain appellari. Et magnam verisimilitudinem habet, quod O'Gormain non ullus advena Gurmundus nuncupatus, Leighliniæ fundator extiterit. In Genealogica O'Gormanorum serie nullus Burchardi nomine affectus apparet. Sed Murchardus in ordinis Genealogici linea trinepotis ejus nomen est à quo nomen O'Gormain ad familiam fluxit quod levi literæ initialis mutatione in Burchardi vocem transire potuit, qui more Hibernis historicis usitato, filius Gormani dici potuit, omnem posteritatem ab aliquo viro præclaro propagatam, et nomen ab eodem mutuatam, illius mac, id est filium [242] appellantibus. Gormanus autem ille | nominis, et gentis author neque Norwegiensem,[38] ut "Cambrensis," neque "Danum," ut Warræus, sed

[37] Pag. 259. [38] Topogr. d. 3, c. 39.

the city there is Gormanstown, the celebrated residence of the most noble family of viscounts Preston. Near Leighlin, you have not only Gorman's wood and Gorman's ford, but there was even an epitaph not long ago in the Cathedral church, inscribed on a stone monument,

> "Hic jacet humatus dux fundator Leniæ
> En Gurmundi Burchardus, vir gratus ecclesiæ."

Thady Dowling states, in his Irish annals, that he saw that epitaph in 1589. He also says that Gurmund did not subdue all Ireland, but only Leinster and Meath, and that his son Burchard (called by the Irish O'Gorman) was appointed lord of Sliabh Mairge."[a] But with the leave of Ussher, we must say, that this Gurmund could not have given his name to one of the gates of Dublin, since Stanihurst assures us "that the name could not possibly be derived from Gurmund, because, if the chronology of Giraldus be correct, Dublin was not built until a much later period by Amellan."

My own decided opinion is, that those names are derived from some of the family of the O'Gormans, who were once famous for their heroic achievements. For even at the present day, Gormanstown is written in Anglo-Irish Ballygorman, that is, "the town of O'Gorman," and Gorman's wood and ford are called in Irish Coıll and Ath Uı Ghoрmaıŋ. It is highly probable also, that Leighlin was built by an O'Gorman, and not by a foreigner called Gurmund. No person named Burchard is found in the genealogical tables of the O'Gorman family. But there is a Murchard in that line, the fifth in descent, from the founder of the family; and Murchard, by a slight change of one letter, might become Burchard. He was called son of Gorman, according to the usual custom of the Irish, who generally gave the name of some illustrious man to all his descendants, by prefixing the word Mac, that is son. But the Gorman who founded that family and name, was neither a Norwegian, as Cambrensis will have it, nor a Dane, as Ware says,

[a] See Dowling's traditional story in his annals, p. 4, published by the Irish Archæological Society.

purusputus Hibernus è Dario Barrio Cathiri magni Hiberniæ regis filio prognatus, ut ex antiquariis Ketingus refert.[39] Et ejus posteri Macgormanni dicti, et proceres Lageniæ, ac Omarchiæ, id est (ni fallor) ditionis monti Margeo adjacentis Reguli fuisse ab Oduvegano perhibentur.[40]

Nec modo Gurmundum Hiberniæ Giraldus imperasse, sed "Turgesium" etiam inter ejus reges referendum esse contendit. Quem quia ex Hiberniæ regum albo optimis rationum et scriptorum firmamentis adductis alibi expungimus, illi operæ hic tanquam supervacaneæ incumbere supersedebimus.

Et ut rem ambagibus expediam: Non ob ullas causas aut à Cambrensi, aut à scriba, aut in superioribus Bullis assignatas, sed ob longè alias, Henricum secundum Angliæ regem, ad Hiberniam suæ ditioni adjiciendam animum adjuxisse locupletes authores Henrico etiam regnante superstites testantur.

Ac primum belli adversus Hibernos ab Anglis suscepti Neubrigensis initia ingenuè aperit, et è natâ arreptum non consulto assumptum dicit:[41] Etenim "iisdem," inquit, "temporibus sub specie militantium Hiberniæ insulæ irrepserunt Angli." Et paulo post; "Hibernis in potestatem regis Anglorum incidendi occasio hæc fuisse traditur." Et paucis interpositis: "Contigit quendam regem terræ illius, à finitimis impetitum regibus coartari nimis, et defectu virium, crudelitatem hostium pene experiri. Inito ergo consilio, et misso festinanter in Angliam filio, accersivit viros militares, et juventutem strenuam spe lucri profusioris illectam. Quorum ope sublevatus, primo respirare, deinde roborari, postremo subactis hostibus triumphare cœpit." Dermitium vult hic author Lageniæ regem, quem ob intolerandam libidinem, ac inusitatam insolentiam regno Hiberniæ reges ac proceres armis merito exuerunt; et Angli sontem in flagitiis ope lata corroborarunt;[42] obliti eum "qui justificat impium abominabilem esse apud Deum."

Quod si Neubrigensis è scelesto bello laudem suis arrogare conten-

[39] Leighlin, Pag. 99. [40] Topog. d. c. 37. [41] Lib. 2, c. 26. [42] Prov. 17.

[p] For some confirmation of our author's views, see Book of Rights, pp. 194, 212, notes.

but a thorough Irishman, descended from Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, king of Ireland, as Keating proves from the old annals. His descendants were called MacGorman, and according to O'Dubhagain, were lords of Leinster and kings of Ui Mairche, a tract of country lying near Sliabh Mairge.[p]

Giraldus asserts that Turgesius, as well as Gurmund, was king of Ireland. But as we have already disposed of this new claimant, by the best arguments and authorities, it is useless to devote any more space to expunge him from the line of our kings.

But to state the naked truth in a few words—not one of the causes mentioned by Cambrensis or the parliamentary scribe, or the preceding papal bulls, was the real motive of Henry II., king of England, in invading the kingdom of Ireland, as can be easily demonstrated by the abundant testimony of contemporary authors.

In the first place, William Newbrigensis, candidly declares the true origin of the English war against Ireland. He is not giving a regular narrative of the fact, but merely touches on it incidentally: "about the same time," he says, "the English wormed themselves into Ireland under the guise of auxiliary soldiers." "Again, the following is said to be the occasion that led to the subjugation of the Irish by the king of England." "It happened," he continues, "that one of the kings of that country was severely pressed by the neighbouring kings, and not being able to resist them he had almost become the victim of their cruelty. Consulting with his friends he dispatches his son in haste to England, where a band of brave young men flocked in arms to his standard, on the promise of liberal remuneration. This timely aid at once gave him relief, then enabled him to muster an imposing force, and at last to defeat and triumph over his enemies." Diarmaid, king of Leinster, is the king referred to here, who had been justly deposed by the combined forces of the kings and lords of Ireland, for his intolerable lusts and outrageous insolence. This was the guilty wretch in whose cause the English drew their sword; they forgot, that "he that justifieth the wicked is abominable before God."

Now, since William Newbrigensis represents this infamous war as creditable to his countrymen, would he have suppressed those real motives which might reflect some credit on the enterprise? Why has he

derit, taciturumne illum putas veram causam quæ commendationem suis parere possit? Cur non impulsu Pontificum Anglos Hiberniam ad incolarum vitia radicitus evellenda bello aggressos esse narravit? Nimirum nè fando quidem commentitias istas Adriani,[43] Alexandrivè Bullas audivit; alioqui scriptis eas insereret, utpote ad laudem Henrico regi accumulandam accommodatissimas, quem ille laudibus in cœlum impensius extulit.

Evulgavit Aubertus Miræus Canonicus Bruxellensis Auctarium Aquicinctivum ad Sigibertum Geneblacensem authoris Henrico secundo coævi, cujus verba sunt: "Anno 1172, Henricus rex Angliæ ultra se elatus, inconcessa captans, et affectans indebita, regnum Hiberniæ subjugaturus, et regium diadema, ut putabat, capiti suo impositurus, naves parat, militesque de suo regno congregat, et ingressus Hiberniam, etc." Huc etiam Polydorus Virgilius spectavit dicens: "Henricus rex destinavit animo domare Hiberniam, tum quod Angliæ proxima est, tum quia Gallis inde administrata sæpius auxilia intelligebat; ideoque è re sua maximè fore ducebat, si insulam nunquam ferè antea externis seu armis vexatam subigeret. Itaque accitis undique militibus, ac navibus simul in unum coactis, ut ad certam diem classem instructam, quam 400 navium fuisse ferunt, ingens bellum comparat, et in Hiberniam, circa hyemis initium celeri cursu trajecit, statimque totam insulam fere absque ullo sanguine (nam incolæ metu tam immensi exercitus jam in terram expositi percussi deditionem fecerunt) in suam potestatem accepit." Itaque non Hibernorum institutione cultiori excolendorum, sed famæ, potestatisque suæ amplificandæ, et Gallicis hostis infirmandi causâ Hiberniæ bellum Henricus intulit.

[43] Lib. 3, c. 25.

[q] No traces of any such connexion between Ireland and France during the reign of Henry II., are known to the editor.

not stated at once, that the English sailed over by the pope's orders, to eradicate by their arms the vices of the natives. For no other reason, than that he never heard one word of those fictitious bulls of Adrian and Alexander; he certainly would not have omitted in his work documents so highly creditable to kiug Henry, on whom he lavishes the most fulsome and extravagant eulogy.

Albert Miræus, canon of Brussells, published a supplementary appendix to Sigebert of Gembli, who was contemporary of king Henry II. "In the year 1172," he says, "Henry, king of England, being puffed up with pride, coveted the rights of others, and seized what he had no claim to, and collected a fleet to subdue the kingdom of Ireland, and place the crown, as he hoped, on his own head. He landed in Ireland at the head of an army," &c., &c. Polydor Virgil records the same facts. "King Henry resolved to subdue Ireland, because it was the next neighbour of England, and had often, as he heard, sent over auxiliaries to the French.[q] These politic considerations induced him to turn his arms against an island which had never before been molested by foreigners or war. Summoning his soldiers from all quarters, and collecting his ships, he found himself at the head of a fleet of 400 ships, provided with every thing necessary to carry on the war on a grand scale. After a quick passage he landed in Ireland, about the commencement of winter, and almost the whole island instantly submitted without striking a blow; the immense army, after their landing, having struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they surrendered at once." Hence Henry's motives to make war on the Irish were not to give them the blessings of more civilized institutions, but to exalt his own character and power, and to weaken his enemies the French.

CAPUT XXVII.

SUPERIORA TAM IMPROBANTIBUS QUAM IMPUGNANTIBUS RESPONSIO QUA SUMMUM AC LEGITIMUM HIBERNIÆ IMPERIUM REGIBUS ANGLIÆ VENDICATUR.

Objectio.—Liber Constantini Margni improbans.—Alia Objectio.—Actiones expugnationem injustam secutæ possunt esse justæ.—Saxones a Britannis in auxilium vocati in ipsos convertunt. [244] Mala quæ Saxones Britonibus intulerunt. Britonum primores a Saxonibus dolo perempti.—Qui ad fidem Saxones converterunt, non jusserunt ipsos agris inique partis cedere —Franci Christiani effecti non restituerunt Gallis agros malè partos.—Gothi adempta Hispaniæ arva non reddiderunt.—Longobardi non restituerunt Italis terram suam.—Guillelmum conquestorem nullus monuit reddere armis relata. [245] Regna transferuntur Dei nutu.—Nullum in Europa regnum, quod non per injuriam initio comparatum fuit.—Variæ nationes alias e sua patriâ ejecerunt.—[246] Nihil in terris stabile.—Roma potentia a scelere cœpta.—Christiani imperatoris rempublicam malé partam sine scrupulo administrarunt.—Christiani pro imperatoribus paganis oraverunt.—Judœi oraverunt pro tyrannis. [247] Regum jura non sunt disquirenda.—Prima possessio iniqua comparata fit longitudine temporis et populi assensu valida.—Plures Hibernorum transactiones cum regibus Angliæ.—Hiberni non plené subjecti usque ad Jacobum Regem. Henricus VIII. Angliæ rex e sanguine Regum Walliæ oriundus. [248] Reges stirpis Normanniæ cum stemmate regum Angliæ conjunguntur.—Rex Jacobus e regibus Hiberniæ originem traxit.—Jacobi Regis genealogia ad Adamum ! ! ! [249] Alia via genus Jacobi ad reges Hiberniæ refertur.—A regibus Lageniæ Jacobus rex oritur. [250] Genealogia regis Jacobi ab Hebero. [251] Ignorantia Meruli.—Reges peregre nati nihilominus subditorum amari et obsequio affici debent.—Ab imperio semel acceptato non licet resilire.—Hiberni optimi subditi.—Magistratus Catholicis non conferuntur.—Peregrini Magistratus et opes obtinent. [252] Scribæ brevi fiunt opulenti.—Robertus Jacob.—Sparke Judex.—Laurentius Parsonius.—Richardus Boyle,—Hiberniæ Anglis India est—Plantatio. [253] Hiberni ad rebellionem solicitati.—Vincentius Gookings.—Duumviri.—Hiberni Regi et judiciis obsequiosi.—Duplex Hibernorum origo. [254] Anglici Scriptores calumniis Hibernos onerant.—Bella Hibernica superioris memoriæ quo modo non sunt rebellia.—Bellum pro hæresi stabilienda susceptum rebellione vacare hæretici dicunt.—Rebellionis calumnia non in totam gentem fuit torquenda.—Comitum Ormoniæ et Clanricardiæ quanta fides erga reginam. [255] Rebelliones in Anglia incitatæ toti genti non ascribuntur.—Nuperum quomodo non rebellio.—Nuperos in Hibernia motus per injuriam parlamentarii rebellionem vocant.—Iidem regiam dignitatem et fidem Catholicam e medio sublaturi erant.—Molimina parlamentariorum in Hibernos detecta. [256] Ab Hibernis ne an ab Anglis bellum cœptum ?—Parlamentariorum atrocitas in Hibernos. [257] Parlamentarii gentem Hibernicam extinguere moliti. [258] Parlamentarii non scelerum in puniendo sed sui studii rationem ducunt.—Deus punit sceleratos.—Cædes ab Hibernis factas Parlamentarii falso narrant.—Foxius finxit adhuc vivos martyrio affectos fuisse.—Quam parum veri fuerunt cædium ab Hibernis factarum delatores. [259] Motus Hibernicus non rebellio sed seditio fuit.—Populi furor qualis.—Seditiones in exteris regionibus quales.—Quæ causæ seditionis Hibernicæ.—Alibi seditionum capita tantam dant pœnas.—Hiberni omnes paucorum se-

CHAPTER XXVII.

VINDICATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AND LEGITIMATE DOMINION OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND OVER IRELAND, IN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO CONDEMN OR ASSAIL THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

[243] An Objection.—Book of Constantinus Marulus censured.—Another Objection.—Rights founded on an unjust conquest may be just.—Britons conquered by the Saxons whom they had called in to their aid. [244] Miseries inflicted on the Britons by the Saxons.—The flower of the British nobles treacherously cut off by the Saxons.—Those who converted the Saxons to the faith did not insist on their resigning the territories unjustly acquired.—The Francs after their conversion did not restore the lands which they had unjustly wrested from the Gauls.—The Goths did not restore the lands which they seized in Spain.—The Italians did not recover their lost property from the Lombards.—William the Conqueror was not called on by any person to restore what he had won by the sword. [245] Crowns are transferred by the will of God.—Every kingdom in Europe was founded originally on injustice.—Many nations expelled from their territories by others. [246] Nothing permanent on this earth.—The power of Rome founded on crime.—The Christian emperors had no scruple in exercising a power acquired unjustly.—The Christians prayed for the Pagan emperors.—The Jews prayed for their tyrants. [247] The rights of kings must not be critically inquired into.—A possession acquired originally by injustice, becomes in course of time, and by the consent of the people, just.—Various conventions of the Irish with the kings of England.—The Irish not completely subdued until the reign of James I.—Henry VII. king of England, descended from the ancient kings of Wales. [348] Kings of the Norman line, united with the race of English kings.—King James I. descended from the kings of Ireland.—His genealogy up to Adam. [249] Another pedigree of James I. from the kings of Ireland.—His descent from the kings of Leinster. [250] His descent from Eibhear. [251] Ignorance of Merulus.—Kings though born in a foreign country entitled, nevertheless, to the love and loyalty of their subjects.—It is not lawful to resist an authority which has been once acknowledged.—The Irish are most loyal subjects.—All offices denied to Irish Catholics.—Wealth and offices lavished on foreigners. [252] Scribes suddenly raised to affluence in Ireland.—Robert Jacob.—Judge Spark.—Laurence Parsons.—Richard Boyle.—Ireland is an India for the English.—The Plantation. [253] The Irish solicited to rebel.—Vincent Gockings.—The Duumviri.—The Irish submissive to the king and to the tribunals.—Two races of Irish. [254] Calumnies of English writers against Ireland.—The wars in which the Irish lately engaged were not "rebellions."—A war in defence of heresy is not a "rebellion" according to heretics.—The charge of rebellion should not have been made against the whole Irish nation.—Great fidelity of the earls of Ormonde and Clanrickard to Queen Elizabeth. [255] Rebellions often excited in England, not ascribed to the whole nation.—The late war not a "rebellion."—Unjustly stigmatized as a rebellion by the Parliamentarians.—They had resolved to destroy the monarchy and the Catholic faith.—The machinations of the Parliamentarians detected in Ireland. [256] Whether the Irish or the English first rose in arms.—Atrocities of the Parliamentarians in Ireland. [257] They planned the extirpation of the Irish race. [258] The Parliamentarians influenced more by their passions, than by justice in inflicting punishments.—God punishes the guilty.—Lying accounts given by Parliamentarians of slaughters committed by the Irish.—Fox falsely chronicled as martyrs, persons who were still alive.—Grossly false accounts of massacres attributed to the Irish. [259] The troubles in Ireland were not "a rebellion" but seditions.—Popular fury.—Sedi-

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VIDEOR audire quempiam his quæ dixi mihique obstrepentem, meque sic compellantem: heus tu num advertis seditionis te semina jecisse, cum Henricum secundum Hiberniam iniquo jure potitum fuisse dixeris? An non quoscumque tuis è dictis eliciturus putas summum Hiberniæ imperium quod penes Carolum regem nuper erat, fundamento tam iniquè jacto, penitus corruisse, ac proinde te suasisse ut Hiberni omne regibus Angliæ obsequium, ut iniquæ potestatis detentoribus subtraherent? Ita ut indubitatum tuo capiti perduellionis periculum creare, et istius libri qui non ita pridem sub ementito Constantini Maruli nomine prodiit, molimina prosequi videaris; quem durâ primum censurâ vapulasse in patriâ etiam tuâ non ignoras; ut qui perduellionis virus effudisse, et læsæ majestatis criminibus gravis esse; cujusque author historiam veterem vel ignorasse, vel reticuisse dicebatur. Ac proinde non solum in Hibernia, comitiorum Catholicorum suffragiis, sed etiam in Lusitaniâ, rege decernente, flammis addictus est. Audi Poëtam illud opus carpentem:

> "Quæritur, iste liber fuerit cur igne crematus?
> In promptu causa est, seditiosus erat."

[a] "Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus hæreticos Anglos," A.D. 1647. Cox, as usual, tells some falsehoods about this work.

tions in foreign countries.—Causes of the Irish sedition.—The ringleaders alone of sedition punished in other countries.—All the Irish punished for the sedition of a few.—Englishmen saved by the Irish. [260] Cruel edict of the Parliamentarians against the Irish.—Injustice of that edict.—Most iniquitous to condemn any person unheard.—Roman procedure in inflicting punishment.—The Irish guilty neither of injustice nor rebellion in taking up arms. [261] In case of necessity men bound to fight for their homes and their altars.—Fear alone should not induce one to renounce engaging in a war.—An enemy planning a war ought to be anticipated.—War preferabe to an ignominious peace. –The Parliamentarians and not the Irish were rebels.—The clergy advise the people to be loyal to their king. [262] The clergy did not excite seditions; they inculcate virtue.—Occasional kindness of the magistrates to Catholics.—Rage of the persecution against the chapels in cities.—The Catholic clergy discountenance vice.—They have no revenues.—Respect and honor paid to them. [263] Miraculous escape of a priest and his host.—Exactions of the Protestant ministers. [264] Death of a soldier, who, out of contempt, dressed himself in sacerdotal vestments.—Death caused by wearing the chasuble through contempt.—Heretics not Catholics teach that the king may be deposed. [265] Rebellions of heretics against their princes.—The English beheaded their king.—No words can adequately express the murder of the king of England. [266] Atrocity of that murder.—The Puritans disaffected to monarchy.—The Anabaptists hate kings and bishops.—The Scotch and Irish proclaim Charles II. king. [267] The Catholics condemn the deposition of kings.—Some of them restrained the excesses of tyranny.—The decision of such controversies should be referred not to the people but to the pope.—Arms may be sometimes taken up in self defence; aggressive never. [268] The honor paid by David to king Saul.—How a contract originally unjust may become lawful.—A council at first invalid, may become valid.

I THINK I hear some persons murmuring against me and my preceding arguments, and reproaching me in the following strain: Do you not perceive that you are sowing the seeds of sedition by maintaining that Henry the Second had unjustly seized the Irish crown? Can you be ignorant that some persons will conclude from what you say, that the sovereignty of Ireland, which was lately enjoyed by king Charles, was utterly annihilated because based on injustice, and, therefore, that you have been advising the Irish to throw off all allegiance to the kings of England, as the unjust receivers of an ill-acquired dominion? You are infallibly drawing down on your head the penalties of high treason; you renew the arguments of that daring book which appeared some time ago, under the fictitious title of Constantinus Marulus. It was branded, as you know, with the severest censures in your own country, as impregnated with the seeds of rebellion and the crime of high treason; and its author was charged either with ignorance or suppression of ancient historical facts. Besides being condemned in Ireland, by the votes of the Confederate Catholics, it was also burned in Portugal by order of the king.[a] Have you not heard the satire of the poet on that book?

> **"Why was this book, you ask, condemned to burn?**
> **Because it aimed the throne to overturn."**

En alterius Poëtæ censuram:

> "Dignus luce liber, modo flammis luceat ustus,
> Et scriptor libro sit comes ipse suo.
> Seditionis erat nam fax authorque, liberque,
> Ambo perire pari sic meruere rogo."

Et quomodo tu pœnas effugies ab illo promeritas, cui te criminis societate conjunxisti? par enim est, ut qui simili delicto tenentur, simili quoque supplicio plectantur. Præterea tu cum domo quidem Hibernus, origine tamen Anglus sis, cur te generis tui authoribus tam ingratum præbeas demiror? nec video quo te pacto, nepotesque illorum omnes ignominiæ notâ, quam majoribus vestris inuris immunes præstabis, cum majorum decora posteris inhæreant? Nec intelligo qua ratione res ab illis per injuriam partas hi justè possidebunt? ut erga fato jampridem functos non minus ingratum te geras, quam erga spirantes adhuc injuriosum.

Ad ista hoc responsum fero. Ubi primum in disceptationis arenam cum Cambrensi descendere constitui, omnia tela quæ ad gravius meæ gentis famæ vulnus infligendum jaculatus est, illi è manibus eripere pro virili conatus sum. Quando autem commentitias istas Bullas suæ defensionis mucronem adhibuit ad earum aciem obtundendam, ne popularium meorum famam altius resecarent, quam potui operam contuli. Quod si istarum authoritate convulsâ, belli ab Henrico suscepti justitia iis potissimum innixa labefactata fuerit, nego tamen inde fieri, ut posteriores Angliæ reges ad Hiberniæ clavum injustè sederint, aut Hiberni eorum imperata licitè detrectare potuerint.

Saxones à Britannis acciti, ac mercede conducti, ut Scotorum seu Hibernorum, et Pictorum audaciam bello frangerent; hostibus tandem belli societate convictis furorem et arma in Britannos converterunt. Ita ut "quærentes causam divortii protestentur,[1] nisi profusior alimentorum copia daretur, se cuncta insulæ rupto fœdere vastaturos. Neque aliquando segnius minas effectibus prosequuntur. Siquidem accensus

[1] Beda 1, c. 15.

And the judgment of another poet:

> "Book worthy of light, but of the light of fires,
> In which its author with itself expires.
> Firebrands of treason, sowers of civil hate,
> Meetly are both consigned to the same fate."

And if you participate in his crime, what right have you to expect exemption from his punishment? does not justice require that the same crimes should be visited with the same penalties? Moreover, though you are a native of Ireland, you are of English descent, and it amazes me that you are so ungrateful to the founders of your race. I am at a loss to understand how you can defend yourself and all their descendants from the brand of infamy, which you hurl against your progenitors; for, the ignominy of the father cleaves to his children. Neither can I comprehend your right to retain the possessions which they unjustly acquired. You are, therefore, as unjust to the living as you are ungrateful towards the dead.

My answer is this. When I resolved to enter the lists against Cambrensis, I vowed to wrest from his hands, to the best of my abilities, all the mortal weapons which he had hurled against the character of my country. When I found him flourishing those fictitious bulls in defence of his cause, I left no exertion untried to blunt the edge of their authority, lest they might deeply wound the character of my countrymen. But, though the authenticity of those bulls is refuted, though the injustice of the invasion of Henry II., which was grounded principally on those bulls, is demonstrated, I deny it thence follows, that subsequent kings of England had no just claim to the dominion of Ireland, or that the Irish could lawfully disclaim their authority.

On the invitation of the Britons, the Saxons came as mercenary soldiers to repress the invasions of the Scots, or Irish, and of the Picts; but when those enemies were repelled, the mercenaries turned their furious arms against the Britons. "They were only looking for an occasion to pick a quarrel, when they protested that if they were not more abundantly supplied with provisions, they would dissolve their treaty and plunder the whole island. The threat was quickly carried

manibus Paganorum ignis justas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones ex-[244] petiit, non illius | impar, qui quondam à Chaldæis accensus Hierosolymorum mœnia, imo et ædificia consumpsit. Sic enim et hic agente impio victore, imo disponente justo judice, proximas quasque civitates, agrosque depopulatos, ab Orientali mari, usque ad Occidentale, nullo prohibente, suum continuavit incendium, totamque prope insulæ pereuntis superficiem obtexit. Ruebant ædificia publica, simul et privata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur. Præsules cum populis sine ullo respectu honoris, ferro pariter ac flammis absumebantur."

Usherus ex Ninnio,[2] et Monumethensi narrat Saxones hanc crudelitatem perfidia cumulasse, et Britonum primores ad convivium adhibitos, præter Gorthigirum, una cæde sustulisse, ac in eorum possessiones illico involasse, quas eripi sibi postea nunquam passi sunt. Divus tamen Gregorius Papa "divino admonitus instinctu adventus Anglorum in Britanniam anno circiter centesimo quinquagesimo, misit servum Dei Augustinum,[3] et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes Dominum prædicare verbum Dei genti Anglorum." Nusquam vel tenuem mentionem offendimus S. Augustinum Anglos, ut possessiones tam nefariè comparatas prioribus dominis postliminio restituerent admonuisse. Sanè S. Augustinus de pluribus S. Gregorium Pontificem sciscitatur; in omnibus tamen sciscitationibus ejusmodi rei nec semel meminit. Ita ut de illâ dubitandi cogitatio animum ejus haud quaquam subiise videatur. Itaque sicut sesquicentum annorum possessio, licet inique primum à Saxonibus parta, omnem acquisitionis injustitiam abolevit: sic suprema Hiberniæ potestas jam quingentos pene annos penes Angliæ reges existens, quamvis initio nequiter eam sibi vendicaverint, omnem primæ injuriæ maculam abstersit.

Anno Christi nati 407, aut non multo secus Franci extra fines suos effusi, ut alicubi commorandi sedes sibi compararent, tandem Gallias insederunt. Centum autem anni postea nondum effluxerunt, cum Franci Christianam religionem amplexi, ab institutore suo S. Remigio monita nulla Gallos è suis agris, nullam ob causam detrusos in eosdem remittendi perceperunt:[4] nimirum Francorum in Gallos imperium divinitus

[2] De Prim p. 414, et seq. [3] Bedæ, lib. 1, c. 23. [4] Florus Franc. lib. 1, c. 18.

into fatal execution. Fires ignited by pagan hands were the just ministers of God's vengeance on the people, like those by which the Chaldeans reduced to ashes the walls and the houses of Jerusalem. Even so, in this country, the impious conqueror, or rather the dispensation of God's justice, destroyed all the cities and devastated the adjacent lands; the storm of conflagration rolled onwards, without molestation, from the Eastern to the Western Sea, and soon wrapped almost the whole wretched island in its devouring flames. Edifices, public and private, were involved in the same ruin: the priest was every where massacred at the altar. No respect was paid to dignities; prelates and people were doomed indiscriminately to the sword or the flames."

Ussher states, on the authority of Nennius and Geoffry of Monmouth, that the Saxons aggravated their cruelty by perfidy. They invited the British nobles to a banquet, and massacred them all, at one blow, except Gorthigern. They then seized the properties of their victims and never renounced them. Yet pope Gregorius, "being admonished by Divine inspiration, of the settlement of the Saxons in Britain, sent, about the year 500, Augustinus, the servant of God, and many other monks who feared the Lord, to preach the Word of God to the English nation." There is not the least intimation of any attempt of St. Augustinus to compel the English to restore their bloodstained acquisitions to the former lords. St. Augustinus proposed many questions to pope St. Gregorius; but he does not even once make the slightest allusion to this subject; whence it would appear that a doubt regarding it never crossed his mind. Now, as a possession of 50 years, though originally based on injustice, gave a valid claim to the Saxons, so the prescription of 500 years, during which the English kings held supreme dominion in Ireland, removes the original defect in their title—namely, the injustice of their invasion.

About the year 407, the Francs burst forth from their native seats in search of new settlements, and at length occupied the Gauls. Before another century had elapsed, they embraced the Christian religion, but yet were never exhorted by their apostle St. Remi to restore those lands, which they had taken without any title from the Gauls: in truth, the dominion over the Gauls appears to have been conferred by

institutum fuisse videbatur; cum ad eorum regem Clodoveum unctione obliniendum olei ampulla cœlo demissa fuerit.

Anno post Christum natum 420 aut circiter, cum Romani qui plurium gentium res olim prædati fuerunt, multorum vicissim populorum præda fierent, variis nationibus in diversas Europæ regiones irrumpentibus;[5] Hispaniam Visigothi tenuerunt. In qua centum annos substiterant, cum Richaredo rege Catholicâ religione imbuerentur, nemine tamen illos hortante ut possessionibus, et regno indigenis cederent.

Longobardi anno post Christum natum 568, in magnâ Italiæ parte rerum potiti, duobus supra viginti post annis, Theodolindæ reginæ operâ, fidei Catholicæ luce perfusi sunt. Nec Joannes bonus per ea tempora Mediolanensis Episcopus,[6] quo suadente memorata regna piis operibus operam dabat, aut quispiam, qui in iis ad veram religionem alliciendis desudabat, illos è sedibus per vim ab ipsis vendicatis excedere, ac pristinos incolas in easdem inferre præcepit. Harpsfeldius ait: "Guillelmum Normanniæ Ducem nulla juris, aut legitimæ successionis æquitate nixum,"[7] Angliæ regnum, "quod illi nullo jure debebatur" arripuisse." Illum tamen aut filium, ullumve alium è longa nepotum ejus serie ad potestatem iniquè arreptam derelinquendam,[8] et superiorum possessorum justis hæredibus tradendam adducere nemo è præstantissimis præsulibus quibus tum Anglia florebat, vel quidem aggressus fuisse legitur. Strenuissimis illis Cantuariensibus Archiepiscopis, et imperterritis Ecclesiæ pugilibus etiam in sanctorum numerum relatis, Lanfranco, Anselmo, et Thomâ, de illis ad malè partam diuque retentam dominationem ponendam suadendis minimè laborantibus.

Quid igitur post Hiberniam ab Angliæ regibus annos ferme quingentos possessam in dubium vocabitur jurene hodie illâ potiantur an secus? quomodo tot præclari viri, et cœlo jam excepti, quos veterem [245] superstitionem | deserere suaserunt, eosdem ad prædia dominis abrepta derelinquenda, et ab illis multo brevius, quam Hibernia penes Angliæ reges est insessa non adduxerunt. Ut non tam possessionis æquitatem, quam diuturnitatem viri sancti spectasse videantur. "Quam enim"[9] (inquit Cicero) "habet æquitatem, ut agrum multis annis, aut etiam

[5] Bozius de signis Eccl. lib. 23, c. 2. [6] Ferrarius de Ss Italiæ 10, Januar. [7] Seculo 11, c. 3, p. 225. [8] Ibid. c. 7, p. 226. [9] Offici. lib. 2.

God himself on the Francs; as the cruet of oil with which their first king Clovis was anointed was sent down from heaven.

Again, about the year 420, when the Romans, who had formerly plundered many kingdoms, now became, in their turn, the prey of countless barbarian hordes, which inundated all the countries in Europe, the Visigoths took possession of Spain. About a hundred years after this conquest, they were converted to the Catholic faith by their king Richaredo, but no person ever required them to renounce their possessions and restore them to the natives.

In the year 568, the Lombards took possession of a great part of Italy, and twenty-two years later they were converted to the Catholic faith by the zeal of their queen, Theodolinda. But neither John the Good, who was then bishop of Milan, and by whose persuasion the queen devoted herself to piety, nor any other person engaged in their conversion, ever ordered them to abandon the lands of which they had taken forcible possession, and to restore them to the former occupants. Harpsfeld states "that William, duke of Normandy, seized the crown of England without any claim of right or legitimate succession, and contrary to every law." Yet not one of those very eminent prelates, who flourished during his reign and those of his successors, ever made the least attempt to induce him, or any of the long line of his royal descendants, to resign the power which they had acquired by injustice, and restore it to the legitimate heirs of its former possessors. Even of those intrepid archbishops of Canterbury, the fearless champions of the church, St. Thomas, Lanfranc and Anselm, none made the slightest exertion to induce the kings to resign that dominion which had been unjustly acquired and was constantly retained.

If, then, the kings of England have possessed Ireland during nearly 500 years, can any man at present question the justice of their title? how could so many illustrious men, who are now saints in heaven, neglect compelling those men who, at their voice, abandoned their old superstitions, to abandon the property which they had taken from its lawful masters, and which had not been possessed nearly so long as Ireland is by the kings of England? These holy men must have, evidently, rested not so much on the justice as on the duration of the possession. "For what equity is there," says Cicero, "in depriving

seculis ante possessum qui habuit amittat?" Nonne Jephtes in sacra pagina Ammonitarum regi terras quasdam sibi vendicanti trecentorum annorum possessionem objicit?[10] Certe Bodinus ait tyrannorum etiam successoribus centum annorum possessionem legitimum præscriptionis titulum comparari. Additque huic juri nihil ideo detrahi, quod suprema potestas præscribi non posse dicatur,[11] id est (inquit) minus quam centum annis. Utpote "regnum à gente in gentem transfertur, propter injusticias,"[12] et injurias, et contumelias, et diversos dolos. Et ut ait Seneca "nihil eodem loco mansit quo genitum est." Assiduus humani generis discursus est.[13] Quotidie aliquid in tam magno orbe mutatur. Nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur. Nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, aut in accessionem validioris conversis oriuntur." Hujusmodi certe immutationes, ad castiganda, et reprimenda populi peccata, ex iratâ Dei voluntate promanare Prophetæ passim denuntiabant, idque palam Israëlitis testabantur. An non Assiriis, Medi et Persæ, his Græci, Græcis Romani, et multæ aliæ nationes variis populis Imperium vi et armis arripuerunt? Sic Deus res humanas temperat, et sublimia etiam Imperia deprimit, ne quid forte fixum, ac stabile in rebus humanis falso errore ducti constituamus, et ex accurata conversionum hujusmodi consideratione, magis à solo Deo pendeamus.

Quod si ad legum apices regnorum omnium initia strictius excuterentur jurene inita fuerint an secus? Vix, ac ne vix quidem ullum in Europa regnum deprehendetur, quod non per injuriam initio comparatum fuit. Nam in regnis per vim extorquendis, id æquius existimatur quod validius est.[14] Et primus regni acquisitor "jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis." "Consuetudini" enim inquit Episcopus Cajetanus "aliquid concedendum est, quæ quidem diuturnitate temporis efficit ut nonnulla toleranda esse videantur, quæ contra jus boni et æqui omnino esse cernuntur." Sicut consuetudines quasdam non sine scelere inchoatas, usu tamen, et longo temporis decursu invalescentes citra scelus amplectimur: Sic suprema potestas iniquè primum obtenta,

[10] Judicum 11. [11] Decep. lib. 2, c. 3. [12] Eccles. 10. [13] De consolatione ad Albinum. [14] De institutione Reipub. lib. 1, titu. 2.

a man of what he has possessed during many years and even centuries." Do we not read in Holy Writ, that Jephte, when summoned by the king of the Ammonites to surrender some territory, pleaded a possession of three hundred years? Bodinus lays down expressly, that the descendants, even of a tyrant, can justly plead prescription for his inheritance after a possession of one hundred years, and he adds, it is no objection to this principle, that it is generally said, the sovereign power cannot be acquired by prescription: for that is true only of a prescription less than 100 years. "Kingdoms are transferred from people to people on account of injustices," and injuries, and contumelies, and divers species of treachery, or as Seneca says, "nothing remains in the state in which it was produced." The human race is constantly changing. In this great world every day produces something new. The foundations of new cities are laid. The names of new nations rise on the ruins of others, or are merged in some powerful states." These revolutions, the prophets repeatedly declare, and often publicly denounced to the Israelites, are the ministers of an angry God, to punish and correct the vices of the people. Did not the Medes and Persians wrest the sceptre by force of arms from the Assyrians—the Greeks from the Medes and Persians—the Romans from the Greeks, and many other conquering tribes from rival kingdoms. It is thus that God sways the destinies of human affairs, and strikes down proud empires, lest we might foolishly imagine there was any thing permanent on this earth; and that solemn meditation on those revolutions might compel us to place our dependance on God alone.

If we scrutinize rigidly the origin of all kingly power according to the strict principles of justice, you can hardly point out in Europe a single kingdom which was not originally acquired by injustice. In wars of conquest, might is right. The founder of a kingdom admits no law but his sword; his claims have no limit but the extent of his military means. "Some influence," says bishop Cajetan, "must be allowed to custom, which, if sanctioned by the lapse of years, secures toleration for things, which are evidently contrary to the laws of justice and equity." As some customs, though established by crime, yet may be lawfully followed after they have been sanctioned by general and long continued usage, so the supreme power itself, though unjustly

longissimi temporis possessione corroborata, non inique administratur. Privati homines patrimonia, quæ penes ipsos longo annorum curriculo manserunt, licet minus juste à majoribus initio parta deserere non obstringuntur; quam consuetudinem sic quotidie frequentari cernimus, ut eam nulla lex, authoritas, aut ratio prohibeat. Qui usus ad regna principatusque aptius transferri potest, quòd facilius, frequentius, imo et justius dominos mutare possent, quam privatorum hominum hæreditates.

Pessime cum regibus ageretur, si decessorum injustitia, qui è spoliis aliorum iniquius arreptis monarchiam vel condiderunt, vel amplificarunt, et successorum animis abstergi, vel temporis diuturnitate, vel alia faciliori ratione non poterit. Quem vel unum regem orbis terrarum suppeditare poterit, qui mentem crimine immunem geret, si ratio habenda erit injustitiæ, quâ prima regni sui fundamenta jacta sunt.

Franci Romanos è Galliâ, quam quadringentos jam annos insederant, cædibus et rapinis ubique grassati ejecerunt. Gothi vim similem adhibuerunt ad populandam Græciam, Macedoniam, Sclavoniam, et deinde Aquitaniam, Hispaniamque unde Vandalos et Romanorum reliquias extruserunt. Vandali Silingienses pari prorsus impetu in Bethicam, Andalusiam hodie dictam, irruerunt. Eandem quoque viam Suevi ad Galliciam, Lombardiam, et Italiam subigendam inierunt. Burgundiones etiam armis, et grassationibus Transrhenanas provincias, vaga populorum manus Adriatici maris insulas ditionis suæ fecerunt; ut regnis, et principatibus postea florentissimis initium darent. Potuitne quidpiam [246] his exordiis | injustius excogitari? nihil tamen eorum progressu æquius est. Temporis nimirum longitudine iniquitatis in iis comparandis contractæ labem eluente. Utpote: ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus. Res enim omnes vicissitudinem legibus obnoxiæ sunt: et Deus, "Qui mutat tempora et ætates, transfert regna et constituit,"[15] mortalium cogitationes et sollicitudines de hæreditate in posteris perennandâ laborantium irridet. Cum nulla sit in terris potestas quamvis maxima, quæ statutæ semel à Deo conversionis cursum sistere valeat. Scriptoribus

[15] Dan. 2.

acquired, can be justly retained, when it can plead the prescription of long possession. Private individuals too are not bound to renounce the patrimonies which have been long in possession of their family, though they were originally acquired by the injustice of an ancestor; this principle is acted on every day, and yet neither law, nor argument, nor authority, is admitted against it. The same usage is more applicable to the transfer of kingdoms and principalities, as they are more easily, more frequently, yes, and more justly transferred, than the property of individuals.

Wretched, indeed, were the condition of kings, if there were no possible means, either by length of time or some more easy principle of absolving them from the guilt of their predecessors, who had either founded or extended their kingdoms by unjust acquisitions. No king on the face of the earth can be pronounced guiltless, if we must take into account the injustice in which the foundations of his kingdom were originally laid.

The Romans after having held possession of Gaul during 400 years, were expelled by the Fiancs, who spread devastation and slaughter through the whole country. The Goths exhibited the same desolating fury in Greece, Macedonia, Sclavonia, and thence through Aquitaine and Spain, whence they expelled the remnant of the Romans and Vandals. The Silingian Vandals spread similar desolation over Bethica, the modern Andalusia. The conquest of Gallicia, Lombardy and Italy, by the Suevi was effected by the same atrocities. The provinces west of the Rhine were plundered and subdued by the Burgundians; a roving tribe took possession of the islands of the Adriatic, and laid there the foundation of a most flourishing principality. What can be more unjust than those conquests? and yet what more just than the transmission of the kingdoms so acquired? Long continued possession obliterated the original stain of injustice. Truly doth the omnipotence of God sport with human affairs. All things human are subject to the laws of change. God "who changeth times and ages and taketh away kingdoms and establisheth them" mocks the designs of mortals, and their solicitude for transmitting an inheritance to the remotest posterity. No power on earth, not even the greatest the world ever saw, can arrest that law of revolution which God has established. Profane writers

profanis similia more suo, id est, non Christiano, naturæ ductu proferrentibus, cum dicunt, quod "fatalem sortem, sive bona, sive mala illa sit, neque hominis, neque urbis imperiis fas est permutare. Sic omnia verti cernimus, atque alias assumere pondera gentes, concidere alias:"

> "Nil solidum terris, centumque intacta per annos
> Majestas vix una fuit."

Imperii Romani magnitudo à scelerum cumulo initium duxit. Romani enim prima mœnia sua fratricidio, prima conjugia raptu, primas nuptias socerorum sanguine, primum regni consortium Tytii amici regis morte, primam Albanorum societatem Albæ matris suæ deletione dedicarunt, et macularunt. Sceleribus his omnibus ideo patratis, ut Romulus et Roma ab ipso condita summâ potestate sine rivali ac emulatione fratris, regis ac urbis fungeretur.

Quamquam autem Imperium Romanum suæ magnitudinis exordium è latrociniis et rapinis duxerit: Christiani tamen Imperatores Imperio postea Romano potiti, angore omni, cruciatuque conscientiæ immunes summa cum justitia illud administrarunt. Imo Romanos Imperatores in Idolatriæ luto adhuc hærentes Christiani armis juvare, et in eorum exercitibus stipendia facere non destiterunt. Homines autem Deo sacrati pro eorundem Imperatorum salute preces ad Deum fundebant, cujus rei specimen exhibet Eusebius Dionisium inducens ad Præfectum Emilianum hæc verba proferentem:[16] "Nos etiam pro illo Deum precamur, et pro regno Imperatorum Valeriani et Galeni, ut illud stabile permanensque sit."[17] Eodem spectat illud Tertulliani dicentis "Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, Imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, populum probum, provinciam quietam."[18] Baruch Prophetæ vestigiis proculdubio Christiani tum insistebant, qui exulantes Babylones Judæos per literas his verbis affatus est:[19] "Orate pro vita Nabuchodonesor, et pro vita Balthasar, filii ejus, ut sint dies eorum sicut dies cœli super terram, et

[16] Lib. 7, c. 10. [17] Histor. Ecclesias. [18] Apolog. c. 30. [19] Baruch. c. 1.

themselves, by the light of reason alone, discovered this truth and profess it, although not in Christian language, "the award of destiny, whether good or evil cannot be changed by men, nor by the power of the city. Revolution meets our view on every side; some nations rise, as others sink in the balance."

> "All is frail on earth; hardly one crown appears
> To escape the changes of a hundred years."

The majesty of the Roman empire itself owed its origin to accumulated crimes. The Romans polluted their first walls by fratricide, their first marriages by rape, their first nuptials by the blood of their fathers-in-law, their first regal alliance by the assassination of Tytius, a friendly king, and their first league with the people of Alba, by the ruin of Alba itself, their parent city. And the grand object of all these crimes was that Romulus should not have his brother a rival in the throne, and that Rome, the city of his creation, should surpass all others in glory.

But though the greatness of the Roman empire had its origin in robbery and rapine, Christian emperors, in aftertimes, assumed its sceptre without injustice, and had neither scruple nor remorse of conscience regarding the validity of their title. Even while the Roman emperors were still immersed in the mire of idolatry, Christians did not refuse to serve in their armies, and contribute to the expenses of their wars. The ministers of religion themselves offered up prayers to God for the prosperity of the emperor, which appears from the account Eusebius gives of the address of Dionysius to the prefect Emilianus. "We even," he protests, "offer up our prayers to God for him, and for the reign of Valerian and Galenus, that it may be powerful and long." Tertullian speaks to the same effect: "We have at all times prayed for all the emperors, that they may enjoy long life, and a peaceful reign, that their house may be safe, their armies strong, their people virtuous, their provinces peaceful;" following in this, no doubt the example of Baruch the prophet, who addressed this admonition to the Jewish exiles in Babylon: "And pray ye for the life of Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthassar his son,

ut det Dominus virtutem nobis ut vivamus sub umbra eorum, et serviamus eis multis diebus, et inveniamus gratiam in conspectu eorum." Cum tamen atrociorem Nabuchodonesor tyrannum terra nunquam tulerit,[20] ut qui Hierosolymæ vim intulerit, templo faces subjecerit, ejus tecta et mœnia solo adæquaverit; Dei sanctuarium contaminaverit: regis et pleræque gentis cœde se fœdaverit, superstites in captivitatem adduxerit.[21] Et non solum sibi, sed etiam suæ statuæ divinos honores exhiberi pœna capitis edixerit. Imo terribiles minas, etiam mortis Sedeciæ regi Propheta Ezechiel, intentat quod à Nabuchodonesor defecerit. Quod si primis iniquæ dominationis invasoribus obsequium deferri Prophetæ adeo minaciter præcipiant, non mirum est Christianos similium invasorum successoribus obsequium deferre. Cum præsertim exploratum habebant flagitia in regnis inchoandis, et ad summum potentiæ gradum evehendis admitti consueta, vel præscriptione, vel alia ratione deleri. Et quod patres uvam acerbam comedendo comparaverunt, hoc filios filiorum sine dentium stupore retinere. Nec enim fieri potest quin injusta usurpatio decessorum animas inquinans, succedentium animis penitus tolli valeat, qui post longam temporis intercapedinem, illorum ditionibus potiti sunt.

Imperii Romani fundamenta Julius Cæsar multa civilis sanguinis profusione jecit. Penè tamen recentibus adhuc illius exordiis, obsequium Christus Imperatoris dignitate fruenti deferri præcepit, nulla [247] discussione initâ, si | ejus dignitatis possessio æquenè an iniquè adita fuerit?[22] documenta nobis inde præbens, ut summo Imperio, citra contentionem fungentibus pareamus, et nullam de illorum authoritate questionem moveamus. Ferenda enim potius iniqua imperia, quam excutienda sunt, ne Respublica in ruinæ discrimen vocetur.[23] Quod salutis nostræ assertor factis docuit; ad idem Apostolus Paulus nos quam pensè verbis hortatur.[24] Nimirum ut simili magistratui eâ tantum authoritate prædito, quæ à fonte injustitia infecto emanavit morem geramus, et S. Petrus paria prorsus monita tradit.

Quid quod injustis etiam invasoribus possessionis longitudine justam possessionem acquiri Grotius doceat, tacito præsertim obsequentis

[20] 4. Regum 24 et 25, c. Daniel, c. 6. [21] Ezechiel, c. 17. [22] Math. 22. [23] Ad Rom. 13. [24] Epistol 2, c. 2.

that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven, and that the Lord may give us strength and enlighten our eyes, and that we may live under their shadow, and may serve them many days and may find favor in their sight." Yet the earth never groaned under a more atrocious tyrant than Nabuchodonosor. He pillaged Jerusalem, burned her temple, levelled her walls and edifices to the ground, polluted the sanctuary of God, massacred the king and most of his subjects, carried the rest into captivity, and exacted divine honors not only for himself but for his statue, under penalty of death. What more? does not the prophet Ezechiel denounce the most awful judgments, even death itself, for having revolted from Nabuchodonosor? and if prophets enforce with such dreadful denunciations submission to the tyrant who won his sceptre by unjust invasion, can we be surprised that Christians submitted to the successors of invaders? especially when they know that the guilt incurred, in founding kingdoms or extending their dominions, is obliterated by prescription or other means, and that, though the grape may have been bitter when plucked by the father, it doth not make the teeth of the son to stand on an edge. There can be no doubt that the guilt of invasion, which cleaves to the soul of the conqueror, does not rest on the consciences of his successors, who can plead long continued possession as their claim to his inheritance.

Julius Cæsar shed torrents of blood in laying the foundation of the Roman empire. While it was yet in its infancy, Christ ordered allegiance to be paid to the person invested with the imperial dignity, without any inquiry into the justice or injustice of the right by which it was held. Thereby He gave us to understand, that we should obey those who were admitted as undisputed sovereigns, and not question the validity of their title. It is better to succumb to tyrannical government than to resist, lest the common weal should be exposed to ruin. The lesson which our Redeemer gave by his example is earnestly inculcated by the apostle St. Paul, namely, that we should obey an authority which, like that to which our Lord submitted, was acquired by injustice. St. Peter lays down precisely the same doctrine.

Grotius also expressly teaches that unjust invaders may acquire a legitimate claim by long possession, especially when the people tacitly acknowledges it, naturally preferring that the members of the republic

populi assensu accedente, malentis Reipub. suæ artus vel malè cohærere, quam viscera penitus evelli.[25] "Expedit," enim ut ait Florus, "ægræ quasi sauciæque Reipub. quiescere quandocunque, ne vulneris curatione ipsa rescinderetur," et cavere ne graviores aperiamus cicatrices, dum minoribus mederi desideramus.[26] Huc accedit quod Suarez author sit, principem cujus majores regnum injuste consecuti sunt fieri legitimum, si "successu temporis populus consentiat, et eum admittat." Quod si pactum interveniat (ut ait Grotius) extra controversiam summæ potestati obedientia exhibenda est.[27] Nihil autem certius est, quam Hiberniæ principes in regum Angliæ clientelam sæpius concessisse, et cum iis transactiones quasdam inivisse.

Rationem qua principes aliquot Hiberni tributum pacti, fasces Henrico secundo Angliæ regi submiserint antea docui, et Joannes Davisius regius in Hibernia procurator latè prosequitur. Similibus officiis iidem proceres Joannem Henrici filium prosecuti sunt, et eidem jam regi Hiberniam undecimo regni, et 1210 Christi anno, adeunti paria obsequia detulerunt. Richardum secundum Hiberniam decimo octavo post regnum initum, et post Christum natum,[28] 1395 anno, exercitu è quatuor equitum, et triginta peditum millibus stipatum adiisse plures scribunt.[29] Ut Hiberniæ magnates tanti exercitus terrore perculsi, ad eum omni demissione placandum accurrerint. Ita ut nullus in Hibernia celebrioris familiæ Philarchus fuerit, qui Chyrographo suo ad obsequium ei deferendum se non obstrinxerit, qui Chyrographi sarti tecti adhuc servati, in illius officina, qui regi à memoria est etiamnum visuntur.[30] Sanè omnes eum in supremum dominum obsignatis agnitionibus coaptarunt. Et diversis postea regum Angliæ vices in Hibernia obeuntibus diversi Hiberniæ optimates obedientiam exhibuerunt in scripta relatam, quæ adhuc extant.[31] O'Birnius, Mac Mahonius, et O'Keillius Thomæ à Lancastria Henrici IV. filio, et in Hibernia optioni quibusdam se conditionibus obstrinxerunt.[32] Huic affine obsequium à quam pluribus Hiberniæ Magnatibus Furnevallus Henrici quinti in Hibernia optio retulit.[33] Anthonio etiam Sainctlegero Hiberniæ proregi omnes Hiber-

[25] De jure Belli et pacis, lib. 1, c. 4, n. 15. [26] Lib. 2, c. 1. [27] De legibus Lib. 3, c. 4. [28] Walter Raghleus in dialog. p. 41. [29] Davis. p. 46. [30] Davis, p. 49. [31] Ibidem, p. 51. [32] Ibidem, p. 54. [33] Davis. p. 241.

should hang together, however loosely, rather than have the whole system dislocated. "Expediency requires at times," says Florus, "that the sick and wounded state should take some rest, lest the cure of her wounds might endanger her existence." We must take care that in staunching slight scars, we do not open mortal wounds. Suarez also supports our position, where he teaches that the successor of the usurper or invader may acquire a legitimate claim, "if, in the lapse of time, the people consents and acknowledges him." But wherever there is a treaty (according to Grotius) obedience is unquestionably due to the supreme authority. Now, nothing can be more certain, than that the Irish princes often placed themselves under the protection of the English kings, and made some treaties with them.

The mode in which some of the Irish princes submitted to Henry II., king of England, and agreed to pay tributes, has been already explained by me, and it is explained in detail by John Davis, the king's attorney-general in Ireland. Similar obligations were contracted by the same lords to John, king Henry's son; and when John came to Ireland in 1210, the 12th year of his reign, the same allegiance was paid to him.[b] Richard II. also, according to several authorities, came to Ireland in the year 1395, the 18th of his reign, at the head of an army of 4,000 cavalry and 30,000 foot, so that the lords of Ireland stricken with dread of that great army came forward with all submission to appease him: then the chiefs of all the principal families in Ireland bound themselves by indentures, under their own hand, to bear allegiance to him, which indentures are still preserved in the king's exchequer.[c] Several Irish princes also made submission to the successive deputies of English kings in Ireland, as appears from documents which are still extant. O'Byrne, Mac Mahon, and O'Kelly made indentures of submission to Thomas of Lancaster, son of Henry IV., and his viceroy in Ireland. Furneval, viceroy of Henry V., received a similar submission from many Irish chieftains. And all the Irish lords

[b] It is not improbable that O'Neill made some kind of nominal submission, but he certainly did not give hostages, vol. i., p. 208; and the very year after king John's departure, he cut off the English garrison and destroyed the castle of Caeluisce.

[c] The Irish chieftains covenanted to

nici Magnates, et Coriphæi obsequium anno Domini 1543, per Syngraphas detulerunt.

Denique Hiberni plerique per secuta tempora, regum Angliæ voluntati se pedetentim accommodarunt. Ita tamen ut non antè justam subditorum conditionem integrè induerint,[34] quam rex Jacobus qui tanquam lapis angularis fecit utraque unum, rex Angliæ renuntiatus fuerit. Tum vero Hiberni, posito omni reluctandi studio (cum præsertim illum Catholicam religionem amplexurum fuisse crederent) ejus Imperio se non inviti subjecerunt,[35] ut quem è regio Hiberniæ sanguine originem traxisse cognoverunt. Sicut enim "Britanni nunquam" (inquit Priseus) "libenter Anglorum imperio paruerunt quoad principem è sua gente sortiti sunt, nempe Henricum septimum, qui ex eorum regali progenie haud dubie prognatus est: atque inde non tam metu, quam amore libenter communi utriusque gentis principi parere cœperunt." Normanici etiam Imperii fastidium quo Angli tenebantur tum subsedit, cum in regibus "veteri Anglorum sanguini Normanicus coiverit." Sic Hiberni principem regum suorum stemmate prognatum [248] nacti, sub ejus potestatem ultrò concedere non dubitarunt, | læti nimirum post Monarchas suos pridem sublatos,[36] ex Erymonis primi Monarchæ Hibernici stirpe, novum sibi Monarcham postliminio exoriri, ut jam emulationis expertes sint, quam cum aliis nationibus regi è sua gente obtemperantibus habere poterant.

Porro ut Jacobum regem à memorata Erymone pluribusque illum secutis Hiberniæ regibus procreatum esse constet, genealogiam ejus laterculo complector, proavorum ordine sigillatim ad Erymonem producto, ut Hibernici antiquarii consueverunt, qui genealogiarum observatores quam accuratissimi sunt, ut dubitem an in eo genere tam seduli uspiam reperiri possint. Illi habent primi satoris Hibernicæ gentis sobolem in scripta relatam, cui annectitur propago ab illa late diffusa,

[34] Davis. passim. [35] Defensione Histo. Britan. præfat. ad Edward. 6, et p. 36. [36] Harpsfeldius sec. 11, c. 5, p. 222.

pay their tributes into the Apostolical chamber. English historians make a great parade of this expedition of Richard II., see Cox. i., p. 138, &c. &c.

and princes made submission, by indentures, to Anthony St. Leger, lord deputy of Ireland in the year 1543.

In succeeding ages the majority of the Irish frequently acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of England, but they never fully accepted the regular rights and duties of subjects, until king James ascended the throne.[d] He was the corner stone that made both one on his accession to the English throne. For it was then that the Irish renounced all thoughts of opposition (especially as they believed that he would embrace the Catholic religion), and willingly acknowledged his authority, because they knew he was descended from the old Irish kings.[e] "Thus the Britons," according to Price, "never were willing subjects of the English crown until they had a king of their own race, namely, Henry VII., who was certainly descended from the ancient royal stock of Wales; but after his accession, they submitted, not from terror, but heartfelt allegiance to the union of the two crowns." The hatred of the English to the Norman dynasty also subsided, when "the old English blood flowed in the veins of Norman kings;" and thus, too, the Irish at once heartily submitted to a monarch who was descended from the ancient line of their own native kings. They hailed with rapture the revival of the old and long suppressed dynasty of their first king, Eireamon, in the person of one of his descendants. Henceforward they had no reason to be jealous with the other kingdoms, which were under the sceptre of native kings.

To prove that king James was descended through a long line of kings from Eireamon, I shall trace his genealogy at length, by naming each of his progenitors in order back to Eireamon, according to the custom of the Irish antiquarians, who have been so eminently accurate in this department, that I doubt if the world has ever known their equals. They have all the family of the founder of the Irish race carefully recorded, with a subjoined list of its various branches and families that sprang from them. In these records the princes of the

the Irish annalists hardly condescend to notice it, Four Masters, A.D. 1394.

[d] For some notice of the Irish policy of James I. see vol. i. note, p. 280, and note 44 infra. Apparently it was impartial and conciliatory, but in reality, exclusive and oppressive.

[e] All contemporary documents prove the great influence of the Irish descent

et in quam multas familias diducta. Huic inseruntur Dalrietæ familiæ proceres, qui in Albaniam (quam hodie Scotiam vocamus) trajecerunt, et sobolem ibi ditionemque late propagarunt, ac regioni quam insederant "Dalrietæ" nomen impertierunt.[37] Itaque seriem genealogicam regum Scotiæ hinc tanquam ex tabulario ab antiquariis depromptam hic contexo, illi prorsus adsimilem quam suæ historiæ Scoticæ Joannes Major intexuit, et ob Hibernicæ linguæ imperitiam, insulsissimâ nominum prolatione fœdavit.[38] Recentiores quoque Scoticos scriptores subsidium voco, ad majorem ordinem in hac serie magis nuperorum conflandum. Ea porro sic se habet. Jacobus filius Mariæ reginæ, filiæ Jacobi V., fil. Jacobi IV., fil. Jacobi III., fil. Jacobi II., fil. Jacobi I., fil. Roberti III., fil. Roberti II., fil. Marioriæ, filiæ Isabellæ, filiæ Davidis II., filii Henrici, fil. Davidis primi, fil. Malcolmi III., fil Dunchani, fil. Beatricis, filiæ Malcolmi II., fil. Kenethi II., fil. Malcolmi primi, fil. Danielis, fil Constantini II., fil. Kenethi I., fil. Alpini, fil. Echachii sive ut eum Scotici scriptores nominant Achaii, fil. Aidi Candidi, fil. Echachi, fil. Domangarti II., fil. Donaldi Brec sive fulvi, fil. Echech, Flavi, fil. Aidani, fil. Gaurani, fil. Domangarti primi, fil. Forgutii, fil. Erici (quo duce Hiberni seu Scoti Albaniam primum incolere cœperunt) fil. Eochi Mungramori, fil. Engusii Firti, fil. Engusii Aslingach, id est Somniantis, fil. Engusii Budnii, fil. Felimei Ronici, fil. Seancormaci, fil. Cruthluagii, fil. Fidfegii, fil. Egerkirri, fil. Echachi Andodi, fil. Fiachi Cathmoili, fil. Fordedi, fil. Erci, fil. Echachi ceu Carbrii Riada,

[37] Usherus de prim. p. 611. [38] Lib. 4, c. 1.

of James, and of his supposed adherence to his mother's religion, on the minds of the Irish generally, at the period of his accession. It must not be forgotten, however, that the bravest chieftain that had hitherto led the Irish against the English had been reduced to extremities before Elizabeth's death.

[f] For the chronology of those Scottish kings arranged according to Irish annals, see O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 499, &c. &c.

[g] Surnamed Ceannmhor, reigned 35 years, A.D. 1058, 1093. By the advice and co-operation of his queen, St. Margaret, "he reformed the great abuses which had become general and inveterate in Scotland." Ogygia, p.

Dalriada are found, who first passed over to Albania (the modern Scotland,) and there extended their territories and branched out into different families, and gave their name, Dalrieta, to their new settlement. The subjoined genealogical line of the kings of Scotland, which I have transcribed here from the monumental records of our antiquarians, is exactly the same as that inserted by Johannes Major in his history of Scotland, but which, in consequence of his ignorance of the Irish language, is disfigured with the most barbarous mutilations of the proper names. I have also availed myself of the labors of later Scotch authorities, in compiling more correctly the succession of the kings, especially in more modern times. It is as follows: "James, son of queen Mary, daughter of James V., son of James IV., son of James III., son of James II., son of James I., son of Robert III., son of Robert II., son of Marjory,[f] daughter of Isabella, daughter of David II. (son of Robert Bruce, son of Robert earl of Carrick, son of Isabella, daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon), son of Henry, son of David I., son of Malcolm III.,[g] son of Duncan,[h] son of Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm II., son of Keneth II., son of Malcolm I., son of Daniel, son of Constantine II., son of Keneth I.,[i] son of Alpine, son of Eachach, or, as the Scotch writers call him, Achaius, son of Aidh Finn, son of Eachach, son of Domangard II., son of Domhnall Breac, son of Eachach buidhe, or the Yellow, son of Aidan, son of Gauran, son of Domangard I., son of Fergus,[k] son of Erc (under whose leadership the Irish or Scots first made their settlement in Albania), son of Eochaidh Mungramor, son of Ængus Firt,[l] son of Ængus Aslingach, or the dreamer, son of Ængus Budni, son of Felimidh Romach, son of Sencormach, son of Cruthluag, son of Fidfeg, son of Egercir, son of Echach

489. St. Margaret's granddaughter, Matilda, was mother of Henry II., king of England. Ibid. p. 490.

[h] Written in Irish, Donnċaḋ.

[i] In Irish, Cinaeḋ Mac Ailpin, conqueror of the Picts, and founder of the Scottish monarchy. "Universo Kinethi regno anni tribuuntur viginti; monarchiæ vero post devictos Pictos fere sedecim: de quorum tamen termino aliquantula est inter scriptores discrepantia. Imperium enim simul cum vita eum finivisse, Anno. 854, docent Fordonus, et Buchananus: 855 Boethius et Leslæus: 856 Caradocus Lancarvanensis; 858 *annales Ultonienses* quorum hic sequimur rationes." Ogygia, p. 482.

[k] After a reign of 16 years he died, A.D. 529. Ogygia, p. 472.

[l] For the discrepancy between the Irish and Scottish genealogists here,

à quo Dalrieda nomen sumpsit, filii Conarii regis Hiberniæ anno post Christum natum 165, aut circiter mortui, fil. Moghlamhii, fil. Lugachi Allathani, fil. Carbrii Crumchinni, fil. Darii Dormarii, fil. Carbrii Finmori, fil. Conarii Magni R. H. fil. Edirsgeoli R. H. fil. Eugenii, fil. Olilli, fil. Iarii, fil. Dagai, fil. Senii, fil. Rosenii, fil. Triuni, fil. Rotriuni, fil. Fiachi, fil. Maini, fil. Fargai, fil. Ferachi, fil. Olilli Brauni, fil. Fiachi Formari, fil. Engusii Turmechi R. H. fil. Eochodii Altleathan R. H. fil. Olilli Casfiiaclacha R. H. fil. Conlai Cruachalgi R. H. fil. Ieronglo Fathachi R. H. fil. Melgei Molbtochi R. H. fil. Cobthachi Coelbregi R. H. Hugonii Magni R. H., fil. Eochii Buadhach id est victoriosi, fil. Duachi Ladrachi R. H. fil. Fiachi Tolgrachi R. H. fil. Muredachi Bolgrachi R. H. fil. Simonis Breci sive fulvi R. H. fil. Adriani Glass sive Cærulei, fil. Nuedati Finfali, R. H. fil. Gilchadis R. H. fil. Olilli Olchoini, fil. Sirnai Saoghlach sive longævi R. H. fil. Deni, fil. Demani, fil. Rothechaci R. H. fil. Moeni, fil. Engusii Olamchadii R. H. fil. Fiachi Lauranni R. H. fil. Smirghelli, fil. Enbothai, fil. Tigernaci, R. H. fil. Follai, fil. Ethriali R. H. fil. Iriali vatis R. H. fil. Erymonis primi è Mylesiadis Hiberniæ Monarchæ, fil. Milesii sive militis Hispani, fil. Bili, fil. Breogani, fil. Brathai, fil. Dagfathai, fil. Archadaſ, fil. Aldoidi, fil. Nuadadhi, fil. Nionnuali, fil. Feibrici Glass sive Cærulei, fil. Adnonni Candidi, fil. Eberi Glunfinni, fil. Lamhfinni, fil. Adnamoini, fil. Taiti, fil. Ogomaini, fil. Beoamaini, fil. Eberscuti, fil. Srui, fil. Estrui, fil. Gatheli Cærulei, fil. Niuli, fil. Fenusii Farsii, fil. Baothi, fil. Magogi, fil. Japheti, fil. Noemi, fil. La-

see Ogygia, p. 469. According to the former, Ængusfar is seventh; according to the latter, tenth in descent from Cairbre Riadha.

[m] This name and the following are not found in the Scotch catalogue or Ogygia, p. 469. Fiach Cathmoil follows immediately after Cairbre Riadha.

[n] See vol. i., p. 454, 455, notes, and p. 509. Conaire was of the Deagadh or Ernai tribe of Munster, by some supposed to be a branch of the Eireamonian clan, but much more probably of a different Celtic race, settled in Ireland before the Eireamonians, see vol. i., p. 509. He reigned according to O'Flaherty, from A.D. 212 to 220.

Andod, son of Fiach Cathmoil, son of Fordede,[m] son of Erc, son of Eachach or Carbraidhe Riada, from whom Dalrieda took its name, son of Conaire, king of Ireland, who died in or about the year of our Lord, 165;[n] son of Moghlamh, son of Lugach Allathan, son of Cairbre Cromchean, son of Daire Dormair, son of Cairbre Finnmor, son of Conaire Mor, king of Ireland;[o] son of Eidersgeoil, king of Ireland; son of Eoghan, son of Olill, son of Iar, son of Deag,[p] son of Sen, son of Rosen, son of Triun, son of Rotriun, son of Fiach, son of Maine, son of Fergai, son of Ferach, son of Olill Aronn,[q] son of Fiach Formar, son of Ængus Tuirmeach, king of Ireland, son of Eochaidh Altleathan, king of Ireland, son of Olill Casfiachlach, king of Ireland, son of Conla Cruachalgi, king of Ireland, son of Ieronglo Fathach, king of Ireland, són of Melga Molbtach, king of Ireland, son of Cobtach Coelbreagh, king of Ireland, son of Ugaine Mor, king of Ireland, son of Eochaidh Buadhach or the victorious, son of Duach Ladhrach, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Tolgrach, king of Ireland, son of Muredach Bolgrach, king of Ireland, son of Simon Breac or the Speckled, king of Ireland, son of Adrian Glass or the Azure, son of Nuadath Finnfal, king of Ireland, son of Gillchad, king of Ireland, son of Olill Olchoinn, son of Sirna Saeghlach or the long-lived, king of Ireland, son of Den, son of Deman, son of Rathecach, king of Ireland, son of Mocni, son of Ængus Ollmuchadh, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Labhrain, king of Ireland, son of Smirgholl, son of Enboth, son of Tighearnach, king of Ireland, son of Fodhla, son of Ethrial, king of Ireland, son of Irial the poet, king of Ireland, son of Eireamon, first Milesian monarch of Ireland, son of Miledh, the Spanish knight, son of Bile, son of Breogain, son of Breath, son of Deagfaith, son of Archadh, son of Aldoid, son of Nuadath, son of Ninnuali, son of Feibre Glass, son of Adnon Finn, son of Eber Glannfinn, son of Lamhfinn, son of Adnamoin, son of Tath, son of Ogaman, son of Beoamain, son of Eberscuit, son of

Ogygia, p. 146.

[o] The five between Conaire II. and Conaire Mor were kings of Munster. Ogygia, p. 146.

[p] For this and the preceding names, see Ogygia, p. 129. Deag gave his name to an Irish tribe: the Deagadh or Ernai. The story is, that he was driven from Ulster to Munster, where his posterity acquired possession of South Munster, vol. i., p. 509, 511.

[q] O'Flaherty complains, that in this

mechi, fil. Mathusala, fil. Enoch, fil. Iared, fil. Malaleel, fil. Chainani, [249] fil. Enos, fil. Seth, fil. Adami. |

Aliâ etiam majorum serie genus Jacobi regis ad reges Hiberniæ refertur: nimirum Jacobus fuit filius Mariæ filiæ Jacobi V., filii Margaretæ filiœ Elizabethæ Reginæ et uxoris Henrici VII. filiæ Edwardi IV. fil. Annæ uxoris Richardi ducis Eboracensis, filiæ Rogeri Mortimeri, fil. Philippæ uxoris Edmondi Mortimeri, filiæ Elizabethæ uxoris Leonelli Ducis Clarentiæ regis Edwardi III., fil. filiæ Willelmi de Burgo Comitis Ultoniæ, fil. Joannis, fil. Richardi dicti Comitis rubri, fil. Walteri Comitis Ultoniæ, qui matrem habuit filiam Cathaldi à rubro Carpo regis Connaciæ, fil. Terdelachi magni regis Hiberniæ, fil. Roderici Nasoighe Buidhe, fil. Aidi Anghai Bhearnaigh, fil. Tadæi ab equo albo, fil. Cathaldi, fil. Conchauri, fil. Tadei Magni, fil. Murghisi, fil. Tomoltachi, fil. Muredi, fil. Inrachti, fil. Muredi Muilleahoni, fil. Fergusii, fil. Ragalli, fil. Uadachi, fil. Aidi, fil. Eochodii Tromcharnii, fil. Fergusii, fil. Muredi Malii, fil. Eoganii Srebhi, fil Duachi Galuigh, fil. Briani, fil. Eochi Mugmedonii R. H. fil. Muredi Tyrii R. H. fil. Fiachi Srabhtaini R. H. fil. Carbri Liffichori regis Hiberniæ, fil. Cormaci Ulfadii R. H. fil. Arturi unici regis Hiberniæ: fil. Constantini Centimachi R. H. fil. Feilimi Rachtmar R. H. fil. Tuathali Tachtmar R. H. fil. Fiachi Finoli R. H. fil. Faradachi Finfachtini R. H. fil. Crimthani Nianari R. H. fil. Lugadii Sriabnearg R. H. fil. trium Finnamhuorum, fil. Eochadii Feidhlachi R. H. fil. Finni, fil. Finlogi, fil. Roigeni, fil. Esamuni Amnii, fil. Blatachti, fil. Beothachi, fil. Labhradii Lurki, fil. Eodei Aignii R. H. fil. Engusii Turmechi Tamrachi R. H. fil. Eochodi Foltlahani R. H. fil. Olilli Casfiaclach R. H. Conlai Cruachalgaidh R. H. fil. Irengloi

genealogical chain as given by the Scots, from Deag to Olil Aron, there are seven or eight redundant links, which he gravely attempts to knock off, Ogygia, p. 122; confirming by his perplexity O'Conor's opinion of Irish genealogies before the Christian era, vol. I., p. 494, note.

[r] See this genealogy of king James I., traced by O'Flaherty. Ogygia, pp. 460, 462.

[s] The genealogy of the O'Conors from this Tadhg Mor, is given by Mr. O'Donovan in tracts relating to Ireland, Irish Archæological Society, p. 65. See also Iar Connacht, p. 186.

Sru, son of Estru, son of Gathel Glass, son of Niul, son of Fenius Farsaidhe, son of Baoth, son of Magog, son of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Mathusala, son of Enoch, son of Iared, son of Malaleel, son of Chainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam.

The descent of king James from the Irish kings can be traced through another line, thus: James was son of Queen Mary, daughter of James V., son of Margaret, daughter of Queen Elizabeth, (wife of Henry VII.) daughter of Edward IV., son of Anne, (wife of Richard, duke of York,) daughter of Roger Mortimer, son of Philippa, (wife of Edward Mortimer,) daughter of Elizabeth, (wife of Lienel duke of Clarence, the son of king Edward the III.,) daughter of William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, son of John, son of Richard, surnamed "the Red Earl," son of Walter earl of Ulster,[r] whose mother was daughter to Cathal Crobhdearg, king of Connacht, son of Toirdhealbhach Mor, king of Ireland, son of Rudhraidhe of the Yellow Hound, son of Aidhe of the Broken Spear, son of Tadhg of the White Steed, son of Cathal, son of Conchaur, son of Tadhg Mor[s], son of Murgheis, son of Tomaltach, son of Muireadh, son of Inracht, son of Muireadh Muilleachon, son of Fergus, son of Raghail, son of Uadach, son of Aidh, son of Eochaidh Tromcharne, son of Fergus, son of Muireadh Mal, son of Eoghain Srebh, son of Duach Galach, son of Briain, son of Eochaidh Muigmeadon,[t] king of Ireland, son of Muireadh Tir, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Srabhtain, king of Ireland, son of Cairbre Liffeachair, king of Ireland, son of Cormac Ullfhad, king of Ireland, son of Art Aenfir, king of Ireland, son of Conn Ceadcathach, king of Ireland, son of Feilimidh Reachtmar, king of Ireland, son of Tuathal Teachtmar, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Finola, king of Ireland, son of Feradach Finfacht, king of Ireland, son of Crimthain Nianair, king of Ireland, son of Lugaidh Sriabnearg,[u] king of Ireland, son of the three Finnamhuin, son of Eochaidh Feidhleach,[v] king of Ireland, son of Finn, son

[t] See vol, i., p. 493, notes; and also Iar Connacht, p. 135, for some notice of this monarch and of his numerous progeny, and especially the genealogical series from him to Tadhg Mor, last note.

[u] A.D. 79. The first of the Eireamonian kings of Leath Cuinn, see vol. I., p. 472, 504. The *true* Eireamonian line from him, as given here by our author is very consistent, and supported by other authorities.

[v] See Ogygia, p. 126, for the eight following generations. The partition

Vatis R. H. fil. Melgi Molbhtahi R. H. fil. Cobtachi Coelbhragh R. H. fil. Uganii Magni R. H. fil. Eochodii Buadhach, fil. Duachi Ladgrii R. H. fil. Fiachi Tolgohrai R. H. fil. Muredi Bolgrai, fil. Simonis Breci R. H. fil. Aedani Glass. fil. Nuadachti Finfali R. H. fil. Gialchadi R. H. fil. Olilli Olchini; fil. Sirnai R. H. fil. Deini, fil. Demani, fil. Roethachti R. H. fil Majoni, fil. Engusii Olmchadi R. H. fil. Fiachi Labhranni R. H. fil. Smiorgalli, fil. Eanbothi, fil. Tighernasi R. H. fil. Ollaighi, fil. Ethriali, R. H. fil. Irielis vatis R. H. fil. Erymonis R. H. &c.

A regibus quoque Lageniæ, et aliis Hiberniæ regibus Jacobus rex originem duxit hoc pacto.[39] Edmundus Mortimerus Comes Marchiæ in superiori genealogia memoratus, fuit filius Matildis filiæ Evæ de Braos, tertiæ filiæ Guillelmi Marescalli Senioris Comitis Mareshall, et Pembrochiæ, qui eam generavit ex filia Richardi Comitis Strongbow, Comitis Striguleusis, et Evæ filiæ Dermicii Murchadidis regis Lageniæ, filii Donati fil. Murchardi, fil. Dermicii regis Hiberniæ, fil. Donati cognomento Moelnamoi, fil. Dermicii, fil. Domnalli, fil. Keallachi, fil. Kionachti, fil. Carbrii, fil. Aidi, fil. Ruadgali, fil. Onconi, fil. Faolcani, fil. Faolani, fil. Eogani cæci, fil. Nathi, fil. Criomthuni, fil. Endæi Kionsalach, fil. Labhrai, fil. Breassali Bealach, fil. Fiachi Briceadhi, fil. Cahiri Magni R. H. fil. Felimei Firurglas, fil. Cormaci Gealtagaidh, fil. Niacorbi, fil. Concorbi, fil. Moghacorbi, fil. Conchauri Abrahruadh R. H. fil. Finni vatis fil. Rosai Rufii, fil. Fergusi Fairci, fil. Nuadi Neachti R. H. fil. Sednai Siothbaic, fil. Lugadi Loifin, fil. Bressali Breci, fil.

[39] Camden, in Annal. in Hibern. ad An. 1100 et 1219.

of Ireland which by some is attributed to the voluntary act of this Eochaidh Feidhleach, vol. i., p. 453, is by the annalist Tighearnach represented as occurring in the reign, and against the will of Conaire Mor, a Deagaidh or Ernaan king, vol. i., p. 454, note [a].

[w] Of all the kings from this Cobhtach down to Eochaidh Feidhleach, not one is mentioned in the very ancient history of the Pagan cemeteries of Ireland, vol. i., p. 504.

[x] For this series, see Ogygia, p. 461.

[y] Four Masters, A.D. 995, 997.

[z] Four Masters, A.D. 963, 972.

[a] Four Masters, A.D. 945.

Finlog, son of Roigen, son of Easmon Amna, son of Blathacht, son of Beothacht, son of Labhraidh Lorc, son of Enda Aigne, king of Ireland, son of Ængus Turmech Tamrach, king of Ireland, son of Eochaidh Foltlacham, king of Ireland, son of Olill Casfiachlach, king of Ireland, son of Conla Cruachalgaidh, king of Ireland, son of Irengloi the poet, king of Ireland, son of Melge Molbtach, king of Ireland, son of Cobhtach Coelbreagh,[w] king of Ireland, son of Ugaine Mor, king of Ireland, son of Eochaidh Buadach, son of Duach Ladgrach, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Folgerach, king of Ireland, son of Muireadh Bolgrach, son of Simon Breac, king of Ireland, son of Aidan Glass, son of Nuadath Finfal, king of Ireland, son of Gillchadh, king of Ireland, son of Olill Olchinn, son of Sirnai, king of Ireland, son of Den, son of Deman, son of Roethacht, king of Ireland, son of Maion, son of Ængus Olmchadh, king of Ireland, son of Fiach Labhrain, king of Ireland, son of Smirgal, son of Eanboth, son of Tighearnmas, king of Ireland, son of Ollaigh, son of Ethrial, king of Ireland, son of Irial, the poet king of Ireland, son of Eireamon, &c. &c.

King James is also descended from the kings of Leinster and other Irish kings in the following line: Edmond Mortimer, earl of March, mentioned in the preceding genealogy, was son of Matilda, daughter of Eva de Braos, third daughter of William Marshall the Elder, earl Marshall and Pembroke, by a daughter of Richard Earl of Strongbow, count of Strigul and Eva daughter of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, son of Donnchadh, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, king of Ireland, son of Donnchadh, surnamed Moelnambo son of Diarmaid,[y] son of Domhnall,[z] son of Ceallach, son of Cianacht, son of Cairbre,[b] son of Aidh, son of Ruadgal, son of Oncon, son of Faelcon, son of Faelan, son of Eoghan caech, son of Nathi, son of Crimthan,[c] son of Enda Ceannsalach, son of Labhraidh, son of Breasail Realach, son of Fiach Briceadh, son of Cathair Mor,[d] king of Ireland, son of Feilimidh Firurglas, son of Cormac Gealtagaidh, son of Niacorb, son of Concorb, son of Moghcorb, son of Conchaur Abrahruadh, king of Ireland, son of Finn the poet, son of Rossa Ruadh, son of Fergus Fairge, son of Nuadath Neacht, king of Ireland, son of Sedna Sithbaic, son of Lugadh

[b] Four Masters, A.D. 933.

[c] See Four Masters, A.D. 465.

[d] For his will and posterity, see Book of Rights, p. 193. According

Fiachi Fobrici, fil. Olilli Glass. fil. Fearadachi, fil. Nuadati Folloini, fil. Eallodi, fil. Arturi, fil. Mogharti, fil. Crimthoni Cosgrachi, fil. Felimei Fortruni, fil. Fergusi Fortamalii R. H. fil. Bressalli Breci, fil. Engusii Gahiuni R. H. fil. Olilli Braccani, fil. Labradi Loingsii R. H. fil. Olilli Aini, fil. Leogarii Lurki R. H. fil. Uganii Magni regis Hiberniæ ut supra. Quare Jacobus rex hoc triplici stemmate indubitata regum Hiberniæ propago, tanquam funiculo triplici, qui difficile rumpitur, regni Hiberniæ solium ita firmiter insedit, ut inde, nullo jure detrahi potuerit ac debuerit.

[250] Ne vero Momonienses honore debito fraudentur, quam nactus sum | Jacobi regis ex eorum stirpe prosapiam, licet serie interruptâ, hic exhibebo. Corcus rex Momoniæ qui S. Patricio inter cæteros adjunctus anno Partus Virginei 438, Hibernicis veteris memoriæ monumentis expoliendis operam impendit, juvenis et paganus patri ob stuprum novercæ illatum, exosus, ejus indignationem declinans in Albaniam se recepit, ubi Monghfinnæ Feradachi Finfachtnachi Albaniæ,[40] ceu Pictorum regis filiæ copulatus Mainum Lamhnium ex ea suscepit, qui Muaighlamnii, id est, Campi Lamhnii nomen regioni quam hodie Lenoxiam dicimus, impertiit, à quo agro Maormor Lamhnii, id est, quæstoris magni Lamhniæ titulus Mainii Lamhnii posteris diu adhæsit,[41] ut qui regis Hiberniæ proventibus in Albaniâ Hiberniæ regibus adhuc obnoxiâ recipiendis destinati fuerunt. Et Philippus O'Sullevanus aliunde hausit, sub annum Domini 969, et Culæni regis Albaniæ interitum, Kellachum Fingeni, Killachum Baridii, et Donallum Morchani filios illud in Albania munium obiisse.[42] Ab hoc Mainio Engusium Albaniæ Oduveganus, Jacobum Magnæ Britanniæ, et Hiberniæ regem, alii scriptores

[40] Oduueg fol. 15. [41] Ketingus. [42] In adversariiis penes me.

to Tighearnach this Cathair Mor was the last of thirty Lagenian kings of Ireland, vol. i., p. 470. After his time the head monarchy became almost the exclusive property of the Leath Cuinn branch of the Eireamonians.

• O'Flaherty expunges the seven fol-

Loifin, son of Bressal Breac,[e] son of Fiach Fobrige, son of Olill Glass, son of Fearadach, son of Nuadath Folloin, son of Ealloid, son of Art, son of Moghart, son of Crimthan Cosgrach, son of Feilimidh Fortrun, son of Fergus Fertamuil, king of Ireland, son of Breasail Breac, son of Ængus Gahiun, king of Ireland, son of Olill Braccan, son of Labhraid Loingseach,[f] king of Ireland, son of Olill Aine, son of Leoghaire Lorc, king of Ireland, son of Ugaine Mor, king of Ireland, ut supra.

By this triple line, king James is undoubtedly descended from the ancient race of Irish kings, and by that triple link, which nothing can dissolve, he held the crown of Ireland so firmly, that no resistance could or ought to have been made to his claim.

Lest the men of Munster should be deprived of their due honor, I subjoin a pedigree which I have found tracing the descent of king James from their royal line. It is not perfect. Corc, king of Munster, who, together with many others, aided St. Patrick in the year 438, in digesting the monumental records of Ireland, having while yet a young man and a Pagan, incurred the displeasure of his father by criminal intercourse with his stepmother, fled to Albania, where he married Mongfin, daughter of Feradach Finfachtnachi, king of Albania or the Picts. The issue of this marriage was Maine Lamhne, who gave his name to Maghlamhne, that is the plain of Lamhne, which is now called Lennox. From that territory the descendants of Lamhne, long held the title of Maermor Lamhne, or great questor of Lamhne, because they were appointed to receive the tribute which was then paid by the Scots to the king of Ireland. Philip O'Sullivan states on another authority, that Kellach, son of Fingen, Kellach, son of Barid, and Domhnall, son of Berchan, held that office in Albania, at the death of Culen, king of Albania, in the 969. O'Dubhagain traces the pedigree of Ængus, king of Albania, to this Maine; and other Irish writers trace to the same stock the descent of James, king of Great

lowing names and makes Breasal Breac, son of Crimthan Cosgrach. Ogygia, pp. 118, 130. Another proof of the contradictions and uncertainty of most of the Irish genealogies before the Christian era.

Hibernici genus traxisse referunt. Cum vero Lenoxiæ ditio postea Stuartis obvenerit, et Anglicum Stuarti vocabulum vocis Hibernicæ Maormor significationem referat,[43] facile adducor ut credam Stuartorum familiam surculum prioris esse, Anglicoque idiomate Scotiam pervagato, pristini cognominis notionem edictione Anglicâ expressisse.[44] Quomodo autem à Stuartis Lenoxiæ originem Jacobus rex duxerit, ex Hectore Boethio percipimus dicente, Jacobum V. Patrem Mariæ reginæ ac avum Jacobi regis fuisse filium Jacobi IV., fil. Jacobi III., fil. Jacobi II.. fil. Jacobi I., fil. Roberti III., fil. Roberti II., fil. Walteri, fil. Joannis, fil. Alexandri, fil. Walteri, fil. Alani, fil. Walteri, fil Fleanchi, fil. Buquhonis à Macbetho regnum an. Dom. 1040 consecuto cæsi, qui à trium supra memoratorum tempore non multum abfuit. Cum autem in atavorum serie recensenda ulterius progredi non valeam, Manii Lamhnii genealogiam adjicio, qui filius fuit Corci, fil. Lugdachi, quem alii numero regum Momoniæ includunt, alii excludunt. Ille vero filius erat Olilli Flanbeg regis Momoniæ, fil. Fiachi Muillehanni R. M. fil. Eugenii Magni, fil. Olilli Olumni R. M. fil. Moghnuadathi R. M. fil. Mohanedi, fil. Deirgi, fil. Dergtini, fil. Endei Monchini, fil. Loichi magni, fil. Mofebhisi, fil. Muraedi Muchnai, fil. Echachi Firanii, fil. Duachi Daldegadii regis Hiberniæ, fili Carbrii Lusci, fil. Lugdachi Luagnii R. H. fil. Innadmari, R. H. Niadi Saghamuni R. H. fil. Adamari Foltchini R. H. fil. Rechtai Ridhargi, fil. Eochodii Uarchais, fil. Lugdachi Iarduni R. H. fil. Endei Dergii R. H. fil. Duachi Finni R. H. fil. Sednai Annari, R. H. fil. Bressri R. H. fil. Roanni, fil. Falbii, fil. Cassii Catchunii, fil. Aldergoddi R. H. fil. Munemonii R. H. fil. Cassii Clothaii, fil. Arareoi Ardi, fil. Rotheacht R. H. fil.

[43] Fol. 81. [44] Lib. 21, p. 251, 252.

[f] The first of the thirty Lagenian kings of Ireland, vol. i., p. 446.

[g] This genealogy is also given in Ogygia, pp. 384, 385.

[h] See another account of the meaning and origin of the title in Ogygia, p. 283.

[i] Ogygia, p. 384.

[k] Ogygia, p. 381.

[l] From whom all the Eiberian nobles traced their origin; and who did not live earlier than A.D. 237, vol. i. p. 511.

[m] Mentioned by Tighearnach, A.D. 48, vol. i., p. 451. In the line from him down to Eighan Mor, as given

Britain and Ireland. But the territory of Lennox, afterwards falling into the hands of the Stuarts, I am inclined to believe, from the identity of the English word "Steward," and the Irish "Maermor,"[h] that the Stuart family must have descended from the former possessors of that office, and that as the English language became general in Scotland, they adopted an English translation of their old title. Now, king James was descended from the Stuarts of Lennox,[i] by the following pedigree drawn up by Hector Boethius. James V., father of queen Mary, and grandfather of James VI., was son of James IV., son of James III., son of James II., son of James I., son of Robert III., son of Robert II., son of Walter, son of John, son of Alexander, son of Walter, son of Alan, son of Walter, son of Fleanchus, son of Duncan, slain by Macbeth, who ascended the throne in 1040, an epoch not very remote from that in which the three persons above mentioned were Stuarts of Scotland. But as I cannot trace their pedigree farther down, I will give the genealogy of Maine Leamhna, who was son of Corc, son of Lughaidh, who, according to some accounts, was king of Munster. He was son of Olill Flanbeg,[k] king of Munster, son of Fiacha Muilleathan, king of Munster, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Olill Olum,[l] king of Munster, son of Mogh Nuadhat, king of Munster, son of Mogh Ned, son of Derg, son of Dergthini, son of Enda Monchaein, son of Loich Mor, son of Mofebhis, son of Muiredhach Muchna, son of Eochaidh Finani, son of Duach Daltadegha, king of Ireland,[m] son of Cairbre Lusc, son of Lughaidh Luaighne, king of Ireland, son of Innatmar, king of Ireland, son of Niadh Seaghamun, king of Ireland, son of Adamar Foltchaein, king of Ireland, son of Rechtach Ridhearg, son of Eochaidh Uarcheis, king of Ireland, son of Lughaidh Iardun, king of Ireland, son of Enda Derg, king of Ireland, son of Duachfinn, king of Ireland, son of Sedna Annarri, king of Ireland, son of Bresri, king of Ireland, son of Roan, son of Failbhe, son of Cass Cetchaingnech, son of Aldergod, king of Ireland, son of Munemon, king of Ireland, son of Cass Clothach,

here, and by O'Flaherty. Ogygia, p. 145. There are two names, Dearg and Dergtheni, exceedingly like two names in the genealogical chain of the contemporary Ithians given in Ogygia, p. 149, as if the two lines had originally been the same: the more modern Eiberians appropriating the honors of the Ithians.

Rossai, fil. Glassii, fil. Nuadat Deaglamhii, fil. Eochodii Fibharglassi R. H. fil. Cadiumoili R. H. fil. Heberi Candidi R. H. fil. Milesii Hispani: Quæ sequuntur reperies in prima genealogia.

Alia quoque suppetit ratio majorum Jacobi regis ordinem sigillatim et quasi traducibus quibusdam ad eandem Heberi stirpem revocandi. In secunda Jacobi regis genealogia antehac exhibitâ singulos ejus progenitores seriatim recensitos offendes ad Cathaldum à rubro Carpo, cujus uxor Mora fuit filia Donalli Magni O'Brien postremi Momoniæ regis, et filii Terdelachi, fil. Dermicii, fil. Terdelachi regis Hiberniæ, fil. Tadæi, fil. Briani Boramii R. H. fil. Kenedi, fil. Lorcani, fil. Larhtuai, fil. Kurki, fil. Anluani, fil. Mathgamhni, fil. Terdelachi, fil. Cathaldi, fil. Aidi Camis, fil. Conalli, fil. Eochodii Baldearg, fil. Cairthini Candidi, fil. Blaidi, fil. Cassii fil. Conalli Echluathi, fil. Lugdachi Meann, fil. Engusii Tyrii, fil. Fircharbi R. H. fil. Moghacorbi R. H. fil. Cormaci Cassii regis Momoniæ, fil. Olilli Olumi R. M. reliqua è proxime superiori genealogia petenda sunt.

Itaque qui unus trium regnorum est Monarcha, ad regium eorundem [251.] | stemma generis initium refert. Ut pari originis jure singulis dominetur, et quos communi regit imperio, eorum priscos principes communi etiam necessitudinis vinculo attingat. Ac propterea iste Constantini Maruli nomen ementitus mire, et mere ineptiit, qui ista vel nescivit vel neglexit. Ut merito in ipsius librum flammis animadversum fuerit. Ejus autem ignorantiæ condono, quod Carolum II. regem ad Hiberniæ reges genus referentem inter alienigenas collocet; quem licet nascendi sortem in Anglia nactum, Scoti tamen pro cive suo habitum, regni sui diademate insignierunt. Belgæ regi Hispaniæ obsequium, quod rex suus sit, studium, quod ex eorum principibus originem ducat exhibent, eum non inde suorum civium numero excludentes, quod extra eorum fines nativitatis, et domicilii locum sortiatur. Regem Galliæ Navarri non in sua patria natum aut commorantem nihilominus amore, ut à regibus suis genus trahentem, obsequio ut regem suum prose-

[n] See this genealogical line in Ogygia, p. 389. Cairthinn Finn was first Christian prince of this house.

son of Arareo Ardi, son of Rotheacht, king of Ireland, son of Ross, son of Glas, son of Nuadath Deaghlamh, son of Eochaidh Faebharglas, king of Ireland, son of Conmhael, king of Ireland, son of Eibhear Finn, king of Ireland, son of Miledh, the Spaniard. The rest you find in the first genealogy.

There is another means of tracing the ancestors of king James to the same stock of Eibhear, by branches of those families. Thus in the second of the preceding genealogies which enumerates all the ancestors of king James, you find the name of Cathal Crobhdearg, whose wife Mora was daughter of Domhnall Mor O'Briain, last king of Munster, son of Toirdhealbhach, son of Diarmuid, son of Toirdhealbhach, king of Ireland, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Boroimhe, king of Ireland, son of Kennedi, son of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, son of Kurk, son of Anluan, son of Mathghamhain, son of Toirdhealbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh Caemh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Balldearg, son of Cairthinn Finn,[n] son of Blod, son of Cass, son of Conall Echluath, son of Lughaidh Meann, son of Ængus Tirech, son of Ferchorb, king of Ireland, son of Moghcorb, king of Ireland, son of Cormac Cass, king of Munster, son of Olill Olum, king of Munster, and the rest of the line, as in the preceding genealogy.

Therefore, as one monarch wears the crown of three kingdoms, so the blood of their three royal lines flows in his veins. He rules each by the same hereditary right; the subjects, who are united under his sceptre, can point to their ancient princes from whom their sovereign descends. It was a grievous blunder of the person who wrote under the fictitious name of Constantinus Marulus, to suppress, or not know those facts. I pity his ignorance, when I find him ranking Charles II. among foreigners, though descended from the kings of Ireland. Not so the Scots; who, though Charles was born in England, yet claimed him as their countryman and raised him to the throne. The Belgians give their allegiance to the king of Spain as their own king, and are devotedly attached to him, because he is descended from their own ancient princes, nor do they ever imagine, that because he happened not to be born in their own native land, he therefore is not their countryman. In the same way the Navarrese acknowledge the king of France as their king, and are zealously attached to him as the

quuntur. Et importunus hic proclamator Marulus legentium aures, quam insulsis ad suadendum, tam infirmis ad persuadendum inculcationibus obtundit, insipienter, et flagitiose efflagitans ut Hiberni cuivis è suæ plebis fæce regiam dignitatem conferre, et regi Carolo eâdem multis jam annorum centuriis ornato detrahere non dubitent;[45] illud Claudiani si diis placet usurpare visus meritum,

> "Nunquam cunabula quæras.
> Et qualis non unde satus."

Quod si peregrini etiam regis imperiis audientes fore se jamdudum Hiberni obstrinxissent, peregrina doctrina esset à fide illi jampridem datâ, et diuturnitate temporis firme corroboratâ eos abducere. Poloni, Hungari, et Bohæmi exterum sibi sæpe regem adsciscunt; ad quem è solio deturbandum, et popularem suum eidem admovendum monitor iste gentes illas nec quicquam suaderet. Grotius monita sinceriora præbet dicens: "Quod lex vetet alienigenam populo præfici, de voluntaria electione intelligendum est."[46] Non de illo cui longa possessio jus imperandi comparavit. Imo ut ait idem: "Quæ vi parta primum sunt imperia, possunt ex voluntate tacitâ jus firmum accipere, et voluntas aut ex initio constituti Imperii, aut ex post facto, esse talis ut jus det quod in posterum à voluntate non pendeat."[47] Homines enim non sunt tam in distrahendo liberi quam in contrahendo; nec est in unius contrahentium partis voluntate positum pacta semel transacta, parte alterâ et inconsultâ, et invitâ rescindere. Ita ut doctores Catholici sentiant principi etiam qui nullo jure, et summâ iniquitate principatum invasit,[48] et occupavit, vim inferri non debere, si jam possessionem qualemcumque habet, et administrare cœpit.

[45] Claudia. in Stillic. lib. 2. [46] De jure belli et pacis, lib. 1, c. 4, n. 7. [47] Lib. 2, c. 4, n. 1. [48] Redanus in Mach. lib. 2, c. 2, nu. 75, p. 378.

• "Eligite vobis regem vernaculum." This was certainly the wish of some of the old Irish, who had received treatment so savage from James I. and Charles I. in the confiscation of their properties, both by the Ulster plantation and by the inquisition into defective titles. This election of a native king was sincerely and vehemently opposed by the immense ma-

representative of their own native princes, though he was not born in their country. Yet this obtrusive king-maker, Marulus, duns his reader pertinaciously with arguments as useless for persuasion as they are absurd in principle, propounding the foolish and criminal project that the Irish would select some of their own plebeians° for the crown, and depose king Charles, whose ancestors' brows have been adorned with it during several centuries. The man seems, bless the mark! to have fixed his eye on the title of Claudianus;

> "Of a man's pedigree one never should inquire,
> Ask what he is, and not who was his sire."

Even though the king to whom the Irish had plighted their allegiance were a foreigner, it would be criminal to teach them to violate their allegiance, which had been given so long ago, and was firmly established by the lapse of centuries. The Poles, Hungarians, and Bohemians have elected foreigners as their kings, and yet this statesman would not advise these nations to depose their choice and elect one of their own countrymen. Grotius propounds doctrine more sound. "The law," he says, "which prohibits a foreigner to be set over a people, applies only to a voluntary election, but not to him whose right to command has been confirmed by long possession." The same writer goes farther: "dominion, though acquired by violence, may, by tacit consent, become a just title; and that consent, whether given at the establishment of the dominion or in subsequent times, may be such as to confer a right, which thenceforward does not depend on that consent." Men are not as free to break as to make a contract, nor is it in the power of one of the contracting parties to rescind a treaty, without the knowledge and consent of the other. Hence Catholic doctors teach it is not lawful to rebel against a prince, who has possession of a country and administers its government, though originally he had no right to it, and was guilty of gross injustice in invading and occupying it.

jority of the Irish clergy, nobles and gentry; though Cox, with his usual treachery pretends that the supreme council of the confederates, when condemning the work of Constantinus Marulus to be burned," acted "merely for favor sake." ii. p. 198.

Nec quicquam igitur Hibernos à sui regis obsequio quispiam avertere tentet, quibus subditos suo regi magis fidos et addictos Europa, meo judicio, nunquam tulit. Nullum prorsus officium regi à subditis exhiberi consuevit ad quod suo regi præstandum illi non sunt quam promptissimi. Vitam et fortunas in illius obsequio, nullis præmiis incitati, multis injuriis exasperati profundere non recusabant. Aliorum regum subditi in Repub. Magistratibus, in Ecclesia dignitatibus, in militia, et palatio, honoribus ornantur. Hiberni nisi fidem Catholicam exuant, suæ patriæ regimini majorum suorum sanguine partæ non admoventur, nemoadproregis fast igium, ad Cancellarii, Quæstorisve gradum evehitur, nemo in tribunalibus ad judicium ferendum collocatur, aut pro tribunalibus causas agit, optima Ecclesiarum beneficia Hibernis non conferuntur, et in exercitibus ne centurionis quidem loco cohonestantur, ut Hibernos apprime industrios fuisse oportuerit, qui vitam tolerare sine his adminiculis valuerint. Gratiæ tamen divinæ aura sic iis afflavit, ut eorum plures se, familiamque non solum honeste aluerint, sed etiam opes cumulaverint. Ne quidem ægre ferentes quod peregrini homines obscuro loco nati, multis divitiis derepente congestis, fastu, et titulorum accessione intumuerint. Vix credi potest quam exiguo tempore Dub- [252] liniensium tribunalium Scribis immensæ | divitiæ accrescant. Non enim paulatim, sed (ut ajunt) per cubitos ad opes provehuntur: inter quos quidam erat cujus opulentia non majori incremento, quam animus accessione superbiæ turgebat, ut qui nunquam nisi candidiori charta excrementa tergebat, scriptam chartam huic ministerio adhibere detrectans, ne ventris expurgandi viam homo delicatulus atramento inficeret. Honori sibi ducens, pecunias in quam plurimis præstantissimæ chartæ scapis hoc pacto quotannis profundere. Sub an. Dom. 1613,

[p] In many of the following passages describing the sufferings of the Catholics, our author does not state, and it is not easy to determine whether he speaks of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., or of Cromwell's time, during which he was writing. This much is certain, that in the former periods the persecutions inflicted on Catholics were far greater than the author of the Macariæ Excidium would make his readers believe. See Hibernia Dominicana, p. 648, note [d].

[q] Does he speak of the few Protestant Irish? Even of them it would be true to say that they were not promo-

It is fruitless, then, for any person to endeavour to seduce the Irish from their allegiance; more loyal and devoted subjects to their king cannot be found in any nation in Europe. They are most willing to pay to him all those duties which kings are in the habit of receiving from their most devoted subjects. Without the slightest hope of reward, and even when exasperated by the most atrocious injustice, they risked their fortunes and lives in his service. The subjects of other kings are rewarded by civic offices in the government, dignities in the church, and honors in the army and the court. But if the Irish do not renounce the Catholic faith, they are to have no share in the government of their country, which was won by the blood of their ancestors; none of them is ever made lord deputy, or chancellor, or attorney-general; none of them are raised to the bench or allowed to plead at the bar;[p] the best benefices of the church are never given to the Irish,[q] and in the army they cannot rise even to the rank of a sergeant. Admirable, indeed, must be their patient industry, when they bear up against such discouragements. Yet the bounteous grace of God has favored them so, that many of them not only support their families independently, but have even amassed great riches. They do not murmur that foreigners of obscure origin[r] have suddenly amassed enormous wealth, and are now parading their pomp and accumulated titles. No man could imagine in what an inconceivably short time the scriveners in the courts of justice in Dublin have scraped together enormous properties. It is not by inches, but by cubits, to use a common phrase, that they ascend to wealth; one of them, whose pride kept pace with the increase of his property, became so bloated with the sense of his own importance, that even for the vilest purposes he would use none but the best white paper, lest the ink might soil his person. He made it a public boast that he had yearly expended large sums of money for several reams of the best paper for the purpose. In the year 1613, it happened that Robert

ted to the rich livings. O'Sullevan Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 345. Dublin, 1850.

r This is the theme of an immense number of the native Irish ballads of the day, especially of those by David O'Bruadair, who lashes the upstart and savage Cromwellians with merciless invective.

Robertum Jacob Connaciam, ad judicia pro tribunali ferenda obeuntem, apud quendam diversari contigit, qui cibos illi pro more patriæ satis lautos apposuit. Sed (miserum) pinguis ferina nec pipere condita, nec pastillo inserta in fornace cocta est, hospite non à coquis, ut par erat sat fortasse instructo, et ab emporiis remotiore, quæ facile condimenta ejusmodi subministrare possent. Quod ægre ferens judex, serio exclamasse fertur, O Miseriam extremam, et nunquam hactenus à me perlatam, quòd ferinâ suis minime[*] conspersâ condimentis vesci me oporteat; non contentus

"Repleri veteris Bacchi, pinguisque ferinæ."

Quidam Sparke sub annum 1620 Connaciam judex obibat, in singulis comitatibus judicia pro tribunali exercens: hic per agrestiora provinciæ loca iter habens, in tenuioris cujusdam viri ædibus casu pernoctare coactus, ubi post lautam cœnam, lectum sibi non mollioribus è synodo, sed è satis tenui telâ stragulis sterni conspexit, dedignatus in tam hirsutis stragulis decumbere, luculento foco totâ nocte assedit, crebro queritans plurimum se negotia regis obeuntem pati.[50] Laurentius Personius sibi Hiberniam accedenti non plures pecunias quam quatuor asses suppetiisse sæpissime fassus est, postea tamen eques auratus, et plurium latifundiorum possessor evasit. Quid memorem Richardum Boyle pro fortunæ portento sui temporis habitum, qui tribus tantum obolis in Hiberniam relatis ac proinde homo vere tressis, primum in nobilium aliquorum famulatu agasonem, deinde in tribunalibus Dubliniensibus scribam egisse dicitur, sed postea tam immodicä copiarum abundantiâ circumfluxit, ut Comes Corcagiæ, et Hiberniæ Quæstor renuntiatus, ad regni clavum quandoque sederit, duos comites Hibernos Kildariæ, et

[49] Analect. p. 245.

[*] The places in which the assizes were held, when English law was first extended to Ireland in the reign of James I., were generally the churches of suppressed convents and monasteries. O'Sullevan Historiæ Catholicæ,

Jacob, who was going as judge on the Connaught circuit,[a] took up his abode with a certain person, who entertained him well according to the style of the country; but, alas! the fat venison was neither seasoned with pepper, nor baked in a pie, perhaps because the good hostess either was not an adept in cooking, or because she was too far away from the markets, where such condiments could be had. But the judge was so indignant, that he is said to have exclaimed, "O misery of miseries, must I eat my venison without its usual spices, a thing that never happened to me before." He was not satisfied with

"Store of good old wine and richest venison."

Another judge, named Sparke, was going through Connaught in 1620, and held assizes in each county, but as he was passing through the wilder part of the province, he was obliged to take up his lodgings one night in the house of a person who was not very rich. A splendid supper, however, was prepared for him: but when he found that his bed was not provided with blankets of soft and delicate texture, but coarse, he indignantly refused to lie under such rough covering, and sat up all night before the blazing hearth, now and then consoling himself with an exclamation, "O, what do I not suffer in the service of my king?" Laurence Parsons often acknowledged that he had only four pence in his pocket when he landed in Ireland, yet he soon was created a baronet and acquired extensive landed property. Need I mention Richard Boyle, who was considered the greatest favorite of fortune in his day. He was literally a beggar, not worth three farthings when he came to Ireland. Having served some time in the stable or kitchen of some noble families, he next became, it is said, a scribe in the courts at Dublin, but afterwards amassed such enormous wealth that he was created earl of Cork and chancellor of Ireland, was even appointed lord lieutenant of the kingdom, married two of his daughters

p. 81; a bad means of inspiring the people with a love for English justice or with confidence in English law.

Barrimoriæ sibi generos adsciverit, et minoribus natu filiis vicecomitum titulos, et opes comparaverit? sexcentos alios Anglos his annumerare possem, summam opulentiam in Hiberniâ citissime consecutos; nisi prolixitatis declinandæ studium ab eo me labore averteret. Donatus O'Brien Tomoniæ comes, et Momoniæ Præses, ex triobolariorum hujusmodi hominum copiâ, ad abundantissimam rerum copiam indies elatâ, Clonmelliæ cum Anglorum cœtu colloquium habens, dicendi ansam arripuit, Hiberniam Anglis aliam Indiam esse, nimirum è qua majorem illi quæstum, inquit, quam è suâ Indiâ Hispani hauserunt. Sua enim India Hispani magnam duntaxat auri, et argenti vim, Hibernia præter ingentes thesauros, amplissima etiam prædia, et honores Anglis subministravit. Proinde Guillelmus Cæcilius Angliæ quæstor, et Sarum comes apposite dixit:[50] Anglos istos, qui summas facultates in Hibernia corraserunt, et eandem maledictis corroserunt, similes iis juvenibus esse, qui post fœdos scortorum amplexus, obscenam voluptatem, et pellices acriter execrantur. Veruntamen Angli tam modico tempore locupletati nullam Hibernis æmulationem moverunt:[51] "Et si nihil est in libera civitate quod magis invidiam faciat, quam videre concives aliquos advenas et peregrinos brevi tempore ditiores factos publicâ pecunia." Vicariam etiam regni administrationem à suis majoribus vi, et armis extortam, et diu ab iisdem integerrime obitam in peregrinos collatam, quæstuosos etiam magistratus ab iisdem peregrinis relatos fuisse, Hiberni non indigne tulerunt. Viri nobiles duobus avitorum prædiorum trientibus spoliati, intra relicti trientis angustiam se coarctare cogebantur, et in abreptâ illis ditione, fungi hominum ex Angliæ tonstrinis, [253.] triviis, popinis, haris, aut equitibus educti collocabantur, ipsi tamen | immoti in sui regis obsequio firmissime perstitebant.[52] Indigenis plurimis injuriis advenæ lacessiverunt, ut eos hoc pacto arma contra prin-

[50] Analect. p. 64. [51] Episcop. Cajetan. de Rep. p. 104. [52] Analecta p. 309, p. 262, et seq. O'Sullev. p. 256, b.

[t] For the titles acquired by the progeny of the fortunate earl, the reader is referred to the Irish peerage. For some notice of the earl himself, see vol. i., p. 103. For the chief means by which Parsons amassed his property, see Carey's Vindiciæ, pp. 214, 212.

[u] This was the lightest penalty in-

to the earls of Kildare and Barrymore, and, besides bequeathing a great property to his younger sons, had them created viscounts.[t] I could give a history of 600 other Englishmen who rapidly amassed colossal fortunes in Ireland. But the narrative would detain me too long. Donchadh O'Briain, earl of Thomond, one day speaking in a company of Englishmen at Clonmel, with the president of Munster, one of the swarm of those three farthing adventurers who every day were acquiring such enormous wealth: "Ireland," said he, "is another India for the English, a more profitable India for them than ever the Indies were to the Spaniards." India gave to the Spaniards gold and silver only, but Ireland supplied the English not only with immense treasures of ready money, but also with extensive estates, and high titles. How true was the remark of William Cecil, chancellor of England and earl of Sarum, "that those Englishmen, who scraped together huge fortunes in Ireland and yet lacerated her good name by their calumnies, were like young debauchees, who, after rioting in a brothel, denounce obscene sensualism and abandoned women." Yet the wealth so rapidly acquired by those Englishmen did not provoke the jealousy of the Irish, "though in a free country nothing is better calculated to provoke heartburning jealousy than to see some foreign settlers suddenly grow rich on the public money." Neither were the Irish indignant that the viceregal administration of that kingdom which had been won by the blood and valor of their ancestors, and had for many centuries been faithfully held by them, should now be transferred to foreigners, and that all offices of emolument were monopolized by the same foreigners. Nobles of high descent were robbed of two-thirds of their hereditary estates,[u] and ordered to confine themselves within the contracted limits of the remaining third; while the properties wrested from them were assigned to swarms of Englishmen, collected from the barbers' shops, and highways, and taverns, and stables, and hogsties of England. Yet the plundered nobles preserved unshaken and devoted allegiance to their

flicted on Irish Catholics by Cromwell: perhaps our author alludes to the acts of Settlement and Explanation, or to the compositions made under the inquisitions into defective titles before 1641. Far the most truthful history of the period, from 1603 to 1641, is given in Carey's Vin-

cipem capienda stimularent, et in illorum arva, quibus inhiabant, illico involarent sed illi à fide regi præstandâ nullis machinis divelli poterant. Prorex Cicestrius talia molitus fuisse traditur. Certes ante nuperum bellum in Hiberniæ cœptum, Anglus quidam Vincentius Gockings eques auratus, gubernatores per Epistolam rogavit, ut qui nuper in Hiberniam Angli migrabant, ab Hibernis segregati, armis etiam apprime instructi degerent, et Hiberni armis exuti stipendia militibus Anglis persolvere obstringerentur, quod si hoc probro irritati in bellum prorumperent tum fortunis eorum proscriptis, regem plures fundos, et laxiora propugnaculis condendis spatia obtenturum. Sub nuperi belli exordium, regendæ Hiberniæ gubernaculum duumviri Guillelmus Parsonius, et Joannes Burlacius tenuerunt, qui cum nascentes turbas compescere facile possent, fovere maluerunt ut esset unde plura nobilium prædia fisco addicerentur. Neronem imitati qui "de motu Galliarum cognoscens, adeo lente et secure tulit, ut gaudentis etiam suspicionem præberet tanquam occasione natâ spoliandarum jure belli opulentissimarum provinciarum."[53] Personius autem tanto in Hibernos odio exarsit, ut

[53] Sueton. in Nerone num. 40.

diciæ, chaps. xii, xiii, xxiv, xxv. and xxvii. Philadelphia, 1823, p. 189. See also Hibernia Dominicana, p. 644. Edmund Burke expresses, in a few sentences, what these authorities prove in detail. "Sir John Davis boasts of the benefits received by the natives, by extending to them the English law and turning the whole kingdom into shire-ground. But the appearance of things alone was changed. The original scheme was never deviated from for a single hour. Unheard of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms and of hostile statutes; and a regular series of operations was carried on, especially from Chichester's time, in the ordinary courts of justice, and by special commissioners and inquisitions; first under pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the crown, for the purpose of *the total extirpation* of the interest of the natives in their own soil—until this species of subtle ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence under lord Strafford, it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641." A Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, M.P. This is history: and it leaves on the mind an impression very dif-

monarch. Those foreigners spared no indignity or injury to goad the natives into rebellion, that there might be for themselves a rich harvest of confiscation; but no artifice could shake the devoted loyalty of the Irish. Chichester is said to have concocted a rebellion of this kind, and it is certain that before the commencement of the late war in Ireland, Vincent Gockings, a baronet and Englishman, wrote to the lords justices, proposing that all the English, who lately came over to Ireland, should live apart from the Irish and be well supplied with arms, and that the Irish should be all disarmed and compelled to defray all the expenses of the English army. If the Irish were thus goaded into rebellion, their properties, he said, could be confiscated,[v] the king would acquire many estates, and a wider field for the establishment of fortresses. About the commencement of the late war, the government of Ireland was vested in a duumvirate, William Parsons and John Borlase, who could easily have suppressed the rising flame in its infancy, but they deliberately fanned it into fury, that the estates of many of the nobles might be forfeited to the crown.[w] It was thus that Nero, "when he heard of the commotions in Gaul, took the matter so quietly and securely, that he was suspected of being delighted at this opportunity of subjecting those opulent provinces to the laws of war, and plundering their properties." So virulent was Parsons' hatred of the Irish, "that

ferent from that which a note in the Macariæ Excidium, p. 489, would make. Archbishop King is a better authority than any of them there cited; and he states truly the wretched condition of the Irish Catholics under Charles II. State of the Protestants of Ireland, pp. 28, 88, and Appendix, p. 41.

[v] He was afterwards appointed one of Cromwell's commissioners for the distribution of the confiscated lands among the adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers. See History of Down Survey, p. 185. Irish Archæological Society.

[w] This design against all the Irish Catholics, whether actually in rebellion or not, was certainly recommended so early as the month of February, 1641–2, by the earl of Cork, who was the soul of the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish party, and had been so for nearly 40 years, vol. i., p. 104, note. Even before the rising of the Irish the same design was publicly avowed by Sir William Parsons, and much more "that within a twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in Ireland." Carte's Ormonde, 1, 235.

"crudelitatis suæ ministros sæpius admonere consueverit omnes Hibernos qui cubiti altitudinem staturâ æquarent obtruncandos, nec atrociter facientibus deerant præmia." Ejusmodi tamen regiorum in Hibernia ministrorum molimina non impediverunt quominus erga suum regem Hiberni se quam fidissimos semper gesserint,[54] gnari non à rege technas istas, sed ab ejus in Hibernia ministris, et asseclis profectas esse. Quorum quam plures quasi noxiæ nubes interposita suos clementiæ regiæ radios Hibernis illuxisse, vel tanquam iniquiores planetæ regii favoris influentiam ad eos manasse non permiserunt. Ut non canes aut pastores ad gregem custodiendum (sicut Batto Dalmata ad Tiberium dixit)[55] sed lupi ad devorandum appositi fuisse videantur.

Finge animo servum aliquem esse, qui à potentioribus domini sui ministris, assiduis injuriis exagitatus, verberibus quandoque mulctatus, ignominiâ subinde notatus, fortunis orbatus, vinculis et carcere non raro castigatus; nullis insuper domini beneficiis honestatus, amorem tamen erga dominum sic medullis affixum habet, ut cum sibi non opprobriis, non jacturâ, non cruciatibus ullis evelli patiatur. Tale prorsus Hibernorum erga suum regem studium et obsequium esse tibi persuade. Ut heliotropii vultum sole nebulæ non avertunt sic Hibernis nulla magistratuum tormina fidem erga regem excusserunt. Ut jam Hibernos in subditorum officiis cumulate adimplendis, aliarum nationum subditos si non superare, saltem exæquare plane liqueat. Ac proinde vere dixit Henricus Fitzsimon Hibernos legibus omnibus sic obtemperasse, magistratui morem gessisse, in omni discrimine tam fidos, principis et patriæ tuendæ adeo studiosos esse, ut eorum gubernatores sæpius testati fuerint demisissimam eorum patientiam[56] non modo cum magistratuum iniquitatibus pugnare, sed etiam easdem expugnare. Ut recte Davisius dixerit eos in conditione subditorum libentissime permansuros nec un-

[54] Bel. in annot. p. 68. [55] Dion in August. [56] In consolatore ad Catholicos Hiberniæ, p. 77.

[x] See Carey's Vindiciæ, pp. 413, 414, and especially p. 329, c. xii.

[y] This is literally true of the immense majority of the Catholic confederates. They and their ancestors, from the year 1560, had proved their loyalty in the most trying circumstances. Their first act as confede-

he frequently issued orders to the ministers of his cruelty, to slay all the male Irish who were above a span long;[x] the savage butchers, too, were rewarded for their deed." Notwithstanding these proceedings of the king's officers in Ireland, the Irish continued devotedly loyal to his majesty, because they were aware these machinations were not to be charged against him, but against his officers in Ireland and their abettors, who, like noxious vapors, never allowed one ray of the royal clemency to brighten the prospects of the Irish, but, rather like malignant planets, intercepted and diverted the benignant influence of the throne. Not dogs or shepherds were placed over the flock (as Batto Dalmata said to Tiberius) to defend, but wolves to devour them.

Picture to yourself a servant, who was always treated with injustice by some of the higher persons in his master's employment, sometimes flogged, then branded with infamy, robbed of his property, and again cast into a prison and loaded with chains; but never receiving the slightest mark of favor from his master, and yet so devotedly attached heart and soul to that master, that no disgrace, nor losses, nor torments can shake his attachment. Such, believe me, was the loyalty and devotion of the Irish for their king; no cloud can make the sunflower turn from the sun, nor could the cruelty of his officers shake the devotion of the Irish to their king.[y] In all the duties of affectionate loyalty the Irish have been, if not superior, at least equal to any other nation on the face of the globe; and Henry Fitzsimon has truly said, that so great was their obedience to all the laws, so unhesitating their deference to the constituted authorities on all occasions, so firm their resolve to stand by their king and country, that their governors often acknowledged this humble patience was able not only to resist, but to conquer the ferocity of the magistrates. Davis himself declared, "In which condition of subjects they will continue without defection or adhering to

rates, after being driven to arms in self-defence by the lords justices, was to take an oath of allegiance to Charles I. "The Irish, in 1641, pretended at least that they did not rise against the king, *nor in fact did they*, whatever construction law might put on their act. But, full surely, they rebelled against the authority of the parliament of England, and they openly professed so to do." Edmund Burke's Letter to Richard Burke.

quam à rege defecturos, aut alii domino regive adhæsuros, quamdiu præsidii justæque administrationis beneficium, citra oppressionem, et etiam impunitatem nansciscantur. Nec enim sub cœlo natio est quæ æquis et minime[57] factiosis judiciis magis acquiescit quam Hibernica, et quæ moderatius feret sententias judicum executioni etiam contra se mandari, modo legis præsidium, et beneficium illis ad justa de causa poscentibus conferatur.

Nec ratio patitur ut existimemus gentem factionibus continuo discissam ad bellum principi inferendum conjuraturum. Nam in Hibernia duo Hibernorum genera sunt; unum eorum, qui ante ter mille annos Hispaniâ, alterum eorum, qui ante quingentos annos Angliâ oriundi sunt. Hi non modo justitiæ, sed rationis etiam limites transilirent, si [254] à suo principe, | cujus auspiciis possessiones olim compararunt, et easdem modo retinent desciscerent: Et cæci omnino essent, si non viderent se extra sui principis præsidium positos, à duabus validissimis gentibus bello mox impetendos; ab Anglis in Hiberniam ad eorum rebellionem coercendam venturos; et ab Hispani generis Hibernis, qui viam sibi ad fundos quondam à suis majoribus possessos armis vendicandos aperiri non modicè læderentur. Qui etiam ipsi non adeo mente capti essent, ut contra principem arma sumerent; cum gnari suas vires pridem ab Anglicæ provinciæ incolis rariori militum ex Angliâ subsidio adjutis, paulatim excisas fuisse, eosdem majorem nunc et finium, et potestatis amplitudinem nactos, omniumque necessitudinum vinculis sibi conjunctos, et Anglicam præterea militiam provocare non auderent.

Sed mirabuntur fortasse nonnulli quomodo subditi partes Hiberni tam cumulate implesse dicendi sint, quos jam indè ab Hiberniâ regum Angliæ ditioni adjunctâ, continuis penè rebellionum procellis Angliæ regibus infestos fuisse, scriptores Anglici elatè vociferantur; quos etiam arma nuper contra quosdam Anglos sumpsisse neminem latet.

[57] Pag. ulti.

[1] A novelty, especially when a good thing, is loved by most people; equal justice was always a novelty to the Irish; strange if they would not love it.

[2] And it was this diversity of race, and the jealousies and conflicting interests consequent thereon, that ruined Ireland in 1641–1650. Knaves and bi-

any other king or lord, as long as they may be protected and justly governed without oppression on the one side or impunity on the other. For there is no nation or people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish,[1] or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves; so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it."

Moreover, it is unreasonable to suppose that a nation, which has been at all times torn by factions, would conspire to make war against the king. There are two races of Irishmen[a] in Ireland: one that came from Spain three thousand years ago; the other from England 600 years since. In the latter it would not only be an injustice, but madness, to revolt from princes under whose leadership they formerly acquired and still hold their possessions. They cannot but see that if they once renounced the protection of their prince, they would be instantly exposed to the arms of two very powerful enemies—namely, the English who would be sent over from England to crush the rebellion, and the Irish of Spanish descent, who would hail, with rapturous joy, the opportunity of recovering by the sword the possessions which had formerly been wrested from their ancestors. Nor would the Spanish Irish be mad enough to take up arms against their prince, well knowing that they had been gradually cut off by the inhabitants of the English pale with only slight help occasionally from England, and that those colonists had now greater power and possessions, and were, moreover, connected among themselves by every social tie: moreover, they would not venture to encounter the power of England.

But some persons may ask, in surprise, how the Irish can be said to have been so exemplary in the duty of allegiance, when English writers loudly complain, that from the day the English first landed on the Irish shores the Irish have been in constant rebellion against the king of England, and were in arms, as every one knows, a few years ago against some English.

gots believe, or pretend to believe, in a general conspiracy of the Irish Catholics in 1641; such a general combination among such conspirators any sensible man knows to be impossible from the reflections alone proposed here by our author, confirmed as they are by the whole history of the times.

Respondeo sicut milites Anglos Hibernorum fortunas manu; sic scriptores qui res nostras hujus, et superioris memoriæ attigerunt, famam linguâ, et calamo prædatos fuisse; quippe in quorum libris calumnia rebellionis notam Hibernis inurens paginam utramque facit. Longæ profecto injuriæ sunt quibus Hibernos isti lacerarunt, et longæ in iis uberius abstergendis ambages forent. Quare summa tantum sequar fastigia rerum, et paucis evincam bella ab Hibernis nostrâ ac superiori memoriâ cum Anglis gesta rebellionis nomine dehonestari non debuisse. Cum enim populi extra principis illius quem armis oppugnant imperium positi non rebelli,[58] sed hostili bello cum illo confligere dicendi sint: et Hibernos Davisius sub regum Angliæ ditionem ante penitus non concessisse summopere contendat, quam rex Jacobus Angliæ sceptro potiretur; bellicæ contentiones cum Angliæ principibus Jacobi regis decessoribus ab Hibernis habitæ, non rebellionis, sed hostilitatis titulum referre debebunt.

Hæretici qui execrandæ suæ religionis tuendæ causa principi suo bellum tulerunt, rebelles audire nolunt. Nec igitur Catholici qui non religionem aliquam in impietatis officinâ nuperrimè procusam, sed veterem illam et per omnem præteriti temporis memoriam, à majoribus religiosissimè cultam contra reginam Elizabetham armis propugnarunt rebellionis piaculum contraxisse dicentur. Et Tironius ipse perduellionis crimine vacabat, quem concordiæ ineundæ capita semper à fidei Catholicæ professione permittenda inchoasse; et qui à sacris illi tum erat Jacobus Mac Donellus sæpè et testatus est,[59] et scriptores nostri memorant, et ipse Camdenus non obscurè insinuat.[60]

[58] Pag. 286. [59] Analect. 449. [60] In Elizab.

[a] Unanswerable reasoning, at least against all who admit the authority of Sir John Davis.

[b] "Cromwell, who avenged an Irish *rebellion* against the sovereign authority of the parliament of England, had himself *rebelled* against the very parliament whose sovereignty he asserted, full as much as the Irish nation, which he was sent to subdue and confiscate, could rebel against that parliament, or could rebel against the king, against whom both he and the parliament which he served, and which he betrayed, had both of them *rebelled*." E. Burke's Letter to R. Burke.

I answer that as English soldiers have robbed the Irish of their lands by the sword, so, the historians, who have written the events of our days as well as those of former days, have robbed the Irish of their character, by tongue and pen; you meet nothing in their books but the dishonoring blots of Irish rebellions against the king. The charges of this kind made against the Irish are innumerable—to attempt to refute them in detail would be an interminable task. I must, therefore, dispose of them by one summary and conclusive proof, that the wars of the Irish against the English, in our own as well as in former ages, ought not to be stigmatized as rebellious. When a nation makes war against a prince whose authority it does not acknowledge, it must not be stigmatized as rebellious, but as an enemy. Now, Davis has made it the principal part of his work to prove that the Irish never fully acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of England before the sovereignty of James I.; and, therefore, the armed resistance of the Irish to the English kings who preceded James I. were simply wars, and ought not to be branded with the foul stigma of rebellion.[a]

The heretics who made war on their king in order to establish their execrable religion, indignantly deny that they were rebels. How, then, can the Catholics be stigmatized as rebels, for taking the field against Elizabeth in defence of a creed, which was not the manufacture of a modern shop of impiety, but had been most religiously observed in all preceding ages.[b] Tyrone himself must be absolved from the charge of rebellion, for the first stipulation in all his overtures of peace was full liberty for the exercise of the Catholic faith. For this fact we have the authority of James Mac Donnell, who was one of his chaplains, and also of other native writers, and the tacit admission of Camden himself.[c]

[c] It is certain that Tyrone made the free exercise of the Catholic religion one of the stipulations of his professed submission in 1593. Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iv., p. 108. The English affected to be amazed at the proposal, because, says Moryson, "religion had never been inquired into by them, much less punished." This is one of the barefaced falsehoods which form the staple of many Irish histories; and not less surprising is it that Moore should adopt the falsehood and charge all Catholic historians with misrepresenting the causes of the Irish wars during Elizabeth's reign. "Religion," he says "was (not even) *one* of the causes of Irish war:" and how does he

Quod si hactenus dicta perduellionis maculam Hibernis non eluerint, id saltem par est nos ab adversariis impetrare, "Ut anima quæ peccaverit ipsa moriatur," et illas tantum qui contra reginam sub signis erant, non totam nationem rebellionis ignominia percellat. Non à minori, sed à majori parte ad rem quampiam denominatio manat; cum igitur multo plures Hiberni à regina steterint, quam contra illam militarunt, gens Hibernica potius fidissimi subditi partes egisse, quàm rebellionis opprobrium retulisse dicetur. Nam potioris ordinis magnates majori numero longi clientium eorum cunei, oppida, et urbes omnes, duo denique gentis trientes reginæ castra sequebantur. Vix alius nationis triens paucioribus majorum gentium nobilibus in adversâ acie pugnavit. Ormoniæ[61] et Clanricardiæ comites, duo bellorum illorum fulmina fuerunt, quorum auspiciis plurimæ de hostibus victoriæ reportatæ sunt. Ille hostium strages sæpius edidit, hic in Kinsaliensi præsertim prælio, adeo se præclarè gessit, ut in ipsa certaminis arenâ, vasta hostium cæde cruentâ, [255] pro præstitâ operâ equitis titulum à prorege, | literasque victoriam eam acceptam sibi referentes à regina retulerit. Per anteriora etiam tempora,[62] vix, ac ne vix quidem nisi virium Hibernicarum accessione Hibernicæ copiæ profligatæ fuerunt. Itaque qui ex hoc bello rebel-

[61] Dermicius O'Meara in Ormonio. [62] Camden. in Elizab.

prove it? because Catholics fought under Elizabeth's standard. Did not Catholics fight in the armies of George III. and George IV., and does it thence follow that there were no penal laws, "that religion was not punished" in Ireland under those monarchs? Without entering into a detail of the many cases in which Irish Catholics were robbed and hanged by Elizabeth for religion alone, it is enough to state here the unquestionable fact, that during her whole reign, wherever she had the power, she never tolerated the Catholic worship. No church or chapel was ever allowed to be opened for that worship. If this proscription of the religion of a whole people be not a punishment, pray what is persecution? The greatest indulgence ever given, even to the most loyal of the Irish Catholics, was (during the short period of the Essex administration) to have their attendance at mass in private houses and oratories connived at," vol. iii., p. 620, note.

[d] See a note on this subject, and the admissions of the best Protestant authorities. O'Sullivani Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 345. Dublin, 1850.

But if the preceding observations do not exculpate the Irish from the charge of rebellion, our enemies must be content to accept our consent, "that the soul which sinned the same should die," and that those alone who were in arms against the queen, and not the whole nation, should be dishonored as rebels. An epithet which is true only of a minority, cannot be appropriately applied to a community It must be true of the majority, and as the Irish who were faithful to the queen's standards were far more numerous than those who took the field against her, the Irish must be praised for their signal loyalty, rather than denounced as infamous rebels. For the majority of the nobles of the first rank, and the long roll of their dependants, the towns and all the cities, in a word, two thirds of the entire population were faithful to the queen's standard.[d] One third of the nation was hardly found under the standards of the few great lords who defied her power in the field. The earls of Ormond[e] and Clanrickard,[f] those two thunderbolts of war, led the queen's troops to victory over many a bloody field. The former often committed great havoc on the enemy, and the latter signalized himself so much in the battle of Kinsale, that he was knighted on the field of battle, amid heaps of his slaughtered countrymen, by the lord deputy, and even received letters from the queen, attributing to him all the glory of the victory.[g] Even in preceding ages, the armies of the native

[e] I doubt whether our author is right in assuming that this Black Tom was a Catholic at the time of the battle of Kinsale. He certainly died a Catholic in 1614. To him was mainly due Elizabeth's success against the Irish. The castle in which he lived at Carrick-on-Suir (Galway's castle) is worth a visit. For some notices of him, see O'Sullivan's Historiæ Catholicæ. Dublin, 1850.

[f] Was a Catholic, and his family for many generations after him. The zeal of many of the Irish Catholic supporters of Elizabeth was not purely disinterested loyalty. They feared, or were taught to fear, by those who used them as tools, that if Tyrone succeeded, all the Anglo-Irish would be banished from Ireland. Animosities of race and self-interest bound them to Elizabeth, even though she would not allow them to exercise their religion publicly, and though they must have easily foreseen that her complete success would be the ruin of that religion. More than one half of Mountjoy's army, in the decisive battle of Kinsale, were Irish Catholics. Green Book, p. 208.

[g] That such a design might be cherished by a very large party in England, and by their adherents in Ireland,

lionem Hibernis universim improperant,[63] non veritatem sed livorem suum expromunt. Suæ nationi rebellionis ignominiam non irrogantes, quamvis in eâ multæ seditiones intestinæ crebrius eruperint. Ac proceres et plurima multitudo quam sæpissimè à suis regibus, et à Richardo secundo ducenta plebeiorum millia,[64] ab Henrico septimo sedecem millia defecerint. Nimirum ea hominum indoles est, ut in suis delictis perspiciendis talpæ, in alienis lynces sint.

Nuperum illud bellum ad decennium ab Hibernis protractum Parlamentarii, et linguâ et calamo,[65] rebellionis appellatione dehonestare contendunt. Utpotè nihil vulgarius est quam ut hostis in quos armis, et ferro desæviit, iisdem etiam vocis contumelia insultet. Eam autem calumniam à vero quam plurimum abhorrere vel inde perspicimus, quod in arma tantum contra principem sumpta rebellionis convitium cadat. Cum vero tantum absit ut Hiberni contra regem ut potius pro rege bellum gesserint, quàm fuerunt perduellionis crimine, tàm erunt ejus probro immunes. Viderunt quidem Parlamentarios prærogativarum alas regi extrahere molitos fuisse, ne potestatis amplitudine illis supervolaret, et ut ei potentia pares aut potius superiores effecti, in obtemperantes ei subditos imperia Manliana exercerent. Huc accedit quod ad fidem Catholicam Hibernia exterminandam, et incolas avitis possessionibus indictâ causâ exuendas iidem Parlamentarii conjurarint, ut Hiberni in rebellionis scopulum impegisse censendi non sint, si pro religione, rege, et patriâ tuendâ, contra conditione sibi similes, et nullam in se potestatem habentes coacti se armis munierint. Hiberni ante Parlamentariorum consilia subodorati sunt, quam tumultum ullum concitarunt. Sicut enim candentes prunæ cineribus obductæ scintillas

[63] Pacata Hibernia. [64] Harpsf. Secu. 14, cap. 7. Hist. Wicles. c. 12. [65] Bacon in Henric. 7. p. 84. late edit.

may be easily conceived possible, both from a note in vol. i., p. , and from the exultation very generally expressed in the present day by the English press, at the supposed approaching disappearance of the Irish race by emigration, &c. That the design really was entertained, or at least published before the rising of 1641, is admitted by Clarendon, Carte, Warner, Leland, &c. Carte expressly states that the Duke of Ormonde, in letters written

Irish could hardly be resisted without the aid of Irish auxiliaries. The persons, therefore, who ground on this war an indiscriminate charge of rebellion against the Irish, are not recording facts, but the malignity of their own hearts. Why not charge their own country with rebellion when intestine tumults have frequently burst forth in it? and lords and masses of the people often revolted against their kings; 200,000 of the people rose in arms against Richard III., and 16,000 against Henry VII. But such is the nature of these men, lynx-eyed to the faults of others; toad-blind to their own.

The parliamentarians, both in their writings and speeches, contend that the late ten years' war of the Irish must be branded as a rebellion. Such is the usual conduct of all enemies—to exhaust the virulence of the pen against those who have been the victims of their arms and machinations. One consideration, however, shows the gross injustice of this calumny, namely, that rebellion cannot be charged against any but those who are in arms against their prince. Now, as the Irish, so far from being in arms against the king, fought under his standard, they stand acquitted of the guilt, and ought not to be reproached with the infamy of rebellion. They saw the parliamentarians endeavouring to clip the wings of the king's prerogative, lest the greatness of his power might overshadow themselves, and that they, by acquiring an authority equal or superior to his, might rule his subjects with the sway of a Manlius. Moreover, these parliamentarians conspired to extirpate the Catholic faith in Ireland, and to expel the natives from their hereditary estates; and are the Irish to be charged with precipitating themselves into the gulph of rebellion, if they were forced to fly to arms in defence of their creed, their king, and their country, against their own fellow-subjects, who had no authority over them? They were aware of the designs of the parliamentarians before any disturbances broke out,

so early as January 27th, 1642, February 25th, 1642, imputed the general revolt of the nation to the publishing of that design. Carte, vol. i., p. 263. "Sir William Parsons, out of a strange weakness or a detestable policy, positively asserted, before many witnesses at a public entertainment in Dublin, that within a twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in Ireland." Carte 1, 235.

emittunt; sic ex aliquibus Parlamentariis arcanorum consiliis mox erupturi furoris indicia proruperunt. Illis enim amicitia cum nonnullis Hibernis intercessit, quos impendentis periculi monitos voluerunt, ut Parlamentariorum religionem, et partes amplexi, exitio se tempestivè subducerent. Suscepti flagitii fama hoc pacto primum ad plurimos serpsit; deinde literis interceptis non obscurè cognita: demum nec jam occulte, nec per dissimulationem, sed apertâ professione Parlamentarii præ se tulerunt Catholicæ religionis, et Hiberniæ nationis profligandæ consilium à se agitari. Anno enim integro turbas in Hibernia emergentes antegresso, Edwardus Loftus Cancellarii filius domino Chivers Wexfordiæ comitatus eo anno vicecomiti centum libras sterlingas, ceu mille Turonicas ea lege contulit, ut duplo tantundem ab eo referret, nisi vel religione, vel patriâ vertente anno Hiberni exuerentur.[66] Bellum suscipere nemini adhuc in mentem venit, cum religionis aut gentis nostræ deletione in Comitiis Angliæ sancitâ, turmæ aliquot equitum in Hiberniam ex Angliâ trajecerunt oportunitatem et secuturi exercitus molem operientes. Nimirum tria millia Puritanorum Hiberniam incolentium literis Chyrographos apposuerunt, quibus enixius à comitiis efflagitarunt, ut vel fidem Catholicam in Hiberniâ, vel gentem ipsam Hibernicam è medio tollerent.[67] Verborum libri, qui Historia Independentium inscribitur, hic sensus est. In initio comitiorum anni 1640, independentes, id est schismatici palam contenderunt ut Papistæ radicitus ex Hiberniâ evellerentur, et eorum possessiones aggressoribus conferrentur: ita ut decretum ea de re latum necessitatem Papistis Hibernis imposuerit mactandi Protestantes Anglos. Quod à dictis independentibus datâ opera ideò factum est, ut Papistæ et Protestantes mutuis ibi se cædibus contererent, quo faciliùs ipsi Protestantismum in Anglia subverterent.[68] Iidem impedierunt quominus pars contracti à [256] comite Straffordiæ exercitus ter mille | hominum fortunam omnem in

[66] Epistola nobilis Hiberni ad nobilem Anglum impressa, p. 4. [67] Part 2. p. 200. sub fine. [68] Part 2. p. 216.

[h] See abridgment of Irish Remonstrance. Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, Appendix V. vol. ii. p. 16. The answer to that remonstrance asserts in defence that this wager was a "jest." Ibid. p. 25. A practical jest to work on the fears of the Catholics, and drive them into rebellion, and a very common jest in Ireland.

The glowing coal sometimes emits sparks though it be covered with ashes, so there were some fatal indications of the coming atrocities from some secret plans of the parliamentarians. They were on friendly terms with some of the Irish, and gave them timely intimation of the impending storm, that they might consult for their safety by embracing the creed and political views of the parliament. The report of the intended plot was by this means at first widely circulated: it was afterwards plainly discovered from some intercepted letters; at length the mask was thrown off; and the parliaments made no secret of their intention, but openly declared that they determined on the extirpation of the Catholic faith in Ireland, and on the subjugation of the Irish nation. A full year before the first troubles in Ireland, Edward Loftus, son of the chancellor, gave £100 sterling to Mr. Cheevers, sheriff of the county of Wexford in that year, with this single stipulation, that double the sum should be paid back to him if, in the following year, the Irish were not deprived both of their religion and their country.[h] No person had the least notion of taking up arms, when the English parliament decreed the extirpation of our creed and race,[i] and some troops of cavalry came from England to Ireland to watch their opportunity and assist the expected enemy from England. Three thousand Irish Puritans had already signed a document, in which they earnestly insisted, either that the Catholic religion should be abolished, or that the Irish race should be extirpated. The following is the substance of a passage in a work, styled "the History of the Independents." In the beginning of the parliament of 1640, the Independents, that is the Schismatics, publicly demanded that the Irish papists should be extirpated, and their lands conferred on the conquerors: the enactment which was made to that effect compelled the Irish papists to massacre the English Protestants. The design of the Independents was to make the papists and Protestants waste their strength by mutual massacre, and thus facilitate the overthrow of Protestantism in England. They also prevented an army of three thousand men, which had been collected by Strafford, from going over to serve in Spain, though they had no other means of support, and had been expressly promised by his majesty to the marquis

[i] It is not easy to know which act of the English legislature our author refers to here. Most probably, it is the resolution of the English Lords

armis habentium stipendia in Hispaniâ faceret, quemadmodum sua majestas duobus regis Hispaniæ legatis Marchioni de Velada, et Malvesio pollicita est. Qui milites jam dimissi, et ab omni spe derelicti primas faces tumultui subjecerunt.[69] Qui hæc facinora patrarunt, rei sunt rebellionis Hibernicæ, et sanguinis amplius quam decies mille protestantium ibi profusi quos bellum Hibernicum sustulit. Præterea regem invitum attraxerunt ad desperationem Hibernis movendam consentiendo sanctioni quâ eorum possessiones proscribebantur, ac iis tradebantur, qui aggressoribus Hiberniæ pecunias numerato penderent. Quàm igitur Parlamentariis sceleratum erat, subjectionis consortio sibi paribus insultare, et impium in regem armis insurgere; tam erat Hibernis laudabile saluti suæ consulere, impetum hostilem reprimere et furorem coercere.

Proinde dubium esse modò desinit, è quo fonte in Hibernia, bellicæ tempestatis exordia promanarunt. Orta quoque in Anglia contentio inter duos equites Hibernum Patricium Barnavellum Kingslandiæ vicecomitis hæredem, et Anglum Thomam Broune, Hiberni ne bellum Hibernicum, an Angli ceperint? eo progressa est, ut alter alteri singulare certamen indixerit: In quo, cum Hibernus victoriam retulisset, causam quoque vicisse dicendus est, et extra omnem controversiam posuisse, quod bellum Hibernicum ab Anglis, non ab Hibernis initium duxerit. In ejusmodi enim pugnis ad lites decidendas olim adhibitis, victor causâ melior fuisse, et victus pro nocente semper habitus est.

Id certe constat loca belli contagione nondum attacta cædibus horrendis à Parlamentariis cruentata fuisse. Rebus adhuc in Ardes Ultoniæ regiuncula pacatis, Hamiltonus ditionis illius vicecomes suos clientes, sive agri sui conductores, intra ædium ejus ambitum se recipere hor-

[69] Ibidem.

and Commons, Dec. 8, 1641 (on the petition of the Longford Catholics) "that they would never give consent to any toleration of the popish religion in Ireland." Borlase's Irish Insurrection, p. 52. Before that date the insurrection had been confined exclusively to parts of Ulster, and two or three counties in Leinster: or it may be the reference in the text is to the Act of the English parliament, February 2, 1641–2, for the confiscation of Catholic

of Valada, and Malvez, the Spanish ambassadors. These soldiers, thus disbanded and left without resource, were the first authors of the troubles. The Independents who perpetrated those acts were the real authors of the Irish rebellion, and must answer for the blood of more than 10,000 Protestants slain in the war. Moreover, they forced the king to drive the Irish to despair by giving his assent to their bill,[k] which confiscated all their property, and handed it over to those who would venture money for the payment of the troops destined for the conquest of Ireland. If, then, it was criminal in the Parliamentarians to assail their fellow-subjects, and impious to draw their sword against their king, it must have been praiseworthy in the Irish to consult for their own defence, to repel the assaults and to repress the fury of their enemies.

The origin, then, of the tempest of war in Ireland, is traced with certainty to its true authors. A dispute arose in England between two knights, Patrick Barnwall, the heir of viscount Kingsland, an Irishman, and Thomas Broune, an Englishman, whether the English or Irish had first taken up arms? So serious was the affair, that a challenge to fight a duel was the consequence, and as the Irishman was victorious in the contest, his cause must be considered the better, and there can be no longer question that the Irish war was not commenced by the Irish, but by the English. For in combats of that kind, when used as judicial ordeals in former ages, the conqueror was always considered to have justice on his side, and the conquered was condemned as guilty.

One thing is certain, that many places, in which there had been no signs of war, were the scenes of horrid butcheries by the Parliamentarians. Before the slightest commotion had appeared in the Ards, a district of Ulster, Hamilton, governor of the district, ordered all his dependants and farmers to retire and shut themselves up in his castle,

property. The promoters of that act calculated publicly on the forfeiture of 10,000,000 acres. (Cox ii., p. 101, Carey's Vindiciæ, p. 333), an amount greater than was possessed by all Irish Catholics, though a great number of them were not in arms at the time, and the Catholic confederation had not yet been formed, nor could the nation be said to have undertaken the war.

[k] Probably the act of the English legislature referred to in last note.

tatus est, ut à furoris hostici discrimine sarti tecti conservarentur. Advolarunt illuc è vestigio miselli, domini fide in suspicionem non vocatâ, et in horreum impacti, facibus tecto subjectis, omnes uno incendio conflagrarunt.

Sitientissimus humani cruoris helluo Carolus Coote[70] cognomento corvum significante, Caroli hodierni Connaciæ præsidis pater, mali ovi malus corvus, per Midiæ, Lageniæque provincias belli flamma nondum correptas execrandis cædibus grassatus est. Is in pago de Munenasrulii mille tantum passus Wicloâ dissito, mendicum stipem ab eo rogantem, minorem equitum catapultam ore excipere, et inflare jussum, globulis pulvere accenso emissis, per ludibrium interemit. Simili crudelitate an. Domini 1641. Franciscus Morus filius Vicecomitis de Mellifont cuidam Thomæ Philips in pago Balridera vitam eripuit. In ea excursione quidam mente captus talarem etiam levidensem crassioris fili, pro more gentis, stoliditatis indicium gestans, et capularis effætusque senex lecto, præ senectute, affixus, in Novi Castri villa perempti sunt. Matronam nobilem etiam prægnantem, post ipsum lauta cœna exceptum, in furcam tolli, et strangulari jussit. Pastori cuidam in latus humi procumbere coacto jugulum ense transfixit, et eum occisum ratus abiit, sed pastor postridie halitum per ensis vestigia emittens, et verbo et facto, rei gestæ seriem astantibus exhibuit. Blackhalæ in comitatu Kildariensi senum, infantum, et mulierum execrabilem stragem edidit, infantulis super ubera matrum lancea, vel ense confossis. Ille in ædibus matronæ nobilis absente merito, cum primoribus copiarum suarum præfectis pernoctavit, splendido hospitio, et lauteis [lautiis ?] etiam macteis exceptus; matronæ tamen eum ultimæ salutationis officio ad januam prosequenti laqueum injici, eamque in patibulum præ suis foribus tolli jussit: Et infantulum in ejus utero palpitare resciens, uterum proscindi, et eductum infantem materni crinis vinculo implicitum matri appendi, vitamque vix

[70] Caroli Cooti crudelitates.

[l] Coote's successor in the government of Connaught was appointed, December 24th, 1661. Liber Hiberniæ, vol. i., part ii., p. 190.

[m] This form of expression implies, that in accordance with the ancient division, Meath was not considered by our author a part of Leinster.

[n] The Wicklow expedition of Coote commenced, November 29th, 1641.

that they might save themselves from the impending fury of their enemies. The poor victims rapidly flocked thither from all quarters, never suspecting the honor of their master, but when they were all locked up in a barn, the brand was flung on the roof, and all the wretches perished in the flames.

Charles Coote, nicknamed the Raven, a most bloodthirsty monster, father of the present Charles, president of Connaught,[l] a bad crow from a bad egg, perpetrated horrible massacres in several parts of Meath and Leinster,[m] before either had been involved in the flame of war. In the village of Munenasrule, about a mile from the town of Wicklow,[n] he put the muzzle of a horse pistol into the mouth of a beggar who asked alms, and then ordering the poor creature to blow into the barrel, he fired the bullets into his throat and murdered him in sport.[o] Francis More, son of viscount Mellifont, committed a similar atrocity in 1641, on one Thomas Philips, in the village of Balrudery. In the same excursion, a poor idiot dressed in a long trowser of coarse cloth, the usual dress worn by idiots in Ireland, and a decrepid old man, confined to his bed from age, were slain in the village of Newcastle. He also ordered a noble lady in a state of pregnancy to be strung up to the gallows and hanged, after he had partaken of a splendid supper under her hospitable roof. He ordered a shepherd to lie down on his side, and then thrust a sword into his throat, and left him for dead, but the shepherd on the next day, breathing through the wound in his throat, attested, as well by his words as his wounds, the savage cruelty. At Blackhall, in the county of Kildare, he committed a horrible massacre of old men, women and children, and transfixed the little infants on their mothers' breasts with his swords and lances. Having spent a night, with some of his officers, in the house of a noble lady whose husband was absent, he was treated with splendid hospitality and costly presents; but when the lady followed him to the door to bid him adieu on his departure, he ordered a rope to be thrown round her neck, and hanged her before her own door. Perceiving that the infant was alive in her womb, he ordered her to be ripped open:

The demoniacal cruelties charged against him may appear the less surprising, as his regiment was composed of the "poor stripped" English settlers who had been ejected from their lands by the Irish. Borlase, 44, 56.

[o] An act of the same kind was committed in the chapel of Castlecomer in

haustam illico finire imperavit. Donato Coniam Sexagenario Hibernis [257] armatis nondum adjuncto, plantæ pedum adipe | perunctæ ad ignem in castro Wicloensi Colonello Craffardo imperanto adustæ fuerunt; qui cruciatus nobili seni postridie vitam abripuit. Quatuordecem fœminœ in locis Vadiponti finitimis deprehensas sic hostis constrinxit, ut alteram altera sinu complecteretur, in quas deinde catapultarii milites tanquam in scopum collinearunt, inter quos quidam Ash eminuisse putatus est, quod novem fœminas uno ictu sclopi trajecerit. Anno partus virginei 1641, quo bellum Hibernicum inchoatum est, in pago Dubliniensis comitatus dicto Balridere, Capitaneus Conoke quinque fœminas, 4 parvulos, et 3 viros: Capitaneus etiam Hipslii per ejusdem parochiæ Balridiriensis fines plusquam centum innoxios mactavit. Hoskins, et Dumbet aliquâ præfecturâ in Boltoni legione functi, ex imbelli multitudine senum, parvulorum, et mulierum sexaginta exanimarunt, et octodecem pagos cremarunt. Exercitus Ormonii Proregis Vadipontem contendens è debiliore sexu, et ætate plusquam quingentos trucidavit. In autumno sequentis anni, quidam Bennet Anglus plusquam centum agricolas segeti metendæ, etiam in suæ ditionis finibus intentos, vita spoliavit. Dun Sachlinum duodecem mille passus Dublinio remotum miles hostilis accedens quinquaginta mulieres,[71] senes, et puerulos pugionibus, hastis, et gladiis peremerunt, et matrem patris Redani metam excipiendis ictibus statuentes plumbea glande transfixerunt. Ut regionum illorum incolas ad bellum non ultro profectos, sed per vim protrusos fuisse perspicuum sit. Nisi jugulum ultro carnifici per ig-

[71] Redan. in Machab. p. 257.

1798 by a yeoman officer, who afterwards died, devoured by vermin, in the house now occupied by the National Bank, Kilkenny.

[p] It is unnecessary to authenticate all the cases in this frightful detail of Coote's savage ferocity. Even worse may well be credited on the concurrent testimony of Catholic and Protestant writers. See Carey's Vindiciæ, pp. 411, 422. O'Connell's Memoir pp. 263, 276, 292, 297.

[q] A similar instance of cruelty is given from really contemporary authorities in O'Connell's Memoir, p. 295. How, after the authorities cited in that memoir, and especially after Dr. Lingard's notes on the same sub-

the babe was dragged out and tied to its mother with its mother's hair, and thus was extinguished the breath of life almost as soon as it had commenced. Donnchadh O'Conaigh, aged sixty years, who had never joined the Irish army, had the soles of his feet smeared with grease, and burned at a fire in the camp at Wicklow, by order of colonel Crafford; the noble old man survived the torture only one day.[p] Fourteen women were seized in the immediate neighbourhood of Drogheda and bound breast to breast. The musketeers then discharged their muskets at them like a target, and one man named Ashe was hailed as the fortunate victor, because he sent one bullet through nine women. In the year 1641, the year in which the Irish war broke out, captain Conoke massacred 5 women, 4 children, and 3 men in Balruddery, a village in the county Dublin; and in the same parish captain Hipsley massacred more than 100 innocent victims. Hoskins and Dumbet, who held some commission in Bolton's corps, burned 18 villages, massacred 60 old men, women, and children, a helpless throng. On their retreat from Drogheda, the soldiers of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant, massacred more than 50 old men, women, and children. In the autumn of the following year, one Bennet, an Englishman, massacred more than 100 peasants as they were engaged reaping corn on his own property.[q] When the enemy took Dunshaughlin, about 14 miles from Dublin, they slew with their spears, swords and daggers, 50 old men, women, and little boys, and setting up the mother[r] of Father Redan as a target, perforated her with bullets. The inhabitants of these districts were driven against their will to take up arms. They had no alternative between basely holding

ject, Mr. Moore could admit, as he appears to do, a massacre of Protestants by the Irish Catholics in 1641, 1642, is utterly inconceivable, unless we suppose that the fourth volume of Moore's history of Ireland is not the work of our national bard, but of some person who abused his confidence, publishing the work under his name.

[r] May this be the Mrs. Alison Read, aged 80 years, who was murdered at Dunshaughlin, in 1642? Many of the circumstances here given agree with the contemporary account published in O'Connell's Memoir, p. 295, such as the murder of forty persons, principally women and children, at the same time and place; the massacre of 100 women and children, though under protection at Mulhussey, &c. &c.

naviam præbere, quam vitam armis contra crudelitatem viriliter tueri mallent.

Præsidiarii Dublinienses urbem ad aucupium egressi Dublinii accolas quos infirmior ætas aut sexus, aut morbi seniique necessitas domi continuit, et fugere vetuit aggressi, avium loco habitos nimbo plumbeo per lusum confecerunt. Suppetiis in Hiberniam missis nihil crebrius in ore fuit, quam ad radicem et ramum excidendum se venisse. Ut nemo dubitet quin gentem Hibernicam stirpitus eradicare in mandatis habuerint. Perinde ac si dicerent "Eradamus" gentem Hibernicam "de terra viventium et nomen ejus non memoretur amplius."[72] His affine facinus aliud Puritanorum est, qui ubi primum in Ultoniam seditiones sopitâ irruperunt, suis armis marium infantulorum sanguine cruentandis sedulo incubuerunt. Novi fœminam quandam, infanticidio isto fervente, sexum muliebrem artificio nescio quo in filiolo ementiri conatam; quæ in filii sexu celando non tam ingeniosa fuit, quam atrox miles in ejus arte deprehendenda solers, qui pugione pusionem truculentè confodit; barbarissimarum gentium immanitatem superans quæ in bello quamvis infesto, à tenerioris ætatulæ cæde ferrum cohibent. Sed fortassè Parlamentarii suorum ab Hibernis antea cæsorum manibus innoxio cruore parentare, Ethnicorum more voluerunt. Certè homines (si diis placet) æquitatis observantissimi advertere debuerunt,[73] "Non ut in beneficiis honestum est merita meritis repensare, ita injurias injuriis: illic vinci turpe est, hic vincere." Quod si parvuli illi percussorum Anglicæ multitudinis liberi fuerint, non debuerunt tamen paterni sceleris pœnas dare, Seneca dicente:[74] "Nihil iniquius esse quam aliquem paterni odii hæredem fieri:"[75] Et Cicerone monente: "Acerbum esse parentem scelera filiorum pœnis lui.

[72] Jerem. 11. [73] Seneca de ira, lib. 2. [74] Ibid. c. 34. [75] Ad M. Brutum.

[a] See in Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, ii., p. 150, extracts from a pamphlet, published in London, which went through several editions. Among other savage sentiments, the following blasphemous one is addressed to the English soldiery destined for Ireland: "Cursed is he that shall do the work of the Lord negligently. Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood. Yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword starke drunk with Irish blood."

their necks for the murderer, and defending their lives like men against the ferocity of the enemy.[s]

The soldiers of Dublin garrison going out to fowl fell on all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the city, who, either from age, or sex, or disease, were detained at home and not able to fly. The poor victims were shot down like birds by those savage sportsmen. The watchword amongst all the reinforcements sent over from England was, "extirpate the Irish, root and branch," whence it is palpable, that the orders from head quarters[t] must have been the extirpation of the people of Ireland; as if they would say, "let us cut off the Irish nation from the land of the living, and let its name be remembered no more." The Puritans of the North were guilty of similar enormities on the first lull of the civil storms in Ulster; they made it their business to imbrue their swords in the heartsblood of all the male children. I knew a woman,[u] who, while this demoniacal infanticide was the rage, endeavoured, by some artifice or other (I know not what,) to conceal the sex of her little boy; but she was not so ingenious in concealing the sex of her little boy as the brutal soldier was in discovering it; the dagger of the savage monster was soon buried in the infant's breast. The most barbarous nations, in the most merciless wars, never came up to this atrocity—they do not turn their swords against the helpless infant. The Parliamentarians, perhaps, may plead that they were only appeasing, like the Pagans, by this innocent blood, the manes of their friends who were slain by the Irish. But these great lovers of justice! (God bless us) ought to remember, "that though, when there is question of good deeds, it is right to repay favors by favors, it is not right to repay injury by injuries; victory in the former is honor, in the latter, disgrace.' Even though these little children were the sons of those who slew numbers of English, they ought not to have suffered the penalties of their parents guilt. "Nothing," says Seneca, "can be more unjust than to make any man the heir of his father's odium." "It is cruelty," says Cicero, "to make the child suffer the penalty of the father's crimes."

[t] "Sir William Parsons hath by late letters advised the governor to put man, woman and child, to the sword. And Sir Adam Loftus had written in the same strain." Carte, ii., 396.

[u] The murder of infants is at-

Quare quisque jam plane cernit eos qui summæ rerum in Hiberniâ et Angliâ præfuerunt, ad gentem Hibernicam penitus extinguendam operas contulisse. Cum militia quæ sub signis in Hibernia fuit, à promiscua mulierum, senum, et infantium cæde non abstinuerit. Et auxilia Anglica palam agnoverint ad nationem Hibernicam radicitus evellendam omnem se conatum adhibituros.

Si verò aliquis retorqueat atrocissimas Anglorum strages perfidiose ab Hibernis editas, ultionem longè majorem promeritas fuisse: aio nihil eo quod asseritur verius esse, modò de cædium authoribus non de insontibus ultio sumeretur. Nullus profecto mortalium immanes istas internecio-[258]nes | magis execratur quam plerique Hiberni. Quippè qui viderant omnes istarum occisionum crimini affines, vel peste, vel ferro, vel laqueo judicum nostrorum sententiis justo Dei judicio è medio sublatos fuisse. Præter aliquos à Parlamentariis supremam in Hibernia potestatem jam nactis extremo supplicio jure affectos. Quæ sceleratorum animadversio non mediocrem iis laudem pareret, nisi magis avaritiæ ac odio, quam justitiæ servientes, plures insontes quam sontes eâ pœna plexissent: nempè quos vel privatim aversabantur, vel quorum amplis fortunis inhiabant: moderatione illa in pœnis irrogandis non adhibitâ, quam sapientes præscripserunt: nimirum ut pœna ad pauciores, metus ad omnes perveniret. Quod magis ad veritatem promendam, quam ad patrocinium ullum nostratium immanitati præstandum dico. Ad cujus atrocitatem exaggerandam quàm verbis extenuandam propensior mihi semper animus fuit: utpote in quam Deum ipsum satis graviter ani-

tested by numerous other authorities. "I have heard a relation of my own who was captain in that service relate, that no manner of compassion was showed either to age or sex, but that the little children were promiscuously sufferers with the guilty, and that if any one who had some grains of compassion reprehended the soldiers for this unchristian inhumanity, they would scoffingly reply: 'Why? nits will be lice;' and so would dispatch them." Nalson ii., Introduction, vii. "A Colonel Washington who was present at the massacre of nearly 350 women and children, endeavouring to save a pretty child of seven years old carried him under his cloak, but the child against his will was killed in his arms, which was a principal motive of his quitting that service." See O'Connell's Memoir, p. 302.

[v] As no mercy was shown to women, it is not surprising to find some of

It must be obvious, then, to every one, that those who were at the helm of state in England and Ireland had directed their aim to the utter extirpation of the Irish nation, since the soldiers under their banners in Ireland rioted in the promiscuous slaughter of women,[v] old men, and children, and the English auxiliaries openly avowed that they would strain every nerve to extirpate without mercy the Irish race.

Should it be urged, that the atrocious massacres, perfidiously perpetrated by the Irish on the English, deserved retaliation much more severe, I grant that the answer is perfectly true, provided the authors of those murders, and not innocent people, were punished. No people on the face of the earth has a greater horror of these savage butcheries than the majority of the Irish;[w] for they saw all the participators in these massacres cut off by the just vengeance of God, either by the plague or the sword, or the sentence of our courts of justice, besides others, who were condemned to death, when the Parliamentarians acquired supreme control in Ireland. For this latter judicial proceeding they would have our praise, if avarice and hatred, not love of justice, had not incited them to execute more innocent persons, than guilty; all who had private enemies or large properties were victimized, without the slightest regard to that moderation, which all wise men require in the infliction of punishment, namely, that terror should be struck into all, but punishment executed only on a few. I state this principle, not to throw a veil over the ferocity of any of my countrymen, but because it is true. I have been at all times more inclined to exaggerate[x] than to extenuate their guilt, because I saw condign punishment inflicted on them by God

them preferring death on the battle field, to death by heartless assassins. "After the battle of Ballintubber, a soldier pulled off a *mountero* from the head of one of the (Irish) dead, and there fell down long tresses of flaxen hair"—it was a woman. Borlase, Irish Insurrection, p. 107.

[w] Authorities collected in O'Connell's Memoir, pp. 388, 352, attest this fact.

[x] Our author's own Anglo-Irish prejudices against the old Irish, as manifested especially in his Alithinologia, disposed him to censure severely the occasional cruelties committed by the Ulster Irish in retaliation for the cruelties of their enemies.

madvertisse conspexi;[76] "Qui lento gradu ad vindictam procedit, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat." Etenim

> "Raro antecedentem scelestum[77]
> [y]Deservit pede pœna claudo."

Nam

> "Contemni numen Olympi
> Haud impune sinunt superi. Scelera impia
> Quanquam distulerint, culpas hominum graviora morantur supplicia."

Carolus Coote justissimas gravissimæ sævitiæ pœnas dedit, lethali vulnere authoris incerti confectus. Ita ut tanquam alter Julianus Apostata supplicio cœlitus immisso periisse videatur. Angli libris editis fatentur sexaginta millia armatorum in Hiberniam ex Anglia Scotiaque[79] ad militiam submissos fuisse, quorum plerosque ignoti horribiles morbi tanto numero exhauserunt, ut cœmiteriis Vadiponte, Dublinii, et Corcagiæ ad eos tumulandos non sufficientibus, sepulchra in agris extra muros ad illos inhumandos effodi oportuerit. Nimirum tantæ innoxii sanguinis copiæ per scelus effusæ justas pœnas dederunt, ut qui salutem insontibus polliciti veste prius exutos vitâ perfidiosè spoliarunt. Patrum memoriâ Bruncardus Momoniæ præses non minore prope odio Catholicos, quam Antiochus Judæos afflixit, nec alium quam Antiochus vitæ exitum habuit.[80] Nam vermibus toto corpore ebullientibus, feralibusque pediculis consumptus, et teterrimum fœtorem exhalans expiravit. Quidam Joannes Loe nupero bello modice progresso gladium suum commilitonibus ostendens, eum octoginta fœminarum, et parvulorum cruore

[76] Valeri. Maxim. lib. 1, c. 1. [77] Horatius, lib. 3. [78] Ode 2. Homerus Iliad, lib. 4. [79] Kilkeniense Calenda. an. 1648. [80] Redanus in Mach. p. 604.

[y] Killed near Trim in April, 1642. His body was brought to Dublin and there interred with great solemnity; floods of English tears accompanying him to his grave." Borlase, Irish Insurrection p. 104. See O'Connell's Memoir, p. 297. Coote's very name, as Borlase observes, was formidable to the Irish. It was the dread of having anything to do with him, that prevented the Lords of the pale from writing with the Lord's justices. "We have received certain advertizements, they say that Sir Charles Coote, knight,

himself, "who proceeds to punish by slow steps, but compensates for his tardiness by the severity of his chastisements." For

"Vengeance with sure, though slow and stealthy tread,
But seldom fails to smite the guilty head."

And

"An outrage against heaven
Heaven cannot pardon. Impious crime
Vengeance more heavy brings, when scathless for a time."

Charles Coote suffered the just punishment of his most atrocious cruelty; he was mortally wounded by some unknown hand,[y] and thus, like another Julianus the apostate appears to have fallen under a judgment sent down on him by God himself. In their own printed accounts the English confess that of the 60,000 English and Scotch soldiers sent over to Ireland the great majority were carried off by unknown and horrible distempers, in such heaps, that the cemeteries of Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork could not contain them, and pits were dug in the fields, outside the walls, to bury them.[z] This was the just punishment for those torrents of innocent blood, so savagely shed, when the victims, after surrendering on the promise of life, were first stripped naked, and then treacherously massacred. Within the recollection of our fathers, Bruncard, President of Munster, was as ferocious in his hatred of the Catholics as Antiochus was against the Jews; but he met with the fate of Antiochus. Worms swarmed out from his whole body; he was devoured piecemeal by vermin, and expired emitting a most horrid stench.[a] One John Loe, some time after the commencement of the late war, held up his sword before his fellow soldiers, and boasted that it had drunk the blood of eighty women and children; but before

at the council board, hath offered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our religion a general massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your lordships," December 7th, 1641. Cox, Hibernia, p. 84.

[z] In less than half a year it is computed that Cromwell's army of 12,000 men was reduced to considerably less than half that number.

[a] It is strange that O'Sullivan does

tinctum fuisse gloriatus, ante sequentis diei crepusculum, nostris præsidium in quo fuit aggressus, inter primos occubuit.

Attamen ut vere sic confidenter assero immanitates istas Hibernorum, falsis Parlamentariorum narrationibus longe ultrà veritatis fines elatas fuisse, qui tormenta suis sub initia tumultuum ab Hibernis illata non solum in scriptis legenda, sed etiam in pictis tabulis vivenda exhibuerunt. Quibus utrisque plurima mendacia inseruerunt; in picturis certè supplicia ementita delinearunt, cruciatum ab Hibernis nunquàm usurpatum iis affingentes, quasi hominem veru transfixum ad ignem assarent. Aliorum etiam nomina tabulis istis apposuerunt, qui memoratæ cladi superstites erant, in hoc Foxii sui vestigiis insistentes, qui sopites et sanos ac nulla ubice lividos inusitatis cruciatibus examinatos fuisse in suo Kalendario[81] narravit. Ab ejus tamen imitatione in eo isti recesserunt, quod ille ubi errorem rescivit agnovit,[82] et in delatores culpam contulit, hi ad errati agnitionem perduci non possunt, ne narrationem suarum fides ejusmodi delationibus innixa laboret. Tenuiorum hominum turba, quam casus aut sua industria, vel potius probiorum Hibernorum humanitas cladi eripuit Dublinium et in Angliam confluxit, et in rerum serie referendâ, orationem non ad veritatem sed ad largiorem ab auditoribus stipem eliciendam accommodavit. Quam vero fidem narrationes ex hominum testimoniis suam causam agentium conflatæ mereantur ad [259] lectoris arbitrium refero. |

Primus autem ille in Hibernia tumultus non universæ gentis rebellio (ut adversarii ad singula penè verba improperant) sed vulgi seditio fuit, quod ubi suis fortunis, capitibus, et religioni exitium parari obaudivit, dementiâ quadam mox correptum, in eos cæde per summum nefas

[81] Acta et monum. p. 1114. [82] Fitzsimons contra. Ride. p. 365.

not mention this man in the Historiæ Catholicæ. He was president of Munster from June 4, 1604, to June 16, 1607. Liber Hiberniæ, vol. 1, part ii., p. 184.

[b] The most complete collection of those Protestant tales are preserved in MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin: they consist of the depositions made on oath by the Protestants who fled to Dublin from the different parts of the country occupied by the Catholic forces. Though abounding with incredible statements and exaggerations, they might, if diligently collated with other accounts, be useful for the history of events before the establishment of the

next day's twilight he was one of the first that was slain by our soldiers in their attack on his garrison.

However, the truth must be told, and with confidence. The atrocities charged against the Irish have been grossly exaggerated by the false reports of the Parliamentarians, who in the commencement of the troubles not only wrote long accounts of the tortures inflicted by the Irish, but even had them painted and thus presented to the eyes. Both of these mediums of information were black with lies. With regard to the pictures, the tortures were certainly a fiction; the Irish never used the tortures imputed to them, they never stuck a man on a spit and roasted him before the fire. The names of many persons, too, figured on those pictures, who actually were living after the massacre. But this was Fox's plan, who described in his Book of Martyrs the strange tortures and execution of many persons who were alive, and in health, and without the least livid sign of bruise or burn, at the very time when he was writing. In one thing, however, they did not follow his example: when he discovered his error, he retracted, and threw the blame on his informants; but they could not be induced to confess their error, lest the credit of their narratives, which rested on the same testimony, should be totally subverted. Crowds of men in humble circumstance, who escaped from the catastrophe, either by chance or their own ingenuity, or rather by the humanity of the better sort of Irishmen, flocked to Dublin and England, and told their stories with less regard to truth than to the sympathy of their auditors, who might be induced to increase their alms in proportion to the horrors of the tale. Let each reader decide on his own authority the degree of credit due to the testimony of men who were pleading in their own cause.[b]

The first commotion in Ireland was not a rebellion of the whole nation,[c] (as our adversaries are eternally repeating,) but a sedition of the common people,[d] who, when they heard that their properties, re-

Catholic confederation. See Hardiman's West Connaught, p. 418, note.

[c] During nearly four weeks it was confined to Ulster alone; and even then it was not undertaken avowedly as a rebellion against the king: Phelim O'Neill assured his followers that he had a commission from Charles I. to arm the Irish Catholics.

[d] The O'Neills, Mac Mahons, and O'Reillys of the north were not all of that class.

debacchatum est, quos suæ ruinæ instrumenta olim fore putavit. Ea nimirum seditionis indoles est, ut ubi per populorum animos semel gliscit, eos in rabiem transversos agit; non secus ac si torrens extrà ripas erumpens, obvia quæque impetu prosternit. Multitudo enim imperita rationis et legum fræno excusso, in omne nefas lymphata ruit, et in noxios, innoxiosque juxta irruit. Ut vere Livius dixerit: populum aut servire humiliter, aut dominari superbe, ut qui semper æger est, semper insanus, semper furore, et intemperiis agitur. Omnis hactenus enata ubicunque seditio his malis imbuta fuit. Quamobrem haud novum est seditionem Hibernicam iis non caruisse. Quâ qui fuerunt impliciti de more seditiosorum, in innocuos ferrum scelerate strinxerunt, quos latâ strage multis in locis furiose prostraverunt, seditionis contagione latius ut fit paulatim serpente. Aliqui tamen de sceleris in hac seditione concitanda, contracti gravitate multum ideo detrahi contendunt, quod in cultissimis regionibus seditiones, et longe majores, et cæde multo functiores creberrime levissimis de causis exortæ fuerint. Burdegaliæ ob salis vectigal an. Dom. 1548 auctum, in tam furiosam seditionem plebes erupit, ut vectigalis exactoribus ad unum trucidatis, agros vastationibus, pagos incendiis, urbes direptionibus vexaverint. Neapoli non ita pridem è leviori tributo venditoribus herbarum indicto, tantus vulgi furor exarsit, ut plebeiorum infimi in magistratus, et primores urbis cæde, in eorum scripta, scrinia, et tecta incendio, in opes expilatione sævierint. Plurimis in locis ob monetam corruptiorem excusam, ob flagitiosorum aliquem, sed plebi gratum custodiæ traditum, et ob alias ejusmodi tricas concitatæ multitudinis temeritas eò insolentiæ progressa est, ut per tumultum plurimis optimatibus, tectis, et urbibus exitium attulerit.

Seditionis vero ab Hibernis motæ non tam levis origo fuit. Non enim

[e] Cox, Borlase, Clarendon, Temple, and many modern writers, such as Hume, &c. maintain that the Irish had no provocation whatever to rise in arms in 1641; that they had full security for their estates and sufficient liberty of conscience. As it would be too tedious to enumerate in a note all the real grievances of Ireland at that time, we shall merely cite the opinion of one whom all unprejudiced readers in the British empire prefer to Hume and his predecessors. "It cannot, I confess, be denied that those miserable performances which go about under the name of histories of Ireland do

ligion and lives, were doomed to destruction, were suddenly maddened into fury, and criminally turned their arms against those who they imagined were to be the future instruments of their own ruin. Such is the nature of all seditions. When they once take hold of the minds of the people, they drive them mad with rage; and, like a torrent bursting its banks, they overwhelm all they meet in their course. When once the rein of law and reason is thrown aside, the ignorant multitude plunges directly into every excess, and wreaks its vengeance alike on the innocent and guilty. Livius has truly observed that the people either submit slavishly or tyrannize haughtily, because they are always intemperate, always under the influence of rage and excess. Such have been the invariable characteristics of sedition, wherever it has broken out, and therefore it is not strange that they revealed themselves in an Irish sedition. The persons engaged in it, as usually happens in seditions, wickedly turned their swords against the innocent, many of whom they savagely butchered in several places, as the contagion of the storm gradually involved a greater tract of country. Some persons, however, contend that the guilt of the persons engaged in exciting this sedition is considerably extenuated by the fact, that far more extensive and bloody seditions sometimes arose in the most polished nations, and for apparently very trivial grounds. In the year 1548, when a tax was laid on salt in the city of Bordeaux, there arose such a dreadful sedition of the populace, that the tax-gatherers were massacred to a man, the country was laid waste, the villages burned, and the cities plundered. Not many years ago, when a slight tax was imposed on the herbsellers in Naples, the populace became so infuriated, that the very dregs of the city assailed the magistrates, burned the books, records, and palaces of the nobles, and robbed them of their money. In many other places, whenever base money was coined, or some criminal, who happened to be a favorite of the people, was cast into prison, or for some such trivial cause, the rash multitude was hurried into such excesses, that many nobles, with their palaces, and even cities, became the victims of its fury.

But there was much graver provocation for the sedition of the Irish.*

indeed represent these events after this manner; and they would persuade us, contrary to the known order of nature, that indulgence and

similibus apud eos reculis, sed conjugibus, liberis, fortunis, et ipso spiritu chariori liberati, et hac etiam potiori religioni periculum fuinæ imminebat. Ita ut mirum non sit si qualem omnes nationes tenuibus de causis seditionem excitaverant, talem Hiberni deletione illis impendente moliti fuerint. Ac proinde minori flagitio in seditionem, quàm memoratas nationes coivisse censendi sint. His argumentis nostratium aliqui tumultus à suis popularibus inchoati atrocitatem elevare conantur. Ego à sceleratis exemplis patrocinium turpissimo flagitio non accerso. Non possum tamen non summopere mirari, cum omnium nationum, et omnis memoriæ monumenta testentur, seditionis tantum capita pœnas ad ministros, et reliquam turbam semper impunitatem retulisse,[83] Mariumque (ut cætera taceam) captâ Carthagine punitis authoribus, cæteris veniam dedisse, plus enim invidia authoribus quam actoribus mali semper fuit; et Cicero dicat: "statuerunt ita majores nostri, ut si à multis est rei militaris flagitium admissum, sortione quadam in aliquos animadverteretur, ut metus ad omnes, ad paucos pœna perveniret;" cur ab omnibus superiorum temporum exemplis dicessum adeo in Hibernorum causa fuerit,[84] ut cum hactenus pauci plurimorum scelera capite, nostrates omnes paucorum flagitia ultimo exitio luerint? An non facinoris insolentiâ, et novitate id Parlamentarii consequentur, ut jure merito antiquitatem omnem atrocitate superent, qui crudelitatem ante inauditam in Hibernos exercuerunt.

Hiberni non pauci plures Anglos ad necem petitos non sine suo periculo latebris sollicitè abdiderunt; alios è sicariorum ungulis per vim abduxerunt; nonnullos et sibi et fortunis suis perfugium in Hibernorum

[83] Justin lib. 8. [84] Pro Cluentio.

moderation in governors is the material incitement in subjects to rebel. But there is an interior history of Ireland, the genuine voice of its records and monuments, which speaks a very different language from these histories, from Temple and Clarendon; these restore nature to its just rights and policy to its proper order. For they even now show to those who have been at the pains to examine them, and they may show one day to all who would, that these rebellions were not produced by toleration, but

It was not slight privileges of that kind, but their wives, their children, their lives, and liberty, which is dearer than life, and their religion, dearest of all, which were threatened with ruin. Can it be surprising, then, that a catastrophe so appalling and indiscriminate should have driven the Irish into a sedition, which so often arose in other countries, from causes comparatively trifling? Must not the guilt of the Irish in this sedition be pronounced much less heinous than that of other nations? These are the arguments urged by some of our countrymen to extenuate the atrocities committed in the first heats of the troubles by the Irish. For my part, I will not attempt to justify a crime by precedents of more heinous crimes. But I cannot repress my amazement, that when the records of all ages and nations prove, that the leaders alone of sedition were punished, and the rest of the crowd pardoned, when Marius (to omit other examples) punishes the chief leaders, and pardons the rest after the capture of Carthage (for the authors of evil have been always considered more guilty than the instruments,) and when Cicero declares, "the law of our ancestors provides that whenever a crime was committed by many persons in the army, some persons should be selected for punishment, that all might be terrified, though few only were punished;" with these facts before me, why, I ask, have the precedents of all preceding ages been violated against the Irish alone? why are all my countrymen doomed to the heaviest penalty of the law for the crimes of a few, while heretofore, a few only suffered for the crimes of the many? Must not the novelty, the strangeness of this procedure, obtain for the Parliamentarians an unrivalled preeminence in cruelty, by venting on the Irish a merciless ferocity, unknown in all ancient times?

The Irish, often with great risk to themselves, carefully concealed Englishmen when their lives were in danger; they rescued others by

by persecution; that they were not from just and mild government, but from the most unparalleled oppression. . . . God forbid that the history of this or any other country should give such encouragement to the folly or vices of those who govern." Edmund Burke's Tracts on the Popery Laws. He states truly, that all those rebellions were produced by the too successful attempt to reduce the Irish to the wretched state in which they were in his own day.

ædibus nactos fuisse constat; Anglorum occisoribus præcones nostri è suggestu cœlestes minas intentarunt. Adeo ut omnes Angli è seditiosorum ferro [260] | ac manibus elapsi sospitatem suam Hibernis acceptam referre debuerint. Cur itaque potius seditiosi pœnam sceleris, quàm bene de Anglis meriti beneficentiæ mercedem retulerunt? nimirum hi ipsi Angli Hibernororum beneficio vivi et incolumes suos casus enarrantes, beneficiorum obliti, injurias duntaxat memorabant; et eorum delationibus excipiendis constituti, de damno non de beneficio Anglis impenso solliciti, noxas tantum Hibernorum ediscere avebant. Ut et isti ingratissimi fuerint, qui beneficiorum in se collatorum memoriam sibi excidere tam citò patiebantur, et hi inhumanissimi (ut nihil gravius dicam) quibus totis ad pœnas de noxiis capiendas intentis, vel tenue præmium benemeritis impendere, ne quidem in mentem venit; cum Reipub. non magis intersit flagitia supplicio, quam beneficia munere prosequi.

Quod si satietas illos ingratitudinis et injuriarum hic cepisset, nec ulterius ad alia damna Hibernis inferenda processissent molitiones eorum minus indignè ferendæ forent. Verum delationibus eorum quos ab interitu Hiberni vendicabant ad comitia relatis; non tantum Hiberni seditionis crimini affines, sed omnes universim Hiberni læsæ majestatis rei comitiorum decreto pronuntiantur, et vitæ bonorumque amissioni addicuntur. Quod senatus consultum duplici injustitia laborat. Cum millesimus ad summum Hibernus solummodò primæ seditionis contagione contaminatus fuerit: et delicti veniam delinquentium multitudini, per omnem præteriti temporis memoriam, paucorum vel pœna vel innocentia comparaverit: summa iniquitas seu potius singularis atrocitas erat sceleris ab uno admissi pœnas à nonaginta novem innoxiis exigere:

[f] True of seven-eighths of the kingdom; which, with the exception of Dublin, Drogheda, and a few towns in Munster, and a few garrisons in the North, was completely in the power of the Irish Catholics before the end of spring, 1642.

[g] He alludes, no doubt, to the act of Adventurers, 17, Charles I., on which the Irish Remonstrants, Art. ii., grounded their justification of the Confederate Catholics. By that act they say, the Irish *unsummoned* and *unheard* were declared rebels, and 2,500,000 acres of their property disposed of: "its scope seemed to aim at rebels only, yet the words include all the Irish." Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,

force from the hands of assassins. It is an undeniable fact that some Englishmen found security for themselves and their property in the houses of the Irish. Our preachers thundered from their pulpits denunciations of God's anger against the murderers of the English. In truth, every Englishman that escaped the fury and steel of the seditious owes his safety exclusively to Irishmen.[f] If, then, the seditious were justly punished for their crimes, was it justice to deny any reward to those who had favored the English? Those very Englishmen who escaped alive and unhurt by the aid of Irishmen forgot the favor conferred on them, and remembered nothing but their wrongs in the history they gave of their sufferings. The men appointed to receive their depositions wished to elicit the wrongs inflicted on them: it would not suit their object to inquire into Irish kindness; a verdict of guilt against the Irish was their sole object. It was gross ingratitude in the deponents to forget so soon the kind friends who had saved them; it was gross inhumanity (to use the mildest phrase) that the commissioners should be so exclusively bent on bringing the guilty to punishment, that they never even dreamed of conferring the slightest favor on the deserving; for is it not as much the interest of the common weal to reward virtue as to punish crime?

But if their ingratitude and injustice had stopped here, and no additional wrongs had been inflicted on the Irish, their guilt would have been less intolerable. But when the depositions of those who owed their lives to Irish kindness were laid before parliament, all the Irish, not only those engaged in the troubles, but the whole nation, were declared by a vote of parliament guilty of high treason, and condemned to forfeit their property and their lives.[g] In this vote there was a twofold injustice. For, when not more than one thousandth part of the Irish were implicated in the first tumults, and in all preceding ages, the punishment or innocence of a few has obtained pardon for a number of

ii., Appendix v., p. 18. The answer to the Remonstrance, ibid, p. 33, pretends that this act was subsequent to the *rebellion*, and not the cause of it. Subsequent it certainly was to what our author calls the first tumults of the war, but not to the union of the Irish nation in the Catholic Confederation. It was one of the chief causes of that Confederation.

Contra leges divinas quæ aiunt:[85] "Anima quæ peccaverit ipsa morietur: filius non portabit iniquitatem patris, et pater non portabit iniquitatem filii: justitia justi super eum, et impietas impii, super eum." Et humanas, quæ præcipiunt: "Unius factum alios in periculum trahere non debere." Monentque "crimen seu pœnam paternam nullam maculam filio infigere posse, nam unusquisque ex suo admisso sorti subjicitur, nec alieni criminis successor constituitur.[86] Iniquum enim est alieno odio quempiam prægravari. Sancimus" (inquit Arcadius et Honorius) "ibi esse pœnam ubi noxa; propinquos, notos, familiares procul à calumnia submovemus, quos reos sceleris societas non fecit. Nec enim societas vel amicitia nefarium crimen admittunt. Peccata igitur suos teneant authores, nec ulterius progrediatur metus, quam reperiatur delictum."[87]

Nec solum inusitata injuria,[88] sed et inaudita crudelitas erat integræ nationi nec vocatæ, ne auditæ vitam, fortunas, libertatem,[89] et patriam uno plebiscito abripere. Cui sceleri simile in tota antiquitate quoad scio non præcessit. Ex omnibus quidem superiorum temporum flagitiis,[90] Mithridatis facinus ei propius accessit, qui una Epistola octoginta millia Romanorum per Asiam dispersa interfici mandavit. Sane sicut Caligula optavit populum Romanum unam tantum habere cervicem, ut uno ictu omnes perimere possit; sic Parlamentarii votis omnibus expetiisse videntur, ut omnium Hibernorum capita uni collo hærerent, quo facilius uno securis ictu amputarentur. Non mediocri profecto Parlamentariis dedecori est, quod flagitiosorum principum imitatione se potius polluere, quam legum Romanorum observatione polire maluerunt.[91] Apud quos Triumviri capitales non per calumniam, iram, ultionem, aut invidiam, in hominem liberum grassabantur. Nec quæstio haberi poterat alicujus, nisi accusator delatorvè adesset, adhiberenturque defensores. Iniquum namque judicabant indefensum reum non modò morte, sed minimâ quidem pœna mulctari.

Cum igitur non jam de titivillitiis,[92] aut crepundiis, sed de summâ rerum, et de sua salute agi Hiberni viderent, nullam illi culpam con-

[85] Ezechiel, c. 18, v. 10. [86] Lib illicitus 5, licet de officio præfid. [87] Lib. 62. [88] D. de pœnis. [89] De offic. Testam. [90] Si quis testam 5. Si quis in fine codicis. [91] Franciscus Patricius Episcopus Cajetanus de Rep. [92] Lib. 3, tit. 3, p. 97.

delinquents, it was the height of injustice, or rather an unparalleled atrocity, to visit on ninety-nine innocent persons the guilt of one criminal. It was against the divine law of God, which prescribes, "the soul that sinneth, the same shall die; the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son; the justice of the just shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him;" and against the laws of man "one man's crime shall not bring others into peril," the crime or punishment of the father cannot brand any stain on the son, for every man is accountable for his own acts, and cannot be the heir of another man's crime. It is unjust that any man should bear the weight of another. "We enact," say Arcadius and Honorius, "that where there is guilt there shall be punishment; relations, acquaintances, friends, if not accomplices in crime, we hereby declare exempt from punishment. Friendship or familiarity is not proof of nefarious guilt. Offences, therefore, must cleave to their real authors, and let there be no alarm where there is no guilt."

It was not only an unprecedented injustice, but a monstrous cruelty, to deprive a whole nation, without a hearing or summons, of their fortunes, liberty, country and lives, by one vote of the commons. It was the most atrocious act of injustice recorded, as far as I am aware, in the annals of the world. Among all the barbarous atrocities of former ages, the only one which appears to come near it was the criminal orders issued in one letter by Mithridates for the massacre of 80,000 Romans who were scattered through Asia. Like Caligula, who wished the Roman people had but one neck, that he might kill them all with one blow, it appears to have been the most cordial wish of the Parliamentarians, that the heads of all the Irish were united on one neck, in order to dispatch them more easily with one blow of the axe. It is a great disgrace to those Parliamentarians, that they preferred polluting themselves by the example of the most savage tyrants, to civilizing themselves by the standard of the Roman law. Among the Romans, the Triumviri were never under the influence of calumny or envy, anger or revenge, when they prosecuted a free man for a capital offence; nor could any step be taken in judicial proceedings, until the accuser or informer appeared and was confronted with the defendants. It was injustice, in their opinion, to inflict the slightest penalty, much more

traxerunt, si contra paris subjectionis viros ultimam sibi perniciem molitos arma sui tuendi causâ sumpserint; nedum rebellionis probro notandi, si sententiam in comitiis Angliæ ferentium suffragia pro Cannæ calculo habuerint. Non enim comitiorum, sed regis Angliæ imperiis se obnoxios fuisse agnoscebant. Imo non plus sensus habuisse quibus-[261] dam visi sunt, quam surdi lapides | si nutarent in deliberatione utrum ad tam exitiales petitiones declinandas se armis accingerent necne? nisi enim intestinis desidiis positis, serpentem saltem et vulpem imitarentur, qui naturalibus inimicitiis continuo dissiti, aquilæ tamen hostis communis impetum junctis viribus repellunt.[93]

Nam lex ipsa naturæ, non solum permittit, sed etiam suadet, ut homines in tantas conjecti angustias, ad armorum perfugia concurrant, Maiolo scribente,[94] iniquorum insolentiam, iniquitatem, ambitionem, et æstuantem dominandi libidinem, sæpius ansam præbere, ut pacè ruptâ, ad arma descendendum sit, et pro aris et focis (more majorum) necessario pugnandum, hoc Alciati disticho adstipulante.

"Arma procul jaceant; tamen est fas sumere bellum,
Sin aliter pacis non licet arte frui."

Ac tum quidem non vero extra eam necessitatis causam perniciosas hostium molitiones inhibere, et eludere licet, prudentique consilio bellum suscipiendum. Non enim quævis ferenda sunt, ut pace fruaris, ne pax ea sit pactio aliqua servitutis exitiosæ, et dedecorosæ. Viris namque bonis, et honestis optabilius multòque est honeste mori, qnam turpiter vivere, miseraque et incerta pax vel bello mutatur: et cum dignitate potius cadendum est, quam cum ignominiâ serviendum. His itaque incommodis sagaci diligentiâ et consilio medendum est.

Sicut ergo manifestæ stultitiæ est movere bellum, si florente statu liceat retinere pacem; sic ubi necesse est pericula adire restaurandæ

[93] Plinius. [94] In diebus Canicularibus, p. 948.

the penalty of death, on a criminal who had not been heard in his own defence.

When, therefore, the Irish saw it was not some bauble or plaything, but the most vital of all concerns, their self-preservation, in fact, that was at stake, they were not guilty of the slightest fault in taking up arms against their fellow-subjects, who were plotting their extirpation; they cannot be accused of rebellion, when they disregarded the votes of those who passed judgment in the English parliament, for they did not acknowledge the authority of the English parliament, but of the kings of England. It was truly said by some, that the Irish would show as little sense as the deaf stones, if they hesitated for a moment to take up arms as a protection against such fatal machinations; and to hush their intestine dissensions, like the serpent and the fox, which, though implacable enemies by nature, combine their force in repelling the assaults of their common enemy, the eagle.

The law of nature not only permits, but orders, man to defend himself by arms when such dangers threaten him. Maiolus declares that the insolence of the wicked, injustice, ambition, and the raging lust of tyranny, often gave occasion to men to break the peace, and fly to arms and fight (like their ancestors) for their homes and altars—a doctrine which is sung by Alcæus.

> "War never seek: your swords employ,
> When else you cannot peace enjoy."

Then, and only then, in that case of necessity, is it lawful to oppose and defeat the pernicious designs of our enemies, and to form prudent plans for carrying on the war. All things must not be sacrificed for peace, lest peace should be only another name for fatal and disgraceful slavery. A virtuous and honorable man infinitely prefers an honorable death to a life of infamy; a war itself is better than a miserable and uncertain peace; it is better to fall with honor, than to be a slave with dishonor. Prudent diligence and good counsel can alone extricate us from those perplexing difficulties.

As it is glaring folly to make war, when peace can be preserved

libertati, magis reprehendendus est is qui fugit pericula, quam qui sustinet. Si enim bellum suscipi omnino non debet, nunquam securâ pace fruemur, cujus præsidium in armis consistit. Neque enim qui tranquillitatem nimis amant, diu possunt esse salvi, nisi simul, ubi opus est, sint fortes, et acres in repellendis hostibus. Interdum hosti non aperte modo suscipienti bellum, sed etiam arma meditanti rectè occurrendum est. Siquidem nisi caveris, ille prior ipse opprimet, et magis metuuntur qui priores invadere audent, quam qui lacessiti demum fortiter repellunt bellum. Nihil igitur magis turpe est, quam ea pax sub qua latitat belli occultus sonus, quâ initâ socii prodantur, et perduntur, sic ut plerique hac viâ à libertate in servitutem cadant. Et quæ cum ignavia et servitute ignominiosa pax juncta est, illa cum summa turpitudine, perniciem in se habet maximam. Nihil enim est patiendum turpiter ut quiete fruamur. Cum enim is qui injuriam tibi infert cessantem te et quidvis ferentem videbit, jam multo ferocius incumbet. Nec est differenda ultio, cum non differtur injuria. Quin etiam bello pax interdum magis firmatur, cum adversarii vident nec animos nobis, nec vires deesse. Itaque caute pax bello sæpè quærenda; bello enim pax magis stabilitur; otium vero belli metum, et periculum semper conjunctum habet.

Viderint igitur Parlamentarii si potius ipsi, quam Hiberni rebellionis maculâ obliniendi fuerint, qui non Hibernis tantum primi, sed ipsi etiam regi bellum intulerunt. Nec quicquam à se rebellionis opprobrium nisi more meretricum amolientes quæ cum aliis fœminis in altercationem incidentes, eas in ipsa jurgii aditu pellices appellant, veritæ ut ipsæ rixâ incalescente, simili convicio ab æmulis vapularent. Ego quidem non multum sexagenario nunc minor sanctè testor me neminem hactenus novisse qui clam insusurraverit, aut palam suaserit obsequium regi præstandum non esse, imo suggestus nostri vix alia re magis personabant quam concionatorum hortationibus populum ad omnem obedientiam regi exhibendam, ærumnas à magistratibus illatas æquo animo perferendas, et preces quotidianas ad Deum pro rege ac præfectis fun-

[h] See Introduction to vol. i., p. 4. This part of his work must have been composed shortly before the Restoration.

[i] Very strong testimony; and a proof of the extravagant loyalty of the Irish. All those whom our author met must have been loyal indeed,

without injury to the state, so, when our liberties cannot be recovered without encountering danger, the man who avoids is more guilty than the man who braves it. If it be never lawful to take arms, peace can never be secure, for its sole security is arms. Persons who are too fond of peace cannot enjoy any permanent security, unless they be at the same time strong and brave in repelling an enemy when occasion requires. At times, it is lawful to rise up against an enemy, not only when he has actually unfurled his standard against us, but even when he is preparing for war: because, if you do not anticipate him, he will crush you, and there is always more terror inspired by those who are first in the field, than by those who defend themselves, however bravely, when provoked to the contest. There can be nothing, therefore, more disgraceful, than that peace which cowers beneath the muttering thunders of war; such peace is the betrayal and ruin of our allies, the grave of the freedom of many nations. The ignominious peace obtained by cowardice and slavery is at once the depths of degradation and the extreme of misery. Peace must not be purchased by patient ignominy. When your persecutor sees you succumbing and patient under injuries, he will set no bounds to his atrocities. Revenge must not be renounced until injustice is renounced. War is even sometimes the best guarantee of peace, when the enemy sees that we want neither the will nor the ability to defend ourselves. Oftentimes a certain peace cannot be had without war; war is often the best security for peace; but indolence always implies a fear of war and danger.

Let the Parliamentarians now reflect whether themselves or Ireland are to be branded as rebels, when they were the first to make war not only against the Irish, but against their own king. They have no means of averting the charge of rebellion from themselves, but that usually employed by women of bad character, who, in their disputes with other women, are always sure to begin by charging their antagonists with infamous lives, lest the same accusation should be justly hurled at themselves in the course of the conflict. I am now near sixty years of age,[h] and I solemnly swear that, down to this day, I never knew a man who either privately or publicly hinted or maintained that allegiance was not due to the king;[i] nay, there was no-

when they never questioned the duty of allegiance to James I. during the greater part of his reign.

dendas impellentibus,[95] animis hominum prius religionis et virtutum imbre tam impendio irrigatis, ut Spenserus homo extra Ecclesiæ septa positus, qui Elizabethâ reginâ scripsit,[96] miratus fuerit quod Papistici sacerdotes (ut ille loquitur) non dubitent ex Hispaniâ, Româ, Remis, [262] magnis obitis laboribus, per itinera | periculosa hùc (id est in Hiberniam) se conferre, ubi compertum habent, mortis sibi periculum impendere, mercedem in se nullam aut divitias collatum iri, eo tantum consilio ut populum ad fidem Romanam allicerent. Tum enim aut postea nullius fuerunt flabra seditionis, nullæ dissentiones nobilium ac magnatum per eos concitatæ, non legis abrogatio, non antiquata instituta, non corruptio morum, non mutatio consuetudinis inchoata est. Imo nihil antiquius habebant quam à periculosâ voluptate populum Christianum avocare, modestiæ, temperantiæ, cæterisque virtutibus sedulo excolere. Ut illorum candorem Protestantici magistratus tandem aliquando perspectum habuisse videantur, qui paulo ante quam rex Jacobus regnandi vivendique finem fecit, ac toto fere tempore quo Carolus regnavit, ad superioris belli exordium, sævitiam in Catholicæ religionis professores posuerunt. Magistratus enim rurales, et urbanos, pluribus in locis, à Catholicis geri, causas etiam pro tribunalibus à patronis Catholicis agi facile passi sunt. Hierachas Ecclesiæ sua munia, parochos sua ministeria obire, religiosos in ædibus conductitiis, per omnes ferme Hiberniæ urbes, ac oppida coire officiisque suis rite fungi non prohibuerunt. Nullam quidem horum exercitiorum facultatem nominatim impertiti, sed conniventiâ quadam ea fieri tolerantes. Quietis autem hujus malaciam procella persecutionis à duumviris Adamo Lofto Eliæ vicecomite Hiberniæ Cancellario, et Richardo Boyle comite Corcagiæ et thesaurario Hiberniæ excitata non modice concussit. Ii enim

[95] Analect. p. 95. [96] M. SS. p. 110.

[k] This is not the fact: the clergy, like their flocks, were divided into factions; one inculcating the duty of allegiance to Elizabeth; the other taking part frequently in the wars against her. The former were principally Anglo-Irish, of whom our author must be understood here. See O'Sullivan's Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernicæ, pp. 144, 344.

thing more constantly inculcated from our pulpits, in sermons to the people, than that all obedience should be paid to the king, that the woes inflicted on us by magisterial tyranny should be patiently borne, that prayers should be offered up to God every day for the king and all who were in authority. So deeply had those sentiments of virtue and religion sunk into the hearts of the people, that Spenser, a man who was not within the fold of the church, writes in Elizabeth's reign: "It is great wonder to see the Popish priests" (these are his words) "who spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither (that is to Ireland), where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches is to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome." Neither then nor at any succeeding time did they fan the flames of sedition, nor excite the disaffection of the nobles and lords.[k] They abrogated no law, abolished no time-honored institutions, introduced no dissolute morality, trampled on no laudable customs. No, their most ancient maxim was to withdraw the people of Christ from voluptuousness, and diligently instruct them in modesty, temperance, and the other virtues. The Protestant magistrates themselves appear to have, at last, been convinced of their virtues; for, during a short period before the death of king James, and during almost the whole reign of king Charles, down to the commencement of the late war, they ceased to persecute the professors of the Catholic faith. Catholics were honored with the commission of the peace in town and country in many places; and Catholic lawyers were permitted, without difficulty, to plead at the bar. The bishops exercised their episcopal functions; the priests their parochial duties; almost every city and town in Ireland had religious communities, which lodged in houses hired for the purpose, and were not prohibited to perform all the duties of their orders. They had not, it is true, any formal permission for these sacred duties, but they were tolerated and connived at.[l] But these halcyon days were troubled by the storms of persecution excited by Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely and chancellor of Ireland, and Richard Boyle, earl of

[k] He appears in this place better satisfied with the sort of toleration granted to Catholics, than in his poem published by Mr. Hardiman, Irish

anno Domini 1630, ut Protestantium applausum, et regis favorem sibi conciliarent edixerunt ut in singulis urbibus, et municipiis quæ domus à religiosorum cœtibus inhabitatæ Catholicorum frequentiæ ad sacra percipienda patuerunt, fisco citra moram addicerentur, et earundem domorum locatoribus Dublinium evocatis, et acriter increpitis, præter ædium harum jacturam, gravis etiam mulcta pecuniarum irrogaretur.

Post vero successorem Faclando datum, prior tranquillitas Catholicis per conniventiam non concessionem supremæ potestatis rediit, quæ fortasse ad Remp. rectius instituendam opem sibi ferri gravatè non ferebant. Nam Ecclesiasticorum nostrorum tribunalia rostra et eorum qui à confessionibus erant sedilia in eo unice curam omnem impendebant, ut matrimonia non ritè inita, vel denuo rectius instaurarentur, vel penitus dirimerentur, adulteria, cæteraque obscenæ libidinis genera coercerentur; furta, rapinæ, et latrocinia compescerentur, usurarum contractus è medio tollerentur; inimicitiæ ponerentur; dissidentes concordiâ conglutinarentur, omnes magistratui, liberi parentibus, famuli Dominis morem gererent. Nec præceptis duntaxat Ecclesiastici, sed etiam exemplo populum ad bonam frugem attrahebant. Nullibi enim modestiorem sæcularem, aut regularem clerum, aut rarius officii sui limites transgressum videris. Non tamen Antistites, aut Decani, Archidiaconi, aliive in Ecclesiasticâ dignitate constituti censibus aut redditibus, sed Catholicorum benevolentia ut reliquus omnis clerus, vitam tolerabant qui non tantum per sedatiora ista, sed etiam præterita quamvis turbulentissima tempora, non qualemcunque sed lautam sustentationem omnibus suppeditabant, aliis continuo hospitio exceptis; ad alios qui sub idem tectum instituti sui sanctius colendi causâ convenerant sumptibus abunde submissis; cuivis Ecclesiastico domos eorum adeunti potiorem in mensa locum præbebant, et potiores quos penes se cibos habuerunt apponebant, nec honore, sed veneratione quadam eos prose-

Archæol. Miscell. vol. i., p. 90:—

"Sacra, pertæsus domum, celebrare latebris
Improbus hic miles, non clamat voce tonante
In vinculum propere, perfide mysta, veni,
Non hic nos quartum tabulatum ascendimus ultra
Ut nobis fiat concio sive sacrum."

For some documents connected with the Catholic history of this period, the reader is referred to O'Sullivani Bearri Historiæ Catholicæ, pp. 340, 345.

Cork and treasurer of Ireland. In the year 1630 they issued a proclamation that all houses tenanted in all cities and municipalities by religious orders, and frequented by Catholics in the exercise of their religious rites, should be confiscated on the spot, and that the occupants of those houses, besides the forfeiture of their property, should be summoned to Dublin, severely reprimanded, and condemned to a heavy fine. This proclamation was issued to please the Protestants and secure the favor of the king.[m] But when Falkland was recalled, tranquillity was once more restored to the Catholics by connivance, not by the express commission of government, which, however, was probably by no means unwilling to avail itself of useful assistants in preserving the public peace. For the grand object of all the instructions given from our pulpits, and confessionals, by the priests of our church, was, that unlawful marriages should be either contracted anew, according to the laws of the church, or be completely dissolved, that adulteries and all crimes against purity be repressed; that theft, rapine and robbery be prevented; that usurious contracts be annulled; that enmities be forgotten; disputes adjusted amicably; that children be obedient to their parents, servants to their masters, and all to the magistrates. It was not by precept alone, but much more by example, that our ecclesiastics encouraged the people in the paths of virtue. In no quarter of the world could you find a body of clergy, both secular and regular, more unobtrusive, or more rarely going beyond the line of duty. But our bishops, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries, had no regular or fixed revenues or property: they, as well as all the other clergy, were supported by the voluntary munificence of the Catholics, who not only in these more peaceful times, but even in the blackest hours of persecution in preceding periods, supplied all their clergy not only with the necessaries, but what may be called the luxuries of life; some of their houses were never without a priest; others gave large contributions to some who desired to live together for the more regular observance of their rule. Whenever an ecclesiastic entered their house the place of honor was always reserved for him at table; the richest fare they could command was set before him; he was not only honored, but in a manner venerated. So that O'Sullivan has truly said, "at no former period in Ireland, nor in any quarter of the world, within the memory of man,

quebantur.[97] Ut O'Sullevanus vere dixerit: "Nec antea in Hibernia, nec alibi gentium post hominum memoriam tantum à laicis honorem Ecclesiasticis exhibitum fuisse."[98] Et Redanus quod "ingrediente domum sacerdote universa familia in terram prostrata benedictionem supplex efflagitavit." Licet postremis temporibus, hic honor raro sacerdotibus, semper Episcopus exhibitus fuerit. Illorum ab ore pendebant, dictis audientes erant, iisdem etiam in quavis angustia constitutis [263] tempestive | subveniebant. Deus sibi plurimum arrisisse quod Ecclesiastici perfugium in Catholicorum ædibus nacti fuerint nonnunquam ostendit, hospite et hospitante non raro ex imminente periculo divinitus eductis. Pater Henricus Fitzsimons narrat Dunamoram,[99] pagum septies mille passus Dublinio urbe Hiberniæ principe dissitum virum nobilem Richardum Belings Justiciarum (ut vulgus loquitur) pacis incoluisse, cùm Arthuro Graio, prorege, sub annum à Christo nato quingentessimum octogesimum supra millesimum in Catholicos atrocissime sæviretur; memoratum autem Richardum à Roberto Coclite sitientissimo sanguinis humani viro ad tribunal vocatum, quod Patricium Nigramium sacerdotem jam tum in ejus domicilio latitantem hospitio exceperit,[100] ad quod exploratores armati è vestigio missi (adventus enim tum Jacobi Mauriciadis in Hiberniam, procerum odium in Catholicos accendit) illud obsidione cingebant. Interea matrifamilias Deipara se conspicuam dedit, illam hunc in modum effata; morâ omni prorsus abjectâ Nigramium accerse, et ut in inferiorem cellam se conferat cura, ubi amoto saxo quod illic in angulo jacet, per gradus quosdam ulterius descendet. Quas voces Richardi uxor licet semel ac iterum auditas somnium esse rata flocci fecit. Tandem augustissima cælorum regina ægregiâ formâ eximioque fulgore conspicua in matronæ conspectum venit, et eam increpans jussit ut extemplo quæ imperavit adimplerentur. Nigramius sacerdos erat non mediocri pietate præditus, qui vitam nullâ maculâ infectam egit, et religionis ardore semper inflammatus; illum condiscipulum quondam habui, ac proinde morti vicinum de industria invisi ut narrationis hujus ad me plurium sermonibus ante delatæ veritatem ab ipso quam exploratissimam fuisse percepi.

97 Pag. 227. 98 Tomo. 1, in Mach. 441. 99 In consolatoria ad Hibernos ad calcem confutationis Rideri et p. 93. 100 Redanus in Mech. p. 312.

have ecclesiastics been so much honored by the laity as now in Ireland." Redan also states, "that whenever a priest entered a house, the whole family fell on their knees and humbly asked his blessing." But, in latter times, this mark of respect, though seldom given to the priest, is never refused to the bishops.[n] Their words are law: whatever they say is attended to: and in all their difficulties they can always depend on prompt assistance. God himself often manifested his pleasure, that the house of the Catholic was the home of the priest, by often miraculously preserving the host and his guest from impending danger. Father Henry Fitzsimon relates, that a certain gentleman, Richard Bellings, a justice of the peace, was living at Dunamore, a village about 7 miles from Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, about the year 1580, when the lord deputy, Arthur Gray, was savagely persecuting the Catholics: Bellings was brought to trial by Robert Cocles, a most bloodthirsty monster, for having harbored Patrick Nigram, a priest; at that very time the priest was concealed in the house, and a band of armed men were dispatched to besiege and examine it: (the descent of James Fitzmaurice in Ireland at this time inflamed the fury of the governors against the Catholics.) Meanwhile, the blessed Virgin appeared to Mrs. Bellings, and addressed to her the following words: "Send for Nigram without one moment's delay, and see that you place him below in the lower cellar, where, by removing a stone which is in the corner, he can descend a few steps farther down. Though Richard's wife heard these words repeated several times, she thought it was only a dream, and paid no attention to them. At last the most august queen of heaven revealed herself in the most beautiful form, and with dazzling radiance, and ordered the woman instantly to do what she was ordered. Father Nigram was a man of no ordinary piety, of spotless integrity, and always burning with zeal for religion: he was my schoolfellow, and therefore I made it my duty to visit him, shortly before his death, and to get from his own lips the most accurate information on a matter of which I had already heard so much from many different quarters. After removing the stone, he saw five or six steps, which led down to a small but neat bedchamber, 20 feet long and

[n] To this day the custom of kneeling to the bishop when kissing his ring is retained in Ireland, though not observed in France or Italy, &c.

Amoto lapide quinque vel sex gradus apparuerunt, per quos descensus patuit ad exiguum sed concinnum cubiculum, viginti pedes longum, duodecem latum, lecto et sedili concinna instructum. Nigramio huic cellæ incluso, indagatores intimos quosque totius domus recessus perscrutati sunt. Tandem irrito labore, tribus diebus indagando impensis fessi, et pene ad insaniam adacti, quod spe sua exciderint discesserunt. Nigramio tum è cella (in qua toto illo tempore deliciis cœlestibus circumfluebat) educto, aditus lapide obstructus nunquam postea deprehendi potuit. Imo ne vestigium ejus quamvis accuratâ investigatione quæsiti nusquam apparuit.

Sed ad pacatiora memoriæ nostræ tempora redeo, quæ licet truculentâ memoriæ superioris atrocitate vacua, assiduis tamen Catholicorum molestiis fervebant. Consuetudo enim tulit, ut ministri præter cætera omnia emolumenta Ecclesiastica, et baptismo, et morte cujuscunque lucrum perciperent, quod copiosis quidem levius; pauperibus autem gravissimum onus fuit, quorum opes non ferebant ut sacerdotis Catholici operâ pro baptismo liberis impenso pecuniolæ munere compensatâ, iteratâ solutione ministri aviditatem exsatiarent, qui tamen ad pretium pro baptismate infantuli ante extincti, quam baptismo tincti, majus quam facultates ferebant pendendum nonnunquam adigebantur. Et aliqui tenuioris fortunæ homines non impune tulisse feruntur quod mendicos animam agentes tectis excluserint, ne si animam intra ipsorum tecta efflarent, mortui legatum ab ipsis rigidius exigeretur, nihilominus misellis avaritia ministrorum quæstum per vim eliciebat, quod ad ipsos homulus spectasse videretur, qui pro eorum foribus vivere dessiit.

In Clanricardiæ pago, quem vulgus Tuluban dicit, quidam agricola commoratus mortuam uxorculam noctu sepelire statuit, ne legatum ultra opum vires ipsi extorqueretur. Cum igitur terram nox occupasset, impositum corbi uxorem, ad cæmiterium tergo vehit. Terram effodienti opportune supervenit famulus Kedachi Ohein fundum istum à comite Clanricardiæ conductum tunc insidentis, qui demisso è scapulis corbe, vas butyro refertum gestante, opem ad humum egerendam poscenti [264] agricolæ non | invitus tulit, tandem fossæ satis capaci confectæ corbem muliere mortua onustum immissuri, corbem alium per errorem injece-

12 broad, and provided with a neat chair and bed. After he had concealed himself in this cave, the priesthunters closely examined every secret corner in the house, but to no purpose; for after three days toilsome search, they left the house goaded almost to madness by the loss of their expected prey. Nigram, who, during all this time, had been favored with the choicest consolations of heaven, came forth from his cell, and the passage when covered with the stone, could never afterwards be discovered. Even after the most diligent search, not a single trace of it could be seen.

But I return now to the more peaceful times within my own memory, which, though free from the atrocious persecutions of former ages, brought every day, anxieties and troubles to the Catholics. There was a custom, for instance, that, besides all their other ecclesiastical revenues, the ministers should receive a certain stipend on every baptism and death. It was light on the rich, but a most intolerable burden on the poor, whose means could not afford to meet the avaricious demand of the minister, after the Catholic priest had been paid, when he had administered the sacrament. It sometimes happened that they were even compelled to pay a sum beyond their means, though the child died before baptism. Some persons of slender means are said to have dared to close their doors against dying beggars, lest, if they happened to die with them, the *dead money* might be rigidly exacted from them. Nevertheless the avarice of the ministers extorted the money from the poor wretches on the ground, that the houseless wanderer must have belonged to them because he died before their doors.

In the village of Clanrickard commonly called Tuluban, a certain peasant resolved to bury his poor wife by night, lest a sum beyond his means might be extorted from him. As soon as night fell, he placed the corpse in a basket and carried it on his back to the churchyard. While he was digging the grave, a servant of Kedach O'Hein, who rented the land from the earl of Clanrickard, happened to pass by, who, laying down from his shoulders a basket in which he had a crock of butter, willingly helped the poor peasant to dig the grave, and as soon as it was large enough, they took the basket in which they thought the corpse was lying, but by mistake they put down the butter basket in its stead. The servant, after this act of kindness, raised the basket on his

runt. Famulus iste post ministerium hoc peractum, corbe in humeros sublato, butyrum se ad Dominum ferre ratus, fœminam vexit. Cum vero butryum multâ jam nocte usui non esset, ancilla illud penario includere jussa est, quæ operimento amoto cadaver intuita, in terram animi deliquium passa mox corruit: domesticis accurrentibus, et rei seriem è famulo rescientibus error et ministrorum extorsio patuit: è tumulo butryum eductum, et in eo cadaver conditum est.

Leges aliæ contra Catholicos latæ quamvis tum in tabulis reconditæ palam in Catholicos non exererentur; eo tamen nebulonum aliquorum audacia evasit, ut injuria Catholicos harum legum specie subinde afficere non vererentur, animos inde sumentes quod ab iis injuriæ pœnas Catholici, legibus refragantibus exigere non potuerint. Gregarius quidam miles Anglus sacerdotis ad altare operantis ornamenta aliunde surripuit, quibus indutus præ foribus Adami Becaus in S. Nicholai plateâ Dublinii, sub meridiem, intra clathros illi domui prætensos subsistit, apertum librum à fronte, vas aquâ plenum à latere positum habens, in illo aquæ benedictionem legere præ se ferebat; huic aspergillum ad prætereuntes aqua irrorandos intinxit, sacras Presbyterorum cerimonias mimicis hisce gesticulationibus irridens. Nec ementitam sacerdotis personam ante posuit, quam ad viridarium Ostmanicum, exercitii militaris obeundi causâ tympani cantu evocaretur. Illic non diu moratus est, cum globuli duo è sodalis catapultâ inadvertenter explosâ prorumpentes ejus ilia transfoderant. Commilitones illum in humeros sublatum ad memoratas jam ædes, in quibus ante diversabatur referunt, et sacerdotalia ornamenta matrifamilias Brigidæ Rochfort, ut unde subripiebantur ibi reponerentur tradentes, in nuperum sacerdotalis officii ludibrium tam repentinæ cædis culpam contulerunt, negantes ei se crimini affines fuisse, ut quod nec suasione, nec approbatione ratum habuerunt.

Primo anno qui Hiberni pro fide, rege, et libertate non ita pridem arma sumpserunt, alius ejusdem farinæ miles casula se sacerdotali amicivit, eam gestationem sibi ab Hibernorum petitionibus præsidio futurum autumans, verum illico Domini Holliwodo castellum Dublinio bis mille

° It was a common trick of the plundering rogues to deprive Catholics of their plate and jewels, on pretence that they were chalices and Agnus Dei. O'Sullivan Hist. Catholicæ, p. 271.

shoulders, imagining that he was carrying home the butter to his master. When he arrived, the night was far advanced, and as the butter was not required for immediate use, the servant maid was ordered to lay it in the pantry. But when she removed the covering and saw the corpse, she fainted and fell down on the ground, the other servants ran to her assistance; and when the messenger told the whole story, the error was discovered and the extortion of the ministers exposed. The corpse was then carried back to the grave, and the butter dug up and brought home.

Other laws which were on the statute books against Catholics were not enforced. But some ruffians became so audacious, that under cover of those laws they were emboldened to inflict injuries on the Catholics, being well aware that the laws excluded their victims from any mode of redressing their wrongs. A common soldier, an Englishman, contrived to procure somewhere the vestments which the priest wears at the altar, and having put them on, he appeared in noonday within the grating before the house of Adam Becaus in St. Nicholas-street, Dublin. He had a book lying open before him, and a vessel full of water by his side, and while he pretended to be reading the blessing of the water in the book, he dipped the aspersorium in the water, as if he were going to sprinkle the passers-by—mocking all the while the sacred ceremonies used by the priests. In this sacrilegious personation of the priest he continued, until the sound of the drum summoned him to drill in Ostmantown orchard. He had not been many minutes there, when two bullets from the gun of one of his comrades, which accidentally exploded, pierced his groin. His comrades carried him back on their shoulders to that very house where he had been stopping, and gave the priest's vestments to Mrs. Bridget Rochfort, requesting her to restore them to the place whence they were taken, protesting that the sacrilegious travesty of the priestly function was, in their opinion, the cause of the catastrophe, and denying any participation in the crime, as they had neither advised nor approved of it.[o]

In the first year of that war which the Irish lately undertook for their faith, their king and their liberties, another soldier of the same stamp dressed himself in the priest's chasuble, imagining it would be a protection to him against the weapons of the Irish; but immediately he was

passus dissitum, ab Hibernicis præsidiariis tum insessum adoriri jussus est; aggressoribus vero ea vice Castellum expugnare non valentibus, ac proinde terga vertentibus, è Castelli præsidiariis aliquis plumbea glandem in incertum jaculatus, eâ unum sacræ vestis profanatorem præ omnibus trajecit, Deo ludibrii pœnas de sacrilego repetente.

Vere sermo sermonem, et hic alium (ut aiunt) gignit. Sic ego novis sermocinandi causis subnascentibus, à cœpto dicendi cursu tanquam in semitas non sentiens remotius abscessi. Sed in viam rursus me recipio.

Sane disciplina ista, quæ præcipit ut rex sumat, et ponat secures arbitrio popularis auræ, è hæreticorum sentinis hausta est, docentium populum jus habere coronam arbitratu suo cuivis largiendi, sive summum imperium cui vellet deferendi.[1] Magistrorum hoc dogma disseminantium numerosum cuneum hæreticorum schola suppeditat, a qua tanquam ex æquo Troiano prodiit. Cæterorum antesignanus Lutherus qui dicit: "Nostri principes sunt mendaces, et obstinati, non homines rationis participes sed bestiæ." Alibi "omnibus hominum legibus defossis in tumulo, nos ipsi omnia judicemus, et gubernemus." Alius etiam ait "Nihil de Deo vobis dici potest quamdiu illi" (Reges scilicet et cæteræ potestates) "vobis imperabunt."[2] His Calvinus accinit, dicens: "Principes terreni indignissimi sunt, qui hominum cœtu ac numero reponantur."[3] Potius igitur illis facies est conspuenda, quam ipsorum imperiis obtemperandum."[4] Beza quoque Galliæ regem Satanum appellat hortaturque suos ne ullas cum illo unquam pasciscantur inducias. Knoxius dixit, Suos "nisi reformatione optatâ potirentur, nunquam ulli mortalium fieri velle subjectos." [265] Ut Hottomannum, Goodmannum, Ursinum, Buchananum omittam, qui ejusmodi vomicas eructant;[5] quibus ostendunt quod "Dominationem contemnant; audaces, sibi placentes, sectas non metuunt inducere blasphemantes," et quod transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt fœdus sempiternum, ut non sit mirum, si tot buccinis classicum canentibus,[6] maxima bella in reges

[1] Contra edictum Imp. de captivit. Babiloni. Monetavri. [2] In cap. 6. [3] Daniel. Epist. 41. [4] Histor. Scotica, p. 26. [5] Historia Scotica, p. 26. [6] 2 Petri, 2.

ordered on a detachment to attack Mr. Hollywood's castle (within two miles of Dublin) then garrisoned by the Irish. The attack on that occasion failed, and the aggressors retreated in discomfiture towards Dublin; but, as they were turning their backs, one of the garrison discharged his gun at random, and among all the retreating besiegers, brought to the ground the fellow who had profaned the vestments. It was God himself that visited on the criminal the penalties of his sacrilege.

Truly, one story brings another, and another still, as they say. Even so have I, as different subjects suggested themselves, been insensibly carried far away into bye-ways from the high road I had chalked out for myself. But to my course, once more.

It is a notorious fact, that the doctrine, which teaches that the king derives and must lay down his power at the beck of the people, is taken from the polluted sinks of heretics, who teach that the people has a right of conferring the crown on whomsoever it pleases them, and investing their choice with supreme authority. The school of the heretics was, in truth, the Trojan horse from which champions of that doctrine issued in shoals. Luther himself was the standard bearer of the band. "Our princes," he says, "are liars, and obstinate, not rational men, but beasts." Again: "consigning all laws of man to the tomb, let ourselves alone judge and govern all." Another man declares, "nothing can be said to you of God as long as they (kings and other authorities) command you." Calvin gives the same decision: "the princes of this earth are most unworthy of ranking in the society or name of men. You should rather spit in their faces than obey their commands." Beza, too, called the king of France "the devil," and exhorted his countrymen never to enter into any truce with him." Knox declared, "that unless the wished-for Reformation were effected, his countrymen should never submit to any authority of man"—not to mention Hottoman, Goodman, Ursinus and Buchanan, who propound theories of the same kind, proving that "they despise government, audacious, self-willed, they fear not to bring in sects, blaspheming," they have transgressed the laws, changed justice, and made void the eternal covenant. Nor can it be surprising if so many tocsins sounding in all quarters, excited

ac principes exarserint, quorum fragore plures Europæ regiones personant.

Hinc enim in Germaniâ agrestium in nobilitatem, et principum in Imperatorem furor erupit: hinc in Gallia rabies hæreticorum in reges, res etiam sacras et profanas accensa est, ita ut viginti millia templorum à fundamentis excisa;[7] et unico anno sacerdotum, ac hominum Deo sacratorum duo et quadringinta millia jugulata, annis etiam non totis decem, vicies centena hominum millia trucidata, Nosodochia nonginta eversa, monasteria ad duo millia solo æquata fuerint. Et cum ad reges vivos confodiendos aditus non patuit, in mortuos sævitum est. Nam Ludovici undecimi ossa eruta, et inflammata, Radegundis Reginæ cadaver exustam, Francisci secundi cor effossum, et crematum est; in Scotia inusitatis tumultibus in reginam regentem exortis, "plura quam decem templorum millia vertente anno, non tantum spoliata, sed etiam diruta sunt."[8] Ut non memorem turbas in Belgio, Sueviâ, Dania, et alibi, in hæresis ortu excitatas. Ubique denique "quantum ad" reformatæ religionis ut vocant "propagationem accessit, tantum regiæ potestatis diminutum est." Quid multis? historicorum et aliorum superioris, et nostri ævi scriptorum narrationes abundè aperiunt hæresim plurium Rerumpub. supræmis potestatibus evertendis naviter incubuisse.[9]

At quid molestiarum quas in hæresis exordio et progressu summis Rerumpub. administratoribus hæretici facessebant documenta tam longè acerso? cum in vicina Britannia odii in regem suum plusquam Valentiniani funestissimum specimen iidem non ita pridem ediderint? Et quem non solum sacræ litteræ,[10] quæ præcipiunt ut "Principi populi tui non maledicas," sed etiam omnium gentium, et præsertim ipsorum domesticæ leges dicto violare, vel capitis pœnâ vetant, cum scælestissimo bello impetierunt, plurimis prælijs pene profligarunt, et tandem Scotis prætio pendentibus, nefariè ceperunt; captum variis carceribus inclusum, plurimis ærumniis diu multumque vexarunt, deindè ad tribunal contumaciter eductum, è legum nescio quarum apicibus

[7] Richeomus in Apologia, c. 94. [8] Conæus de duplici statu religionis, d. 30. [9] Deus et Rex. [10] Exod, c. 12.

great wars against kings and princes, and stunned many European nations with their thunders.

This was the cause of the furious rebellion of the peasants against their lords, and of the princes against the emperor in Germany: by it the rage of the heretics was so much inflamed in France against kings, and all things sacred and profane, that twenty thousand churches were levelled to the foundations; 42,000 priests or other persons of religious orders massacred in one year: 2,000,000 of men cut off in less than ten years; 900 hospitals destroyed; and 2,000 monasteries reduced to ashes. Not being able to glut their assassin rage on living kings, they discharged their fury on the dead. The bones of Louis XI. were exhumed and burned; the corpse of queen Radegund, and the heart of Francis II., shared the same fate. On the outbreak of the extraordinary tumults in Scotland against the Queen Regent, "more than 10,000 temples were not only plundered, but totally destroyed during the course of one year," not to mention the disorders caused in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and other places, on the rise of the heresy. In one word, wherever what they call the reformed creed gained greater ground, the authority of kings was proportionably diminished.[p] Why more? from the narratives of historians and other writers in our own and in preceding times, it is abundantly evident that heresy has exerted all its might to subvert the government of different states.

But why do I travel so far for proofs of the troubles which the rise and progress of heretics have caused to the supreme government of states, when they have given, not long since in Britain itself, a most awful proof of their worse than Valentinian hatred against their king? Against the laws not only of Scripture, which order that "no man shall curse the prince of his people," and against the laws of all nations, but especially against their own national laws, which make it a capital offence to injure the king even by a word, they rose up in impious war against him, defeated him in several battles, bought him from the Scots and took him prisoner, dragged him about from prison to prison, subjected him to sufferings of all kinds, at length audaciously brought him

[p] In any country where the reformers were numerous enough to believe they had any chance of success, they rebelled against their sovereign. If

extra leges positum morti adjudicarunt, ac tandem flagitiosissimè obtruncarunt.

Scotorum execrabile in suum regem facinus alicujus Poëtæ convitio vapulavit canentis:

> "Quis neget Iscarii Scotum de germine Judæ?
> Hic Christum Domini vendidit, ille Deum.
> Vendidit ut Christum Judas, sic Scotia regem;
> Ille suum Dominum vendidit, illa suum."

Scelus autem illud Anglorum quo regi suo caput amputarunt, quo nomine appellem nescio? parricidiumnè nominabo quod reges et magistratus patriæ parentes nuncupantur? sed hæc vox ad privatos homines cæde se paternâ inquinantes astringi solita non satis laxa est, ad tam tetri facinoris atrocitatem exprimendam. An rebellionem aut perduellionem dicam? sed cogitationes ad afficiendum injuriâ regem susceptæ, aut levior contumelia eidem illata, sive arrogantior regis compellatio his vocabulis denotantur, ut hujus flagitii gravitatem non exæquent. An furorem et insaniam nuncupabo? leve illud est. An belluinam sub larva vultus humani immanitatem? ne istud quidem sufficit. An florentissimæ Britanniæ fœdissimam maculam? Imo exitium, flammam, atque perniciem? Quam possum atrocia ac detestanda nomina mente efformavero; vincit omnia sceleris horrendi atrocitas, ac ne cogitatione quidem capi, nedum oratione satis exprimi, explicarique potest. Poterat quidem rex Carolus Darii morientis ad [266] Alexandrum magnum monitos alios reges hortari, ac dicere: | "Quod ad ultionem pertinet, jam non suam, sed exempli communemque omnium regum esse causam, quam negligere illi et indecorum et periculosum esse,"[11] quippe "cum in altero justitiæ ejus, in altero utilitatis causa versetur."

Quando autem per omnem præteriti temporis memoriam vel cogitatio quidem ejusmodi facinoris patrandi hominum animos nondum subierat, non mirum est si rei nec fando quidem notæ nullum adhuc

[11] Justinus, lib. 11.

circumstanced as the Irish were at any period from 1560 to the present day, they would have rebelled, unless the Irish soil changed their nature.

to trial; condemned him to death by some strange quirks of law, though he was above the laws, and finally, most cruelly cut off his head on the scaffold.

Some poet satirized the infamous baseness of the Scots to their king in the following verse:

> "Surely the Scotch from Judas must have sprung,
> They sold the Lord's anointed: he his God:
> Judas sold Christ, so Scotland sold the king.
> Both sold their Lords, Judas and the Scotch."

But I know not what name to give to the crime of the English who beheaded their king. Shall I call it parricide? Kings and magistrates are, no doubt, called the fathers of their country; but as the word parricide usually refers to private men who have stained themselves with their parents blood, it is not sufficiently comprehensive to express the atrocity of so black a crime. Shall I call it rebellion or treason? but to compass even in thought an injury to the king, to give him the slightest offence, even to address him disrespectfully, are called by such names, which, therefore, are infinitely beneath the enormity of this crime. Was it fury or madness? but neither is strong enough. Was it the ferocity of a wild beast in human shape? even this is too light. Was it the foullest blot on the history of Britain? a pest, a fire, a ruin? heap together all the most opprobrious, the most scathing terms I can command, the atrocity of that horrid deed surpasses them all: it cannot be conceived, much less accurately expressed and described. Well might king Charles address kings in the words of the dying Darius to Alexander the Great: "To revenge the injury done to me is no longer my affair; the precedent deeply concerns the interests of all kings; they cannot pass over it without dishonor and danger," for "the claims of justice and of your own interests are in this case identical."

As the thought of committing such a crime never even entered into the minds of men in any preceding age, it is not surprising that our ancestors had no name for a thing which was unknown even in name. They have given, however, several indirect indications of their abhorrence of the atrocity. "No impiety, however great," they say, "no

majores nostri nomen indiderint. Pluribus tamen significationibus indicarunt quantum à tam atroci crimine abhorruerint cum dixerint:[12] "Nullam tantam impietatem, nullum tantum scelus esse quod sit parricidio vindicandum. In parricidio nullum satis justam causam ad sceleris patrocinia prætexi posse."[13] Et "atrocius esse patriæ parentem, quam suum occidere."[14] Ac "Platonem eos è Titanum genere statuisse, qui ut illi cœlestibus, sic hi adversentur magistratibus." E regibus alii à subordinatis præculsoribus confossi, alii veneno sublati, alii per insidias in lectis suffocati sunt.[15] At nemo per omnes omnium gentium historias quantumvis lectione grassatus ex iis eruere potuit,[16] regem adhuc ullum suprema regni potestate viginti sex annos jam functum, et "suspensas regendi rationes à populo non habentem," a plebeio suæ gentis ordine quæstionibus in judicio ita reum capitis per nefas pronuntiatum, et carnificis manu orbe terrarum obstupescente necatum. Ut in hac cæde Parlamentarii omne crudelitatis exemplum longè supergressi fuerint.

Quam atrociter in hujusce necis authores Cicero inveheretur, qui Verrem accusans: "Facinus est" (inquit) "vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, parricidium necare: verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari non potest." Vocem igitur aliquam novam à Cicerone excogitari oportebat sceleris hujus atrocitati satis indicandæ accommodatam, in quo peragendo, divina humanaque jura conculcata sunt; non tantâ patientis acerbitate, quantâ condemnantium turpitudine, qui facinus ediderunt tam superioribus inusitatnm seculis, quam futuris execrandum, et abominabile. Cui edicendo sicut proprium nomen, sic plectendo idonea pœna inveniri non potest.

Penes me Dialogum habeo in lucem an. Dom. 1619 emissum, qui Deus et Rex inscribitur, interlocutoribus Aristobulo,[17] et Phylanacte, cujus author Puritanorum sui temporis "indolem igneam," ut rex Jacobus loquitur, et clandestinos ad regiam dignitatem, quam verbis ultra justos fastigii sui limites efferebant, è medio tollendam contemplatus, non inane vaticinium protulit his verbis:[18] "Si quando tempora turbulenta incidant, non vereor ne vanum me vatem successus arguat, qui jam prædico fore, ut plurimi, qui nunc huic novæ doctrinæ de regum

[12] Cicero. [13] Justinus, lib. 16. [14] Philip II. [15] 3, de leg. [16] Bodinus de Rep. lib. 2, c. 5. [17] Basilic. Doro. p. 41. [18] Pag. 24.

crime, however atrocious, can justify parricide. In parricide, no cause can be urged as a full extenuation of guilt," and "it is more atrocious to murder the father of his country, than your own." According to Plato, "parricides are of the race of Titans, for as the latter rose against the Gods, so do the former against magistrates." Some kings were cut off by hired assassins, others were poisoned, others were treacherously strangled in their beds. But no person, however well acquainted with the histories of all the nations in the world, can produce a solitary example of a king, who, after reigning with supreme power over his subjects during 26 years—a power not derived from nor dependant on the people—was brought to trial by the commons of his own kingdom, ignominiously condemned to death, and, to the amazement of the whole world, butchered by the common executioner. That act of the Parliamentarians far transcends in cruelty the worst crime ever committed.

What a torrent of scathing invective Cicero would have poured out against the perpetrators of that murder. "It is a crime," he says, in his invective against Verres, "to put a Roman citizen in chains, it is villainy to scourge him; it is parricide to kill him: no word can sufficiently express the enormity of such a deed." Cicero would, therefore, be under the necessity of inventing a new word to convey adequately the enormity of this crime, which outrages the laws of God and man, not so much by the sufferings of the victim, as by the infamy of his judges, who polluted the world with an enormity as unprecedented in ages past, as it is hideous and execrable for ages to come—a crime which it is alike impossible adequately to designate or sufficiently to punish.

I have in my possession a dialogue, published in the year 1619. It is entitled "God and the King." The speakers are Aristobulus and Phylanax. The design of the author was to suppress what king James called "the fiery temper" of the Puritans of his day, and their secret designs against royalty, while they were pretending to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its just limits. In the course of his reasoning he utters the following prophesy, too truly realized in the event. "If turbulent times should come on, I am confident the event will not prove me a false prophet, when I say, that many of those who now uphold this new doctrine of the king's omnipotence will, when the occasion presents

omnipotentia applaudunt, eandem tunc occasione arrepta quam acerrime exagitaturi sint, et ab hoc ipso libello testimonium petituri, quam scilicet acerba, duraque servitute principes subditos suos premere cupiant, hocque imprimis argumento usuri non solum majestatem suam, verum etiam omne regum nomen ex Anglia penitus exterminandi. Acatholicum scriptorem verum vatem fuisse probavit eventus.

Idem ex Bullengero tradit "Anabaptistas ab Episcopis expellendis initium fecisse,[19] tum ad reges thronis ejiciendos prorupisse." Vidimus Puritanos Anglos eodem malo genio afflatos idem factitasse, et ultra progressos, nobilium ordinem, qui in superiori comitiorum conclavi suffragia ferebant, è dignitatis gradu deturbasse. Ut non falso Poëta illos capserit hoc disticho—

> "Nobilitas, rex, lex, pietas, altare, sacerdos;
> Aufugiunt, reliquum quid manet Angle tibi?"

Scoti erroris sui pœnitentia tandem capti resipuerunt. Ut enim proditi regis ignominiam aliquatenus abstergerent, filium ejus sibi regem adsciverunt, omnibus pompis ei inaugurando adhibitis, quæ regnum ineuntibus, conferri ante consueverunt. Hiberni nullâ injuriâ cæso regi irrogatâ, ab illo etiam rebellionis notâ, comitiis Anglicis importune sollicitantibus inusti, et inauditi bonorum proscriptione mulctati; ne cogitatione quidem de illo dignitate sua exuendo susceptâ, tristem ejus catastrophen mæstissime ferentes, filium ejus Carolum edicto regem libentes renuntiarunt: unde aliquis cecinit—

> "Scotia vendiderat, mactaverat Anglia regem,
> [268] Ast a rege suo semper Ierne stetit." |

Ista fusius explicui ut ex hæreticorum dictis ac factis constaret quam parum pensi habuerint, reges è suo solio deturbare. A qua disciplina quantum Catholici semper abhorruerint, varia doctorum scita mox à me producenda fidem dilucide facient.[20] Clementinæ constitutiones aiunt: "regiæ potestati resistere nefas esse." Tertullianus etiam scribit:

[19] Pag. 14. [20] Ad Scapulam.

itself, be its most bitter antagonists, and that they will even appeal to this little book, as a proof of the severe and tyrannical yoke with which kings wish to oppress their subjects; and especially that this argument will be used not only against his majesty, but for the total abolition of the royal power for ever in England." The event has proved that the Acatholic writer was not a bad prophet.

The same writer cites Bullenger's words, "that the Anabaptists began by expelling the bishops, and ended by hurling kings from their thrones." The English Puritans, under the influence of the same evil spirit, not only did the same thing, but proceeded so far as to deprive the nobles, who had the right of sitting in the upper house, of their rank and dignity. The poet has but too truly satirized their reforms—

> "King, nobles, church, law, virtue—all must flee;
> What now, O England, still remains with thee?"

The Scots were struck with horror at their guilt and repented. To atone, in some measure, for the disgraceful betrayal of their king, they raised his son to the throne, and installed him with all the pomp usually employed in regal inaugurations. The Irish, though guilty of no crime against that murdered king, were nevertheless, on the solicitation of the English parliament, branded by him as rebels, and condemned by him to an unprecedented forfeiture of their property. They harbored not the slightest thought against his dignity, they mourned with heartfelt grief over his hapless fate: they enthusiastically proclaimed his son Charles, king, so that it has been truly said—

> "The Scotch had sold; the English slew their king;
> The Irish faithful to his banners cling."

My object in descending to these minute details was to prove, both by words and deeds, how little the heretics think of hurling kings from their throne. The testimony of Catholic doctors, which I am now about to produce, will prove how vehemently they have at all times reprobated that doctrine. The constitutions of St. Clement declare, "that it is a

"Circa majestatem Imperatoris infamamur; tamen nunquam Albiniani vel Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani." Perinde ac si diceret; Christiani non imitati sunt Clodium Albinium, qui in Gallia, et Britannia; aut Pascennium Nigrum qui in Syria contra Septimium Severum valde sanguinarium Imperatorem arma sumpsit; nec Aufidium Cassium Marco Antonio Rempub. negligentiâ perdenti bellum in Syria inferentem. S. Ambrosius etiam cum injuriam non sibi tantum, sed et gregi suo, et Christo fieri crederet, à Valentino Valentiniani filio populi satis concitati motu uti non voluit. Sed "Coactus" (inquit) "repugnare non novi, dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere:[21] adversus arma, milites, Gothos quoque: lachrimæ meæ arma sunt. Aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere."

Postea vero Christiani non ad reges vita regnove spoliandos, sed ad se tuendos, modicam aliquam ac tumultutariam vim adhibuerunt. Cum enim Basiliscus Nestorianus Imperator sanctam Calchydonensem Synodum damnare moliretur, "Acatius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus populum et ordinem Monachorum contra Basiliscum utpote hæreticum concitavit;[22] et cum illis strenue tyranno restitit. Et Daniel Montanus, assumptâ multitudine, ad tyrannum accessit, et propalam libere apud eum de rectis dogmatibus disseruit;[23] adeo ut Basiliscus motum plebis veritus, ab Acatio et Daniele coactus circulares literas abnegarit." Cum deinde Anastasius Imperator Manichæorum Arrianorumque fautor milites Hierosolymas misisset, ut Catholicos Episcopos sedibus ejicerent, Episcopus et Abbates, "Duo Sabbas et Theodosius (quorum virtutes manifestæ sunt,[24] et linguis Ecclesiisque omnibus celebrantur) magna cum fiducia coram Imperatoris satellitibus et ducibus, eos qui cum Severo communionem habebant Anathemati subjecerunt, et qui à Severo, et Imperatore missi fuerant, facto tumultu ex Ecclesia ejecerunt."

Aliquorum autem laxior de hac re posterioribus seculis sententia non alia fuit, quam ut controversiæ inter regem et populum extortæ decisio non ad populi arbitrium sed ad summi Pontificis judicium deferri debeat.

[21] Lib. 5, or. in Aux. [22] Niceph. lib. 6, c. 26. [23] Evagr. iib. 3, c. 7. [24] Ibid. c. 33.

[q] For a full history of the papal power over the temporalities of kings, as exercised during the middle ages, the reader is referred to M. Gosselin's Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age, cited in last note of our second volume.

crime to resist the king." Tertullianus writes: "with regard to the authority of the emperor, infamous charges are made against us—and yet Christians were never either Albinians, or Nigrians, or Cassians," meaning "that Christians did not imitate Clodius Albinius, who rebelled in Gaul and Britain, nor Pascennius Niger, who took up arms in Syria against that most cruel emperor, Septimius Severus; nor Aufidius Cassius, who, when Marcus Antonius was ruining the republic by his negligence, rose in arms against him in Syria. Though St. Ambrosius believed that Valentinus, the son of Valentinianus, was injuring not only himself, but his flock and the church of Christ itself, he would not appeal to the highly excited passions of the people. "When oppressed," he says, "I knew not how to resist; I could mourn; I could weep; I could groan; whether against arms, or soldiers, or even Goths, tears are my arms. Other weapons of defence I cannot, ought not employ."

In succeeding times, Christians had recourse to insurrectionary, but moderate violence, in self-defence, not to depose and murder their kings. For when the emperor Basiliscus, a Nestorian, attempted to condemn the holy Council of Chalcedon, "Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, stirred up the people and the monastic orders against the heretic Basiliscus, and by their aid strenuously resisted the tyrant. At the head of a great multitude, Daniel Montanus forced his way to him and held a public disputation with him on the true faith: Basiliscus, apprehending an insurrection of the people, was compelled by Acacius and Daniel to disown his circular letters." Again, when the emperor Anastatius, who favored the Manicheans and Arians, sent soldiers to Jerusalem to expel the Catholic bishops from their sees, the bishop and abbots, "the two Sabbas and Theodosius (whose virtues are well known, and celebrated in every tongue and church), boldly pronounced anathema upon all who held communion with Severus, in presence of the emperor's officers and guards; a tumult arose, and those who were sent by Severus and the emperor were cast out of the church."

A more lax opinion on this subject, introduced by some persons in later times, went no farther than that all controversies between the king and his subjects should be referred, not to the decision of the people, but to the supreme arbitration of the pope.[q] In this sense, Sanders

Hinc Sanderus dixit:[25] "Mutationem regnorum quæ, non interposito sedis Apostolicæ judicio fit, non legitime sed seditiose fieri." Qua ratione multo consultius regum saluti prospicitur, quam privato cuivis invidiæ forsitan stimulis exagitato vim regi, manusque inferre permittitur. Nam populus odio optimates ambitione plerumque adversus principem commoventur. Summus pontifex alienigena est, proinde partium studiis ita immunis, ut erga reum inimicitiâ, aut accusatores amicitia non incitatus, summâ deliberatione adhibitâ, litem dirimat. Ut apposite scriptor quidam Protestanticus dixerit: "Pontificios inire rationem longe prudentiorem,[26] vitasque regum popularium affectuum temeritate longius uno gradu removere, quam ulla alia religio possit."

Hujus etiam sententiæ authores subditos iis limitibus circumscribunt, ut in principem suum quantavis in ipsos sævitia debacchantem arma sui tantum defendendi non illius offendendi causa sumere iis liceat. Adduntque in hac sua defensione, illos "moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ" uti debere. Ut nihil acerbius in principem statuant,[27] quod suæ defensioni non sit præcise necessarium. Ad Davidis exemplum, qui rex à Deo renuntiatus, et à Samuele oleo unctus, armatos circa se primum quadringentos, deinde plures aliquando habuit, ad vim tantum si inferretur, arcendam, non ad Saulem lacessendum.[28] Nec enim pugnandi captavit occasiones, sed latebras quæsivit, modo in locis desertis, modo apud populos externos. Et licet Saul tyrannum egerit, ac octoginta quinque sacerdotes trucidari curaverit, indeque illorum civitate Nobe,[29] "Viros et mulieres, et parvulos, et lactentes, bovemque, et asinum, et ovem in ore gladii percusserit;" ac præterea fidem sæpe Davidi datam fœdè vio- [268] laverit, et ei vitam eripere bis in Davidis potestate situm fuerit; non | tamen ad perniciem Sauli struendam adduci potuit: Imo suis Saulem necare suadentibus respondit:[30] "Propitius sit mihi Dominus, ne faciam hanc rem Domino meo Christo Domini, ut mittam manum meam in eum, quia Christus Domini est." Quod si David cœlitus, et humanitus rex institutus ad regium fastigium viam sibi nece Saulis sternere detrectaverit, et ejus perimendi oportunitatem pluries nactus, illi tamen etiamsi cæde insontium polluto, et exitium sibi nefariè sæpius molienti

[25] De visibili. Monar. p 406. [26] Deus et Rex. p. 94. [27] I Regum 16, c. [28] Ibid. 22, et seq. [29] Ibid. 24, et 26. [30] Cap. 24, v. 7.

says, "that a transfer of government made without the interposition of the holy see is not legitimate, but rebellious." This system is much more conducive to the real interests of kings, than that which hands over to every private individual, who may be goaded on by private malignity or envy, the right of opposing and laying violent hands on his king. The pope is a foreigner; placed beyond the influence of party feeling, without favor for the accusers or enmity to the accused, he can decide the controversy after mature and unprejudiced deliberation. On these grounds a Protestant has the following appropriate observations: "the papists have a far more prudent system, and which removes the lives of their kings one degree farther from the fatal influence of popular passions, than any other religion 'can.'"

The defenders of this opinion expressly lay down this limitation, that whatever the tyranny of the king may be, the subjects can take up arms, only to defend themselves, not to assail him; and even this defence of themselves must be conducted so as "not to exceed in the least degree, what is necessary for justifiable self-preservation," that no harsh measures should be taken against the king, but those which are absolutely required for their own defence. Thus David, though raised to the throne by God, and anointed with oil by Samuel, kept his four hundred armed guards, and afterwards, more, merely to repel any violence that might be offered to him, but not to attack Saul. He never sought for an opportunity to fight; he even fled to hiding places, sometimes in deserts, sometimes among foreign nations. Though Saul was a tyrant, and murdered eighty-five priests, and smote Nobe, the city of the priests, with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and the ox, and the ass, and the sheep, with the edge of the sword;" and, moreover, frequently violated the securities he had pledged to David, yet when his life was twice in David's power, David could not be induced to kill him. Nay, when his friends urged him to kill Saul, "the Lord be merciful to me that I may do no such thing to my master, the Lord's anointed, as to lay my hands upon him because he is the Lord's anointed." Now if David, though appointed king by God and man, refused to secure possession of the throne by the murder of Saul; if he would not avail himself of the opportunity to lay violent hands on

manus inferre noluerit? Qua fronte quispiam privatus regi quamvis atroci, vitam et potestatem abripere aggredietur?

Non igitur è Catholicorum, sed ex hæreticorum penu Marulus iste consilium prompsit, quod Hibernis præbuit, ut dignitatem regiam suo regi ademptam, in quemcunque civem suum infimi etiam ordinis conferrent; regem supremâ Hiberniæ potestate privandum esse nec quicquam indè contendens, quòd ea iniquius ad majores ejus initio devenerit. Suæ robur suasionis in eo collocans, quod juris regula sit:[31] "quæ ab initio inutilis fuit institutio, temporis tractu convalescere. Vel per ignorantiam invitus, vel per astutiam ultro prætermittens eum huic regulæ sensum ab interpretibus tribui, ut secutæ transactiones partium assensu initæ primori iniquiori pacto justitiam concilient. Hinc Grotius:[32] "Quod" (inquit) "dicitur quæ ab initio non valent, ex post facto convalescere non posse, hanc habet exceptionem, nisi causa nova jus per se parere idonea intercesserit."

Cæterum non usquequaque verum est illicita initia in rerum legitimarum numerum temporis decursu non referri.[33] Concilium enim Constantinopolitanum Justiniano Imperatore habitum (inquit Spondanus) non solum universalis Concilii nomen non meretur, sed nec particularis quidem, quando quidem celebratum fuerit Pontifice aut ejus legato non præsente contra decreta. Idem tamen postea narrat, concilium illud, concilii generalis authoritatem assecutum fuisse Vigilio Papa, ejusque in sede Apostolica successoribus robur ei suo assensu conferentibus. Ut alii concilio Constantinopoli Theodosio Imperatore celebrato contigit. Quanquam enim convocatum fuerit contra Damasi Papæ decretum jubentis ut Romæ haberetur, eo tamen postea consentiente illud inter generalia concilia relatum est. Non satis æqua fuit Capucinorum inchoatio, utpotè quam perfuga instituit qui præpositi sui obsequio se contra fidem datam subduxit, et susceptam vitæ rationem deseruit; à qua nunquam discedere voto adstringebatur. Capucinorum tamen institutum summi Pontifices postea suis calculis libentes approbarunt, magno Ecclesiæ bono, quam videmus à Capucinis tanquam stellis quibusdam illustrari, immensæ pietatis suæ radios per Christianum

[31] Reg. 29, juris civilis. [32] De jure belli, lib. I, c. 4. n. 11. [33] Epitome Baronii, an. 553, nu. 13.

the man who had shed the blood of innocents, and often attempted to murder himself, how can any private individual presume to dethrone and murder a king, however atrociously tyrannical?

It is clear, then, that the advice given to the Irish by this Marulus to depose their sovereign, and to confer the regal power on any of their countrymen, no matter of what race, was taken from the repository of heretical, not of Catholic doctrine. It was absurd to contend that the king should be deprived of his Irish crown, because it had originally been unjustly acquired by his ancestors. When this rule of law, "an institution which was of no force in the beginning, may become valid by lapse of time," was urged by him as one of his arguments, it was either ignorance or deliberate fraud, to omit the sense in which that rule is understood by commentators, namely, that the injustice of a preceding contract may be removed by subsequent voluntary transactions of the parties. Hence Grotius says, "the maxim, that whatever was originally null cannot become valid by any subsequent event, must be taken with this exception, "if some new grounds do not arise sufficient of themselves to confer a right."

It is by no means true that things originally invalid cannot acquire authority by lapse of time. The council of Constantinople, which was held under the emperor Justinianus, was not even a particular much less a general council, because in violation of the canons, it was celebrated without the presence of the pope or his legate. Yet, as Spondanus relates, that council subsequently acquired the authority of a general council, by the confirmation of pope Vigilius and his successors in the apostolical see. The same thing happened to another council of Constantinople, held under the emperor Theodosius. For, though it was convoked contrary to the orders of pope Damasus, who summoned it to Rome, yet it was afterwards, with his consent, ranked among the œcumenical councils. The institution of the Capuchins was irregular, being founded by an apostate, who renounced the jurisdiction of the superior, to whom he vowed obedience, and abandoned that institute which he was bound by vow to observe. Yet the popes subsequently approved the order of Capuchins, to the great good of the church, for Capuchins are now like brilliant stars, diffusing the light of their extraordinary sanctity throughout the Christian world. That work of

orbem emittentibus. Pluribus aliis nævis iste Maruli libellus inficitur, quibus auferendis non est opere pretium ut diutius immorer. Non possum tamen de isto libello non dicere, quod Ovidius de Phaetonte cecinit, nimirum quod:

"Aliquis malo fuit usus in illo."[34]

Nam Bullas istas Adriano et Alexandro Pontificibus adscriptas à me pro viribus ante hac vellicatas nervosè satis elumbat, apertis documentis adductis eas aut fictas, aut fictis de causis surreptas fuisse.

[34] 2 Metam.

Marulus is full of other errors, but they are not worth the trouble of detailed refutation. Nevertheless, I must say of it what Ovidius sings of Phäetón :

" Some worth there was in that foolish fellow."

He refutes vigorously the bulls ascribed to popes Adrian and Alexander (which I have already disproved to the best of my abilities,) and produces documents, which evidently prove that these bulls were either spurious or surreptitious, as being obtained on false pretences.

CAPUT XXVIII.

AD ALTERAM OBJECTIONIS PARTEM RESPONSIO, QUA POTISSIMUM SOBOLI AB ANGLIS HUC OLIM APPULSIS PROPAGATÆ JUS INDIGENARUM ASSERITUR.

[269] Longum tempus fecit ex advenis indigenas.—Hiberni et Angli omni necessitudinis vinculo juncti.—Alexander sibi Persas affinitate, veste junxit: hostiles nationes matrimoniis conciliantur. [270] Nobilis familia Burgorum.—Hiberni et Anglo-Hiberni matrimoniis inter se consociantur. [274] Matrimonia talia recensentur. [272] Stanihurstus de hac re arguitur.—Matrimonium contrahit amicitiam: coloniæ cum incolis vinculum.—Exteræ gentes quam facile suæ genti quem civem ascribunt. [273] Ubicunque quis nascitur illius patriæ civis est.—Stanihurstus eos arguit qui se de Hibernia, sed non Hibernos dicunt.—Gentes victæ et victores non eodem nomine gaudent.—Hibernos Anglica prosapia oriundos Hiberni pro Anglis, Angli pro Hibernis habent. [274] Non originis sed nativitatis terra cujus patria est.—Novi veteresque cives sunt eodem jure cives.—Quando cognomina cœperunt in Hibernia.—Familiæ Anglicæ nomen Hibernicum indictæ. [275] Hiberni cognomen mutare jussi.—Ignobiles in familias nobiliores irrepserunt.—Patria unde quis originem duxit est honoranda. [276] Victores victis coaliti iisdem legibus obnoxii.—Dissidium inter Anglos ortu et Anglos genere.—Angli cum Hibernis Anglia oriundis coloniarum jure non agunt [277] Romani victos omnes civitati adscripserunt.—Ut Parlamentarii nunc Hibernos tactant.—Sævissima Catholicorum supplicia. [278] Parlamentariorum perfidia.—Potestate non præditi conditiones dabant.—Perfidia in deditos Sligoenses.—Cromwelli perfidia in Vadipontanos. [279] Fides Galviensibus data non præstita.—Galviensium ærumnæ.—Cromwellianorum atrocitates. [280] Alia Catholicorum supplicia. [281] Quam enorme scelus perfidia.—Libertatis profitendæ Catholicæ religionis promissio non præstita.—Parlamentariorum edicta contra ecclesiasticos et eorum fautores.—Varia ecclesiasticorum supplicia. [282] Sævitia in Catholicam fidem non ejurantes.—Perfidia quam odiosa.—Parlamentarii magis perfidi quam Protestantes.—Viri nobiles et opulenti ad miserias redacti.—Omnium gentium initia humilia et sordida.

LECTORIS arbitrio stet, si motæ seditionis labem in proximi capitis initio mihi aspersam, satis in ejusdem capitis decursu eluerim. Alterum telum quo impetor sic averto. Ingratitudinis notam incurrere dicor, si primos mei generis authores ex Anglia huc appulsos prædia modo ab [269] eorum nepotibus possessa, per injuriam sibi vindicasse asseruero. | Ego in Joannis Davisii sententiam pedibus (ut aiunt) eo dicentis: si numerus

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANSWER TO THE SECOND PART OF THE OBJECTION; BEING A PROOF THAT THE DESCENDANTS OF THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH COLONISTS ARE ENTITLED TO ALL THE RIGHTS OF NATIVES.

[269] After a considerable lapse of time settlers became natives.—The Irish and the English united by every tie.—Alexander attached the Persians to himself by bonds of affinity and conformity with their dress.—Hostile nations reconciled to each other by marriages. [270] The noble family of the Burkes.—The Irish and Anglo-Irish united by marriages.—[271] Several of these marriages mentioned. [272] Stanihurst refuted on this point: friendships arising from marriage.—The bonds of a colony with the natives.—Facility of other nations in admitting persons to the right of citizenship. [273] A person's birth place is his country.—Stanihurst's censure on those who say that they are from Ireland, but not Irishmen.—The conquered and conquering nations called by the same name.—The Irish of English descent considered as English by the (old) Irish and as Irish by the English. [274] A man's country not that from which his fathers came, but where himself was born.—Natives, whether of the old or new race, are still by the same right natives.—Period when surnames were first used in Ireland.—Irish names adopted by English families. [275] The Irish ordered by statute to change their names.—Men of low origin confounded with noble families.—The country whence one derives his origin has claims to his love. [276] Victors and vanquished combining; subject to the same laws.—Feuds between the English by birth and the English by descent.—The English do not give the Irish of English descent the treatment due to a colony. [277] The Romans admitted all their vanquished enemies to the rights of citizenship.—Conduct of the Parliamentarians at present to the Irish.—Most truculent persecution of the Catholics. [278] Perfidy of the Parliamentarians.—They make conditions when not authorized to make them.—Treachery to Sligo after its capitulation.—Perfidy of Cromwell to the town of Drogheda. [279] Stipulations made with Galway violated.—Sufferings of Galway.—Atrocities of the Cromwellians. [280] Other persecutions of the Catholics. [281] Perfidy a most horrid crime.—The promise of toleration for the Catholic religion violated.—Edicts of the Parliamentarians against ecclesiastics and their protectors.—Various sufferings of ecclesiastics. [282] Cruelty to all who will not abjure the Catholic faith.—Abominable perfidy.—The Parliamentarians more perfidious than the Protestants.—Rich and noble families reduced to beggary —The beginnings of all nations lowly and contemptible.

I LEAVE to my reader to judge, whether I have refuted satisfactorily the charge of sedition made against me in the preceding chapter. I now defend myself in the following manner against the second charge. I am accused of ingratitude for asserting, that the founders of my race, the first English settlers, unjustly acquired the property which is now held by their descendants. I adopt implicitly (as they say) the opinion

incolarum Hiberniæ[1] viritim hodiè numeretur qui originis initium ex Anglia ducunt, pristinos indigenas numero superare deprehendentur.

Sed et ex illis nemo est alicujus notæ qui non etiam ad puros putos Hibernos genus referat: nec ex his aliquis est ullo loco habitus, qui non ex Anglis quoque sit oriundus. Sicut enim insititia vimina in ejus arboris cui sunt inserta post diuturnum tempus elapsum formam transeunt: sic Hiberni et Angli sanguinem quingentorum penè annorum consuetudine conjuncti ita miscuerunt, ut dudum duæ gentes in unam coaluerint. Pater Dominicus O'Dalii iis jure merito succensuit qui tam arctè[2] conglutinatos diducere contendebant dicens: "Nisi Deus mentes eorum obcæcasset, ac discursus aciem pondere peccatorum offuscasset: nihil amentius quam eos qui tot annorum curriculis incolatum in Hibernia protulerunt, pro non Hibernis reputari; cum apud cæteras nationes quamtumvis barbaras, ubi quis natus sit pro naturali habeatur. Quid igitur sentiendum de iis, quorum patres, avi, proavi, atavi, et supra, per quingentos circiter annos, non abruptâ serie, cum magnis ditionibus,[3] ac prædiis hæreditario jure possessis, majorem regni partem tanto cum splendore inhabitarunt?" Et paulo post: "Nonne recentiores Hiberni cum antiquis, et hi cum recentioribus indissolubili affinitatis nexu, ac mutuo consanguinitatis vinculo conjuncti sunt?"

Imo nullum est necessitudinis genus quo utrique non devinciebantur; Daviso asserente Anglos cum Hibernis matrimonii,[4] nutritiorum, et patrinorum fœdera inivisse. Ita ut unius seculi spatio tam Anglici

[1] Pag. 3. [2] In Relatione Geraldinorum, cap. 25. [3] Ibidem. p. 157. [4] P. 30.

[a] When our author was writing shortly before the Restoration, this might be true; but it certainly was not true when Davis was writing, a half century earlier. The north had not then been colonized from England and Scotland, nor had the King's and Queen's Counties and Wicklow been settled. In fully one half of Ireland there were hardly any even degenerate English when Davis was writing; and we know that even within the four half shires of the Pale, in 1515, "*all* the common people of the said half counties, that obeyeth the king's laws, for the most part, be of Irish *birth*, of Irish habit, and of Irish language." State Papers of Henry VIII. vol. ii. There is no reason to believe, but the contrary, that these shires had received many additional English inhabitants during the century after

of Sir John Davis, that if the inhabitants of Ireland were now to be numbered man for man, those of English descent would be found to be more numerous than the old natives.[a]

But there is not amongst them a single person of any note, who has not also mere Irish blood in his veins; nor are there any men of note among the mere Irish, who do not count some Englishmen among their progenitors.[b] Like grafts, which, in process of time, assume the form of that tree on which they were engrafted, the English and Irish races have been so united by the social intercourse of 500 years, that long since they are only one people. Father Dominic O'Dalaigh passes the following severe and merited censure on those who would attempt to separate what was so intimately united. "If God," he says, "had not struck them with blindness, and the weight of their sins had not darkened their understanding, they could never be so infatuated as to assert that those men were not Irish, who had lived during so many centuries in Ireland; while in all other nations, how barbarous soever, a man is always considered a native of the country in which he was born. What, then, must we think of those whose fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers, great great grandfathers, and farther back still, in unbroken succession during 500 years, have inhabited the greater part of the kingdom, living in princely splendor, with extensive territories and estates legally transmitted from sire to son?" Again he adds, "are not the old Irish intimately blended with the new, and the new with the old, by the indissoluble bond of affinity, and the strong chain of kindred blood?"

Indeed they are united by every bond of social union. Thus Davis says, "that the English had contracted bonds of marriage, nursing and fosterage with them, so that in the course of one century the colonists had degenerated from English habits to Irish, both in their dress, lan-

the publication of that state paper. Stephen White's relative estimate of the two races is more correct. He does not claim numerical superiority for the Anglo-Irish; but he asserts, truly, that the towns and far the richest part of Ireland were held by them. See notes to Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 6.

[b] Probably true after the dispersion of the Irish clans in the commencement of the seventeenth century: it would be difficult to prove that it was generally true before that time.

magnates, quam inquilini à majoribus Anglorum ad Hibernorum instituta desciverint, eorum idioma, arma, vestiendi, et pugnandi rationem, reliquasque consuetudines amplexi, Alexandro magno facem iis ad hoc faciendum præferente, qui similibus nexibus Persas à se victos sibi devincivit. Nam copiis Darii profligatis, cum Persæ monarcha evasisset, ut nuper superatorum animos sibi, Macedonibusque conciliaret,[5] et affinitate utriusque populi studia conglutinaret, suoque obsequio firmius obnoxia, redderet, è Persis puellis centum delegit, quas in tabernaculum aureum adductas, totidem Macedonicis invenibus matrimonio copulavit; ut hac affinitate contracta, in unum populum coalescentes, unum regem agnoscerent. Præterea ut monarchæ major cum populo similitudo intercederet, vestimenta sibi partim morem Persicum, partim Macedonicum referentia fieri curavit, ut hac ratione amorem illorum colligeret, quorum vestitum gessisset; et ut à Macedonibus Persæ non pro hostibus, sed pro civibus haberentur. Ait vero Justinus: "Alexandrum filium Darii regis Statiram in matrimonium recepisse et optimatibus Macedonum lectas ex omnibus gentibus nobilissimas virgines tradidisse; et Persas nunquam quasi victos, sed veluti victoriæ socios habuisse, et se in illorum, non illos in suæ gentis more transisse,[6] affinitatibus connubiorum victos victoribus miscuisse."

Aliæ quoque nationes fœdera quam arctissima inituræ matrimoniis se mutuis semper illigabant; pace quondam inter Francos, et Gallos non armis partâ, sed ultro constituta, et pudore victis, victori superbiâ hoc pacto detractâ.[7] "Polyena Canarini Parisiorum, et Senonum reguli filia Clodioni nupsit. Quo conjugio Franci Gallis utriusque parentis ac popularium gaudio coaluere, ac brevi patre soceroque annitentibus rex salutatus Clodion regnum accepit utriusque gentis summo assensu, ac plausu." Margaritam Jacobi primi Scotiæ regis filiam Ludovicus un-

[5] Plutarch. [6] Lib. 12. [7] Florus Gallicus. l. 1. c. 6.

[e] Intermarriage, nursing and fosterage with the Irish were prohibited by the statute of Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, with the view of reclaiming the degenerate English, who, by that time, had become throughout nearly the whole country mere Irish in laws, language, dress, and by intermarriage

guage, arms, mode of fighting, and other customs.[c] In this they followed the precedent set by Alexander the Great, who bound the conquered Persians to himself by similar ties. When he became king of Persia after the defeat of Darius, he selected one hundred young Persian ladies, and assembling them in a tent of gold, gave them in marriage to one hundred Macedonian youths, hoping by this union to reconcile the affections of his conquered subjects to himself and the Macedonians, to inspire a common feeling by this bond of affinity, and attach them more firmly to his throne, so that conquerors and conquered should be one people and acknowledge but one king. To identify the monarch more perfectly with the subject, he adopted a dress partly of the Macedonian, partly of the Persian fashion, in order to win the affections of each by favoring their national dress, and to make the Macedonians be regarded by the Persians not as conquerors, but as fellow-subjects. "Alexander," says Justinus, "married Statisa, daughter of Darius king of Persia, and selected from various nations some of the noblest ladies whom he gave in marriage to the choice of his Macedonian nobility; he never treated the Persians as a conquered people, but rather as the associates of his conquests; not compelling them to adopt the customs of his country, but adopting them, and blending both races into one people by matrimonial alliances."

Other nations also, when about to form a close alliance, always cemented it by matrimonial unions. When peace was made between the Francs and Gauls, it was not by arms, but by free treaty, that thus the conquered might not be humiliated, nor the conquerors elated by ascendancy. "Polyena, daughter of Canarinus, king of the Parisii and and the Senones, married Clodion. By this marriage, which gave general satisfaction both to the parents and their adherents, the Francs and Gauls coalesced into one people, and in a short time, by the combined influence of the father and father-in-law, Clodion was elected king and assumed the reins of government, with the universal consent

with the natives, in blood. The Concilium Hiberniæ, (published in the Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. i.), which was held about the close of the thirteenth century, does not prohibit these alliances, though it maintains some few points in which the English had *degenerated*, p. 22.

decimus Galliæ rex conjugem duxit: Mox "Scotæ centum et quadraginta Gallis in matrimonio locatæ."[8] Sic temporibus primum Anglorum in Hiberniam accessum proxime secutis, Hiberni non solum Anglos sibi generos adsciverunt, sed aliis etiam vinculis sibi obstrinxerunt. Eos enim contra domesticos æmulos in militiam sæpe coaptarunt, et agris ob latam opem non raro donarunt. Ut sub nascentibus inter bellandum occasionibus, plures ex Anglis latifundia tum etiam sibi citra injuriam compararint.

Et ut de connubiis inter utramque gentem initio initis pauca referam: Eva Dermicii Lageniæ regis filia (Cambrensi referente) Richardo [270] Strangboæ | comiti, "Patre tradente copulata est."[9] Horum conjugum generum fuisse Guillelmum Marescale comitem de Pembroc Camdenus testatur, qui prosapiam ab hoc Guillelmo propagatam latè postea prosequitur. Præterea Hugo de Lacy, quem "inter proceres regis Anglorum qui erant in Hibernia præcipuum et præcellentem habitum" fuisse Nubrigensis asserit "ceperat sibi conjugem,[10] filiam Rotherici regis Connaciæ" ut ait Hovedenus. Richardus de Burgo, magnus vulgo dictus (is fortasse quem Annales Hiberniæ apud Camdenum an. Dom. 1243 obiisse memorant;[11] à quo etiam Clanricardia nomen sortita esse videtur) filius Guillelmi Aldelmiadis (qui prima Burgorum Hiberniæ stirps fuit, et à scriptoribus Hibernicis conquestor,[12] ac regis Angliæ gener appellatus) pater ut ego quidem colligo Walteri comitis Ultoniæ, et Guillelmi Burgorum Mayoensium authoris filiam Cathaldi à Rubro pugno celeberrimi, ob res præclare gestas Connaciæ regis uxorem habuit,[13] Guillelmi junioris matrem, nec non etiam ut existimo Walteri comitis.

Accepi ego Cathaldum illum à carpo rubro adversariorum armis impetitum suppetias ab ea Burgorum familia retulisse, quæ Macdavid

[8] Connæus de duplici statu religionis apud Scot. [9] Hiberni. expugn. l. 1. c. 16. [10] In Annal. Hibern. an. 1200. [11] Lib. 3. c. 9. [12] An. 1181. [13] Camden. p. 758.

[d] Very many instances of the kind occurred in the first years of the invasion, the minor chiefs following the example of Strongbow himself: but for reasons related in the last note, the government afterwards endeavoured to prevent them.

[e] See in Grace's Annals, text and

and rapturous approbation of both nations." Louis XI., king of France, married Margaret, daughter of James I., king of Scotland, and immediately after "100 Scottish ladies were married to French nobles." In the same manner, after the descent of the English on the Irish shores, the Irish not only adopted the English as their sons-in-law, but bound them to themselves by every social tie. The English were often united to aid them against their native enemies, and not unfrequently received a grant of land as the reward of their services; and thus, as those quarrels often distracted the island, many of the English acquired by their lands a strictly just title.[d]

But to give a few examples of the marriages contracted between families of the two contending races. "Eva, daughter of Diarmuid, king of Leinster, was given in marriage by her father," according to Cambrensis, to Richard Strongbow. William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, married Isabella, Strongbow's daughter, as appears from the long account given by Camden of the issue of the said William. Again, "Hugh de Lacy was," says William of Newbridge, "one of the greatest and most illustrious lords in Ireland, married a daughter of Ruaidhri, king of Connacht,"[e] according to Hoveden. Richard de Burgo, commonly called the Great (the same perhaps whose death is recorded in the annals of Ireland, Camden, at the year 1243, and from whom Clanrickarde took its name) was son of William Adelm, the parent stock of the Burkes of Ireland, and entitled by the Irish writers son-in-law of the king of England and the conqueror. Richard was, in my opinion, father of Walter, earl of Ulster, and of William, the head of the Burkes of Mayo. His wife was a daughter[f] of Cathal of the red hand,[g] king of Connacht, a hero of great renown. She was, in my opinion, mother of the said William the younger, and of earl Walter.

I heard that Cathal of the Red Hand, being once hard pressed by his enemies, received assistance from that family of the Burkes which is now called Mac David, and that as a reward for their powerful aid in

notes, p. 27, the names of his children, and of the partition of Leinster between them. Robert Bruce descended from one of the daughters.

[f] From which marriage our author traced his own pedigree. See his life of Kirwan, bishop of Killala, p. 27, Dublin, Duffy, 1848.

modo dicitur, et eorum secundiore conatu ad inimicorum impetus retundendos usum, pro operâ tam egregie præstitâ, devictorum agros ipsis contulisse quos adhuc insident, et jure optimo comparasse dicuntur. Illius familiæ Pilarchus modo est Ullechus de Burgo Baronethus Glinskiæ (ubi amænissimas ædes excitavit) dominus, sed nunc in communi popularium suorum exilio perfugium (ut audio) Neapoli nactus. Quam plurimis etiam aliis Hiberniæ Satrapis per omnes Europæ regiones, et innumeris etiam clientibus per varias Indiarum plagas exilii ærumnas perferentibus, Præsulibus multis, et aliis Ecclesiæ luminibus horum, et illorum contubernio utrobique conjunctis, ac diversa exilia, et diversas quærere terras coactis.[14] "Salvos nos fac Domine Deus noster, et congrega nos de nationibus, ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo, et gloriemur in laude tua."

Puto familiam hanc à Davide illo equite aurato nomen mutuatum fuisse, qui uxorem habuit Feifalgam filiam Dermicii O'Moelbrenain; cujus sororem Sabam matrimonio sibi copulavit Walterus de Burgo dominus Connaciæ, et magnæ partis Hiberniæ, ex ambabus autem sororibus liberos uterque suscepit. Hæc narrat Oduveganus.[14] Walterum puto postea fuisse comitem Ultoniæ, et aliis nuptiis filiæ ac hæredi Hugonis Lacæi junctum, ut habet Camdenus.[15] Cujus Walteri filia videtur fuisse uxor Malachiæ Kelly avi alterius Malachiæ Kelly,[16] qui Archiepiscopatum Tuamensem sub annum 1400 inivit, ut ex Oduvegani verbis conjecturam facio. Comiti huic Hubertum equitem auratum (à quo nomen Mac Hubertorum manavit) è genealogia Mac Huberti de Disercallay, et Walterum è genealogia Mac Redmondi de Orithremoin, filios fuisse deprehendo.[17] Non dubito quin alios filios è memorata Saba genuerit possessionibus ejus in Connacia potitos, prole quam ex hærede comitis Ultoniæ sustulit, Ultoniæ comitatum jure merito consecutâ. Waltero Richardus filius in comitatu successit, huic Willelmus è Joanne filio nepos: cujus filia Elizabetha Leonello Clarentiæ Duci, regis Edwardi tertii filio nupsit. Filia eorum Philippa

[14] Psal. 205. [15] Pag. 30. [16] Anna. Hiberni. 1243. [17] Pag. 39.

[s] According to other accounts, this wife of Richard Burke was a granddaughter of Cathal O'Conchobhair. A wife of Richard's, died A.D. 1304. Four

repelling successfully the assaults of his enemy, he granted to them the land of the conquered which they hold to this day; and which, it is said, they acquired originally by that just title. The present representative of that family is Ulick de Burgo, baron of Glinski, where he erected, some time ago, a splendid mansion, but at present he is doomed to the universal exile of his countrymen and has taken refuge I hear in Naples. Many an Irish noble is now wandering over every country in Europe, while their dependants, who having been dispersed in crowds through various regions of India,[h] suffer, with many bishops and other lights of the church all the calamities of exile, sharing the same fate, in different retreats and foreign climes: "Save us, O Lord, our God, and gather us from among the nations: that we may give thanks to thy holy name and glory in thy praise."

This family of Mac David, I think, must have taken its name from the knight who married Feifalga, daughter of Diarmaid O'Moelbrenain, whose sister Saba was married to Walter de Burgo, lord of Connacht, and of a great part of Ireland. There was issue by both those marriages, according to O'Dubhagain. Walter, I think, afterwards became earl of Ulster, and married a second time the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy, as Camden states. A daughter of the same Walter, it appears, was wife to Maelseachlainn Keallaigh, grandfather of another Maelseachlainn Keallaigh, who was archbishop of Tuam about the year 1400, as I understand O'Dubhagain. From the genealogy of the Mac Huberts (so called from Hubert), and from that of the Mac Redmonds of Orithtremoin, I find that Hubert and Walter were also sons of earl Walter and Saba: I have no doubt that he had other sons by the same marriage, who inherited his immense estates in Connacht, his issue by the heiress of the earl of Ulster, rightfully succeeding to the earldom of Ulster: Richard succeeded his father in that earldom, and was succeeded by his grandson William, son of John. William's daughter Elizabeth married Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. Their daughter Philippa was wife of Edmund Mortimer, and mother of Roger Morti-

Masters. Her maiden name is not given.

[h] The West Indies, &c., to which they were transported and sold as slaves by the Cromwellians.

uxor Edmundi Mortimeri, et mater Rogeri Mortimeri Marchiæ et Ultoniæ Comitum effecta est. Annam Rogeri filiam Richardus Dux Eboracensis Pater Edwardi quarti duxit; cujus Edwardi filia Elizabetha, Henrico septimo peperit Margaretam Jacobi quinti Scotiæ regis matrem, qui fuit Jacobi Britanniæ majoris, et Hiberniæ regis avus.

Præterea Walterus Berminghamus Athenriæ Baro,[18] et Hiberniæ prorex, sive (ut ait Camdenus) "optimus Hiberniæ Justiciarius," uxorem habuit Edinam Nimacoyam filiam (ni fallor) Macaoy finium Tuamiæ adjacentium olim Domini,[19] qui jampridem sedi Tuamensi multa prædia elargitus esse dicitur. Lego in annalibus Hibernicis filiam Terdelachi O'Brien uxorem fuisse filii Comitis Ultoniæ, forte is Edwardus de [271] Burgo fuit,[20] filius Comitis Ultoniæ, | cujus Hiberniæ Annales apud Camdenum mentionem ad annum 1345, faciunt.[21] Mac Carthius gener erat Thomæ Geraldini Hiberniæ proregis anno 1260 mortui. Thomas à Simia superioris Thomæ nepos, et Mauricii primi Desmoniæ comitis pater anno 1305 extinctus, matrem habuit filiam Finghini Mac Carthii cognomento Reamanachi, ut est in tractu de comitum Desmoniæ matribus. Joannes Butlerus quintus aut sextus Ormoniæ comes uxorem habuit Regnaitam filiam O'Brien Terdelachi: octavus seu nonus Ormoniæ comes Edmundus filiam O'Caruilli matrimonio sibi junxit. Hujus autem filio Jacobi uxor erat Saba Caemhanach filia Danielis Riabhach domini Lageniæ mater Pierii Ormoniæ, et primi Ossoriæ comites, qui "bis Hiberniæ prorex erat."[22] Cujus neptis è fratre Joanne Catelina nupsit O'Caruillo; ejus vero filius Jacobus Ormoniæ comes, et Hiberniæ Thesaurarius multos filios habuit, quorum quartus Joannes ex uxore Mac Carthi filia Jacobum suscepit patrem Walteri Comitis Ormoniæ, avi Marchionis Ormoniæ hodierni Jacobi. Quintus Jacobi Thesaurarii Hiberniæ filius Walterus Annæ filiæ O'Brien de Ognamach maritus erat. Horum pleraque ex Opusculo de Butleræ stirpis propagatione desumpsi. Idem quoque Opusculum me docuit illius Pierii primi Comitis Ossoriæ majorem natu filiam Margaritam Maggille Patricio, et juniorem Oileanam Donata magno O'Brien nupsisse. Et è Richardo ejusdem Pierii tertio filio Montgaretæ primo Vicecomite Edmundum filium, et hæredem fuisse, qui

[18] Anna. Hibern. an. 1349. [19] Regest. Athen. [20] 1333. [21] Relect. Giraldin. c. 4. [22] Mearius in Ormonio, lib. 1. p. 17.

mer, earl of March and Ulster. Roger's daughter Anne was married to Richard, duke of York, father of Edward IV., and Elizabeth, daughter of the said Edward, married Henry VII., to whom she bore Margaret, mother of James V., king of Scotland, who was grandfather of James, king of Great Britain and Ireland.

Again Walter Birmingham, baron of Athenry and lord deputy of Ireland, or, as Camden styles him, the excellent justiciary of Ireland, was married to Edina Ni-Mac-oia, daughter (I conclude) of Mac-aia, lord of a territory near Tuam, and who, it is said, had conferred extensive possessions on the see of Tuam. In our Irish annals I find that a daughter of Toirdhealbhac O'Briain was married to the earl of Ulster, perhaps Edward de Burgo, son of that earl of Ulster mentioned in Camden's annals of Ireland at the year 1345. Mac Carthaigh was son-in-law of Thomas Geraldine, lord deputy of Ireland, who died in 1260. Thomas of the Ape, grandson of the preceding Thomas, and father of Maurice, first earl of Desmond, was son of a daughter of Finein Mac Carthaigh, surnamed "Reamanach," as we learn from the tract on the Mothers of the Earls of Desmond. Thomas died in 1306. John Butler, fifth or sixth earl of Ormoud, was married to Regnait, daughter of Toirdhealbhac O'Briain; Edmund, eighth or ninth earl of Ormond, was married to a daughter of O'Cearbhaill. Their son James was married to Saba Caemhanach, daughter of Daniel Riabhach, king of Leinster, and mother of Piers, earl of Ormond, and first earl of Ossory, who was twice lord deputy of Ireland. His niece, Caithlin, daughter of his brother John, married Ui Cearbhaill. His son James, earl of Ormond and treasurer of Ireland, had many sons. The fourth son, John, married a daughter of Mac Carthaigh, mother of James, father of Walter, earl of Ormond, grandfather of the present James, marquis of Ormond. Walter, the fifth son of James, treasurer of Ireland, married Anna, daughter of O'Briain of Ognamach. Most of these notices have been taken from the pedigree of the Butler family. From the same authority I find that Margaret, the eldest daughter of Piers, first earl of Ossory, married Mac Gillapatrick, and that the youngest, Oileana, was wife of Donnchadh Mor O'Briain; also, that Richard, third son of the same Piers, and first Viscount Mountgarret, was succeeded by his son Edmund, who married Graene,

Graniam Magilpatricii filiam sibi uxorem adscivit, cujus Edmondi frater Joannes maritus erat filiæ O'Meachair. Ex opusculo de matribus Comitum Desmoniæ disce Moram filiam Donati O'Brien de Carrigogunnil matrem fuisse Jacobi ejus nominis tertii Desmoniæ Comitis. Et in annalibus Hibernicis filia Comitis Desmoniæ uxor Macarthi; et Eleonora uxor O'Nelli Constantini,[23] filiaque Thomæ Comitis Kildariæ (quem puto Hiberniæ proregem ab Edwardo tertio fuisse renuntiatum) obiisse dicuntur.

Constat etiam Jacobi Barri Butevantæ Vicecomitis abavi Comitis hodierni, filiam Mac Carthi Reochi uxorem fuisse; filiam Macarthi Muscriæ Domini Mauricio Rochæo Fermoiæ Vicecomiti senis, qui hodie Vicecomes est avo nupsisse. Et O'Cruoli filiam Curcio Kinsaliæ Baroni ante an. 80 matrimonio junctam fuisse. Lixsnæ Domino filia Cornelii Tuamoniæ Comitis ante annos 70, O'Briani etiam filia Thomæ de Burgo hodierni Castelconnelliæ Baronis avo ante annos 80 collocata est. Filia Comitis Kildariæ mater erat Danielis Macarthi Reochi, illius qui hodiè superest proavi, cui Danieli filia Jacobi Desmoniæ Comitis matrimonio juncta fuit. Ante annos 90 Cormacus Vicecomitis Muscriæ modo superstitis avus uxorem duxit filiam Vicecomitis de Cahir. Cormacus vero Tadæi filius superioris Cormaci, in Muscriæ Dominatus decessor, ante centum annos Conjugem habuit Joannam filiam Pierii Butleri filii Dunboniæ Baronis. Abavus Danielis O'Sullevani Bearri modo propè sexagenarii, qui summæ nobilitati probitatem adæquat equitis albi è Giraldinis filiam, et hujus etiam avus Desiæ Vicecomitis filiam conjugio sociatam habuit. Memorati vero Danielis avus Eugenius O'Sullevanus Bearrius eques auratus, ante annos 90 vel circiter, conjugem habuit Evelinam supra memorati Jacobi Barri Butevante Vicecomitis filiam, cujus Eugenii filia Silia nuptui data est Nicholao Broune equiti aurato. Daniel Macarthius Clancarthiæ Comes, Comitis Desmoniæ filiam ante annos 80 uxorem habuit.

In prolixitatem pœnè infinitam sermonem protraherem, si omnia conjugia inter majorum gentium ex Anglia Hibernicaque gente nobiles inita in medium proferre aggrederer. Nec dubito quin ista quæ commemoravi, lectoris animum attrahant ad sentiendum frequentissima his

[39] Anno Domini 1411, An. Domini 1437.

daughter of Mac Gilla Patrick. John, Edmond's brother, was married to the daughter of O'Meachair. From the treatise on the Mothers of the Earls of Desmond, it appears that Mora, daughter of Donnchadh O'Briain, of Carrigogunnil, was mother of James, the third earl of Desmond. The Irish annals record the death of a daughter of the earl of Desmond, wife of Mac Carthaigh, and also of Eleonora, wife of Conn O'Neill, and daughter of Thomas, earl of Kildare, the same, I think, who was lord deputy of Ireland under Edward III. It is certain, moreover, that James Barry, viscount Buttevant, great grandfather's father of the present viscount, was married to a daughter of Mac Carthaigh Riach. A daughter of Mac Carthaigh of Muskerry was married to Maurice Roche, viscount Fermoy, grandfather of the present aged viscount: eighty years ago, a daughter of O'Cruoli married Courcy, baron of Kinsale. Seventy years ago a daughter of Cornelius, earl of Thomond, married the lord of Lixnaw. Eighty years ago a daughter of O'Briain married Thomas de Burgo, grandfather of the present baron of Castleconnel. A daughter of the earl of Kildare was mother of Domhnall Mac Carthaigh Riach, great grandfather of the present Mac Carthaigh Riach. Domhnall was married to a daughter of James, earl of Desmond. Ninety years ago, Cormac, grandfather of the present viscount Muskerry, married a daughter of the lords of Cahir. Cormac, son of Tadhg, and predecessor of the former Cormac in the lordship of Muskerry, was married about one hundred years ago to Joanna, daughter of Piers Butler, son of the baron of Dunboyne. The great grandfather's father of the present Domhnall O'Suileabhain Beara (now almost sixty years old,) whose character is not inferior to his illustrious descent, was married to a daughter of the white knight, one of the Geraldines, and his grandfather was married to a daughter of viscount Desies. Eoghan O'Suileabhain Beara, a knight who died about ninety years ago, grandfather of Domhnall, was married to Evelin, daughter of the above-mentioned James Barry, viscount Buttevant. Silia, daughter of Eoghan, was married to Nicholas Broune, knight. Domhnall Mac Carthaigh, earl of Clancarthy, about eighty years ago, was married to a daughter of the earl of Desmond.

But it would be an endless task to give a detailed history of the intermarriages between the great Irish and Anglo-Irish nobles. The examples I have given must convince my reader that they were of very

connubia cum illis intercessisse. Etiam vel hinc perspicere quis potest imperitam utriusque gentis multitudinem creberrimis se mutuò matri- [272] moniis innexuisse, cum vulgus dominorum mores semper imitentur. |

Itaque satis mirari non possum cur Stanihursto in mentem venerit dicere[24] "Anglo Hibernos adeo esse ab antiquis Hibernis dissociatos, ut colonorum omnium ultimus, qui in Anglica provincia habitat, filiam suam vel nobilissimo Hibernicorum principi in matrimonium non daret." Quibus verbis si persuadere contendat inquilinos indigenarum connubia fuisse aspernatos; quæ hactenus adduximus falsi eum arguunt, et notitiam earum rerum, quos posteritatis memoriæ commendandas recepit illum subterfugisse convincunt. Colonorum Fingalliæ sermone nobiles Hiberni,[25] "mentum intorquere" (ut Stanihurstus loquitur) cum dedignarentur, non est mirum illos, qui proreges etiam Hiberniæ nobilissimos quosque proceres Anglicos, ut supra vidisti soceros et generos habuerunt ab hominum tam infimæ sortis affinitate ambiendâ penitus abhorruisse, audierant enim, "si tu vis apte nubere nube pari."

Quare si vera de plebeis istis narrat Stanihurstus, nimio illos fastu intumuisse prodidit, qui eos sibi generos coaptare recusarent, quos ipsorum domini longo præstantiæ omnis intervallo istos egressi suis filiabus copulabant; sin falsa, summa se impudentia seductum fuisse ostendit, qui rem à veritate tam procul remotam scriptis evulgavit.

Ideo autem de matrimoniis inter adventitiam, et innatam gentem ultro citroque usitatis paulo uberius disserui ut quam arcte fuerit utraque gens mutuo devincta propalarem. Nihil enim alienationem ab animis

[24] Lib. 1 p. 30. [25] Ibidem.

[i] It is very possible that the palemen—that is, the inhabitants of the four half shires round Dublin—may have disdained intermarriage with the Irish, though the Anglo-Irish in other places would not. The editor has been assured that in the last generation those Fingallians had very extravagant notions of their gentility, and a feeling for other Irishmen not unlike what the old palemen had against the mere Irish. If what Stanihurst states was a fact, the palemen had no great latitude of choice in their matrimonial speculations, as half the inhabitants even of the four half shires were Irish; note supra, p. 146.

[k] And yet it was not a fact; and if

frequent occurrence, and also, that they must have been as often contracted by the simple people in the lower ranks of life, who generally follow the example of their lords.

How great then was my astonishment at the assertion of Stanihurst, "that so disassociated are the Anglo-Irish from the old Irish, that the lowest inhabitant of the English pale would not give his daughter in marriage to the noblest chief among the Irish." If the meaning of these words be, that the settlers disdained to contract marriage with the natives, the facts already adduced convict him of falsehood, and of having deliberately suppressed things which he was bound to transmit to posterity. As the Irish lords disdained, as Stanihurst says, to distort their jaws with the language of the people of Finngall, no wonder that they should have the utmost abhorrence for any connexion with such a low rabble, especially while themselves could count the greatest Anglo-Irish nobles and our lord deputies of Ireland among fathers and sons-in-law. The Irish must have known the proverb: "if you would marry well, marry your equal."

If what Stanihurst has stated of these plebeians be true, it proves that they were bloated with intolerable pride, in refusing to take as sons-in-law men, who were accepted by the daughters of nobles of infinitely greater rank. But if it be false, Stanihurst stands convicted of the most unblushing audacity in publishing a statement so utterly irreconcilable with fact.[i]

My object in speaking in such detail on the intermarriages between the natives and settlers was to prove the intimate connection that subsisted between both.[k] Nothing is more efficacious in softening down

it had been, the history of Ireland from the sixteenth century would have been very different. It is manifest, from the writings of both parties in or near that period, that there was still a national hatred between the two races; and that many of the old Irish contemplated nothing less than the total expulsion of the Anglo-Irish race. Our author proves that it ought not to have been so; but he cannot obliterate facts; the few marriages which he records could not counteract the influence of a code of laws made like the statute of Kilkenny for the express purpose of keeping the two races divided.

potentius amovet, et mutuum amorem validius inserit, ac fovet, quam contractæ connubiis affinitates. Sabinæ virgines à Romanis raptæ inde maritos, hinc patres ad pacem cogebant. Dum Julia Cæsaris filia, et uxor Pompei supererat, nulla belli contentio inter socerum, et generum exarsit. Huc Lucani versus isti spectant:[26]

> " Tu sola furentem
> Inde virum poteras, atque hinc retinere parentem,
> Excussoque manus invitas jungere ferro;
> Ut soceros generis mediæ junxere Sabinæ."

Claudio Imperatore "Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret,[27] in oppidum Ubiorum in quo genita erat veteranos coloniamque deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius." Sed triginta post annis nondum elapsis, Vespasiano Imperante, Germanorum aliqui civili quondam et classico ducibus Imperii Romani jugum excusserunt.[28] Cum Tenterii citra Rhenum populi Ubiis finitimi Agrippinenses præter cætera unicè rogarunt ut "Romanos omnes in finibus suis trucidarent." Quibus Agrippinenses in hæc verba respondent: "Deductis olim et nobiscum per connubium sociatis, quique mox provenere hæc patria est. Nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus ut interfici à nobis parentes, fratres, liberos nostros velitis." Quando autem Romani, et Ubii triginta solummodo annorum insitione in unam gentem coaluerunt: Nonne quingentis fermè annis ea vis inerit, ut ex Hibernis et Anglis unam gentem conflare possint?

Quibus amabò propinquitatis, et amicitiæ vinculis ulli mortalium arctius illigari possunt quam parentum, et liberorum, fratris, et sororis, soceri, et generi, socrus, et nurus, patrui avunculi et nepotis, amitæ, materteræ, et neptis, ac privigni et aliis omnibus proprioris cujusque cognationis appellationibus? his vero nexibus memoratas gentes in Hibernia per fermè quinque annorum centurias, pluries astrictas fuisse constat. Ut illius opera futura sit inanis, et consilium immane, qui tam

[26] De bello Punico. lib. 1. [27] Tacitus Annal. lib. 12. [28] Ibidem, Hist. lib, 4.

antipathies, and inspiring and strengthening mutual love, thanmatrimonial alliances. The Sabine virgins who were carried off by the Romans, compelled their fathers on one side and their husbands on the other to come to terms of peace. Julia, daughter of Cæsar and wife of Pompeius, prevented, as long as she lived, an open rupture between the father-in-law and the son-in-law. Lucanus refers to that fact in the following lines :—

> " ——— She could alone assuage
> Her father's and her husband's swelling rage,
> Join their unwilling hands, and sheath their swords,
> As the Sabines rushing between their sires and lords."

During the reign of Claudius, " Agrippina, in order to make a display of her power even to the allied nations, ordered a colony of veterans to be established in the town of Ubia, the place of her birth; and had it called by her name." But after the lapse of about thirty years, in the reign of Vespasianus, some of the Germans who had already adopted the laws and authority of Rome, revolted against the sceptre of the Roman emperors. When the Tenterii, a people south of the Rhine, near the city of Ubia, earnestly insisted that the citizens of Ubia Agrippina should " massacre all the Romans within their territories," the Agrippinians answered, " they have been long established here: they are united to us by marriage. This is their native land; you cannot be so cruel as to ask us to massacre our parents, our brethren, and our children." If thirty years sufficed to convert the Romans and the Ubians into one people, are not 500 years powerful enough to make one people of the English and the Irish?

What relations of kindred or friendship can bind man more firmly together than those of parent and child, brother and sister, father-in-law and son-in-law, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, uncle and nephew, aunt by the father's or mother's side and niece, stepson and all the other endearing associations of close kindred? All those ties were constantly contracted during 500 years between the two races, English and Irish. So that it is a vain as well as a wicked attempt to divide

arcto amplexu innexos divellere ac segregare contenderet. Nemo enim Hibernus est, qui longum majorum ordinem percurrens plures ex utroque stemate inter atavos numerare non possit.

Ab aliis nationibus tanti temporis longitudo non exigitur, ut suæ genti quem accenseant: in Gallia, nobilissima Neufuillorum prosapia (quorum Villeroye Dux Coryphæus,[29] fratres ejus Archiepiscopus Lugdunensis, et Episcopus nuper Macloviensis, nunc Carnotensis duo lumina sunt) ante paulo amplius quam ducentos annos è nobilissimis Angliæ [273] Nevillis | Warwici, et Sarisburiæ comitibus orta in Galliam emanavit Neufuilli tamen pro puris putis Gallis habentur. Sequicentum anni nondum effluxerunt, cum primus è nobilissimis Gondii Retziæ ducibus in Galliam concessit, clarissima tamen illa familia nunc Gallica est. Ronsardo Gallicæ Poëseos Homero frustra nationem aliam quam Gallicam quis assignet, licet ante illum natum majores ejus trecentos tantum annos Galliam insederint. Richardus Verstegan avum se habuisse Germanum agnoscit, pro Anglo tamen se gerit in libro quem de Antiquitatibus Angliæ scripsit.

Quid multis moror? jura decreverunt, et consuetudo ubique invaluit, ut regionem illam in qua quis nascendi sortem nactus est patriam habeat. Natale solum perinde est ac patria. Ut vel hinc perspici possit quodcunque solum in quo quis natus est patriam illius esse. Nemo unquam præstantiori jure quam nativitatis ulli civitati adscriptus est. Nam patria nascendo melius obvenit, quam acquirendo comparatur. Ubi enim quis nascitur ibi civis innatus. Mulieres aliquæ cur partui vicinæ aliò migrant, nisi ut proles quam enixuræ sunt civis illius loci sit quem illæ sibi ad pariendum delegerunt? Sanè qui aliqua in civitate in lucem eduntur, illius urbis privilegio, pro sua conditione citra controversiam gaudent.

Quis igitur frontem adeò perfricabit, ut ab eo qui in Hibernia natus

[29] Camden. p. 1821.

[1] Our author's antagonist was, doubtless, not very wise in denying to the descendants of the English settlers what the majority of them were not anxious to claim, the name of Irishmen. Still the arguments of those individual cases in the text are not to the point; for, if these families had

and separate those who are so intimately united. There is not a single native of Ireland who, if he can trace back a long line of progenitors, will not find many of them of both races.

Other nations do not require so long a time before they allow the settlers the rank of natives. It is not more than two hundred years ago since the noble family of the Nevilles, who were descended from the illustrious English Nevilles, earls of Warwick and Salisbury, settled in France. The Duke de Villeroy is now the head of the family, and his two brothers, one the archbishop of Lyons, the other formerly bishop of St. Malo, now of Chartres, are lights of the church, and the whole family is regarded as genuine French. It is not more than fifty years ago since the first of the noble dukes of Retz Gonde settled in France, and that noble family is now considered as French. No man would venture to deny that Ronsard, the Homer of French poetry, is a Frenchman, though his ancestors had been settled only three hundred years in France. Richard Verstigan tells us that his grandfather was a German, and yet he regards himself as an Englishman in his work on the antiquities of England.[1]

But why more? laws have enacted and custom has sanctioned, that the land of a man's birth is his true country. The natal soil and your country are synonymous, whence it is evident that wherever a man is born there is his native country. Right by birth is the strongest right any man can have to be regarded as the citizen of any state. The accident of birth gives a stronger title than any other adventitious or acquired title. Wherever a man is born, there he is enrolled a native. Why do some women, when in an advanced state of pregnancy, change the place of their abode, if not that the infant which is to be born, should be a native of that place in which it first draws the breath of life? Can it be denied that all persons born in any city are, according to their rank, entitled to all the privileges of that city?

Is it not, then, shameful audacity for any man to presume to deny

claimed for themselves exclusive privileges, and oppressive to the people amongst whom they settled; and if the very title on which they enjoyed those privileges was their foreign descent, they most certainly would be often told indignantly that they were not natives.

sit Hiberni nomen amovere audeat? apposité in eos Stanihurstus acriter invehitur qui Hiberniam et Hibernum sic diducunt, ut se de Hibernia, sed non Hibernos esse fateantur. Eos esse similes ait fatuo lanioni, qui ob ovem licitantibus quindecem drachmas exigens,[30] quinque solidos eandem summam conflantes recipere noluit. Qui putidas ejusmodi discriminationes rigidè perscrutantur, perinde faciunt ac si patriæ suæ illos puderet. Eorum potius me quidem judice patriam pudere debuit.

Sed culpâ quam hic Stanihurstus redarguit, se postea fœdasse videtur. Dum Anglicæ provinciæ (ut ille loquitur) incolas in opere Latino, "Anglo-Hibernos" insulsè vocat, non enim ea est gentium consuetudo ut conflatam ex advenarum, et indigenarum nominibus appellationem inde sibi patiantur. Omnium sannis exciperetur qui Normannos Anglia potitos Normanno-Anglos, Francos Galliam insidentes, Franco-Gallos, Gothos Hispaniam incolentes Gotho-Hispanos, Vandalos Italiam inhabitantes Vandalo-Italos appellasset. Gentes enim illæ victrices et victæ ita modò sunt inter se conglutinatæ, ut uno compellari nomine utraque gaudeat, et victor pudore nullo suffundatur cum victis appellationis communione sociari. Nam sicut agros armis sibi vendicarunt, cur gentis agros incolentis à se denominationem arcerent?

Itaque qui nomine utramque segregaret dissensionis semina jacere, sopita jurgia excitare, et societatem altè fixam dissuere, vel potius discindere velle videretur. Quamobrem qui patribus, avis, proavis, abavis, atavis, tritavis, et tritavorum tritavis in Hibernia natis genti sunt jure meritissimo non exotico illo aut bipartito, sed genuino Hibernorum nomine afficientur. Quæ cum ita sint, meritò dolenda est quorundam

[30] Anglica Descrip. c. 1.

m At the present day it is not easy to conceive how our author could have been so animated on this point, if we do not bear in mind the bitter recriminations which usually follow the defeat or ruin of jealous and most hostile parties, which necessity had compelled for the moment to combine for a common object. Each throws the blame on the other. Irish and Anglo-Irish were both ruined by Cromwell, and their respective champions cheered their exile by endeavouring to remove the guilt of that

the name of Irishman to any man born in Ireland?[m] Stanihurst inveighs, with great justice and severity, against the folly of those who so distinguished between Ireland and Irishman, that they admit they are from Ireland but deny they are Irishmen. They are like the foolish butcher who asked fifteen drachms for his sheep, and would not accept five shillings, which are equal to that sum. Men who make absurd distinctions of that kind, act as if they were ashamed of their country, but, in my opinion, it is their country that ought to be ashamed of them.

Yet Stanihurst himself afterwards falls into this very fault, which he censures so severely. In his Latin work he calls the inhabitants of the English province "Anglo-Hiberni,"[n] an absurd name, for it has never been usual with nations to compound their names from the names of natives and foreigners. The man would be ridiculed who should call the Norman conquerors of England, Anglo-Normans, or the Francs who settled in Gaul, Franco-Gauls, or the Goths who occupy Spain, Gotho-Spaniards, or the Vandals in Italy, Vandalo-Italians. In these countries the conquered and conquering races have been so blended, that both glory in the same name, and the conqueror is not ashamed of being confounded with the conquered under the one general appellation. For if they seized their lands by the sword, why should they refuse to take the name of the inhabitants of these lands?

Whoever, then, makes a distinction in the name of both races, seems to sow the seed of dissension, to excite slumbering animosities, and to agitate or rather shake to their foundations, the very basis of society. The men, therefore, whose fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers, great grandfather's fathers, great grandfather's grandfathers, and still further back through several generations, were born in Ireland, have the most indisputable right of rejecting that exotic and double denomination, and of being simply called Irishmen. Well may we sympathize

ruin from their own friend—a sad consolation.

[n] The appellation was very proper in Stanihurst's time, as there were then really two nations in Ireland locally one, but in all that makes a nation, law, &c., two; the appellation in our author's day had lost much of its propriety except as a genealogical term. Both races were living under the same law, and, theoretically at least, were moulded into one race.

expostulatio querentium Hibernos et Anglos eam sic aversari sobolem ex iis Anglis propagatam, quorum vires Hiberniam Anglico sceptro subjacerunt ut eam illi pro Anglis, habeant, Angli extra suæ gentis numerum collocent. Querelam hi versus Hibernici exprimunt:

" Gaoidhil dar g-cur ag leith Gall
Goill dar bhfogra or bhfhearonn
Don Chruine os Cumhag or g-cuid
Mar abball tuinne tamuid."

Quorum sensum Latina hæc disticha referunt:

" Anglorum numero Priscus nos addit Hibernus,
Et dudum partis ejicit Anglus agris.
Ergo nos omni regione excludimur orbis,
[274] Volvimur ut pomum gurgitis æstus agit." |

Ita ut Anglorum illa propago prophetæ verbis conqueri posse videatur ac dicere: " Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis, et peregrinus filiis matris meæ."[31] Aptissimum eorum acroama, qui bigamiæ matris ex Anglici, Hibernicique sanguinis patribus liberi sunt.

Non originis sed nativitatis locus patria est. An quia è Sicambriâ Gallis, et Gotthiâ Hispanis, et Troiâ Italis, ex Hispania Hibernis origo est; ideo Sicambria Francis, Gothia Hispanis, Troia Italis, et Hispania Hibernis patria erit?[32] Quid ni potius omnium patriam ad Paradisum revocemus, ubi generis humani cœpit origo? sed originis loco patriæ nomen assignari leges vetant his verbis: " Provinciales eos accipere debemus, qui in provincia domicilium habent, non eos qui ex Provincia

[33] Psal. 68. v. 11. [32] Ulpian de verbis fig. leg. 190. l. 2. de legib.

° It requires but little knowledge of the different clans of Irishmen of the present day, to be able to know one which in their position resembles not a little the Anglo-Irish of the olden time; abused and insulted by English parties, and distrusted and hated by the mass of the Irish. Perfect equa-

with the just complaint of the descendants of those English who subdued Ireland to the English crown, that they are hated by both English and Irish; the former denying to them the name of Englishmen, and the latter insisting that they are English.[o] The complaint is thus expressed in Irish verse:

> "The Gaeidhil regard us as English,
> The English proclaim us from our lands;
> Narrow is our share of the earth,
> We are like apples on a flood!"

Or as the meaning runs in the Latin version:

> "The ancient Irish still believe us English,
> The English rob us of our old estate,
> Like apples on a torrent tossed, we languish
> Earth's homeless exiles, butts of capricious fate."

These descendants of the English may truly apply to their own case the words of the prophet, "I am become as a stranger to my brethren and an alien to the sons of my mother," a complaint most appropriate in the mouths of those who are descended from a mother of English and a father of Irish blood.

It is not the country of his ancestors, but the place of his own birth, that is a man's true country. If the Gauls were from Sicambria, and the Spaniards from Gothland, and the Italians from Troy, and the Irish from Spain, is Sicambria the country of the French, or Gothland of the Spaniards, or Troy of the Italians, or Spain of the Irish? why then are not all men called natives of Paradise—for that was the original dwelling place of the human race? but even the laws do not allow that the land of our origin should be called our country. "Those must be regarded as countrymen who dwell in our country, not those who are

lity in all things civil and religious a party.
speedily and alone extinguished such

oriundi sunt." Quænam vero hominis Patria dicenda sit? Cicero apposite docet: "Omnibus" (inquit) "municipibus duas esse censeo patrias unam naturæ, alteram civitatis: ut ille Cato cum esset Tusculi natus, in populi Romani civitatem susceptus est. Itaque cum ortu Tusculanus esset, civitate Romanus, habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram juris. Ut Attici priusquam Theseus eos demigrare ex agris, et in Astu quod appellatur omnes se conferre jussit, et Sunii erant iidem et Attici: Sic nos et eam patriam dicimus ubi nati, et illam qua excepti sumus." Illis igitur Anglis qui operam, et vitam in Hiberniâ expugnandâ primi posuerunt, et soboli ab iis propagatæ Hibernia patria est, ut quam ulli juris patriam hi ortus habeant, eodem prorsus discrimine quo majores et minores natu fratres eorundem parentum filii sunt.[33] "Ratio enim" (ut ait Cicero) "afferri non potest cur si cuiquam novo civi poterat adimi civitas, non omnibus antiquissimis civibus possit?" Nam primi illi generis nostri authores ex Anglia profecti municipes Hiberniæ, ac cives adscripti fuerunt, ad quam nimirum eo se consilio contulerunt, ut nuntio terræ sui ortus remisso illic domicilium figere, prolemque suscipere decreverint.[34] Quando quidem sacræ literæ Judæis præcipiant, ut "advenæ qui accesserunt ad vos, qui genuerunt filios in medio vestrum sint vobis sicut indigenæ inter filios Israel." Ciceroni quidem novitas à Romanis exprobrata fuit, Juvenale canente:

> "Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis et modo Romæ
> Municipalis eques galeatum ponit. Ubique
> Præsidium attonitis."

Indidem quoque Marius oriundus qui postea Romanæ civitati adscriptus dux belli præstantissimus evasit de illius tamen initiis ita Juvenalis:

> "Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat,
> Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro."

[33] Pro Cecim in peroratione. [34] Ezechiel. cap. 47.

descended from our countrymen." Cicero teaches, in his usual happy style, what is a man's real country: "the citizens of municipal towns have, I think, two countries, one, the gift of nature; the other, of the state: thus Cato, who was born at Tusculum, was at the same time enrolled among the citizens of Rome. Being, then, by birth a Tusculan, and a citizen of Rome, he had two countries, one the place of his birth, the other the creation of law. Thus the Attics, before Theseus compelled them to emigrate from their lands, and to retire into that place called Astu, were both Sunians and Attics; in the same way we call the places where we were born and enrolled, our country." Ireland, is, therefore, the true country, as well of those English who fought and died in the first conquest of Ireland, as of all their descendants, because it was the legal country of the former, and the native country of the latter, with no greater difference between both than what exists between the older and younger children of the same parents. "For," says Cicero, "if any citizen be deprived of his right of citizenship, no reason can be assigned why all citizens, however great the antiquity of their lineage, may not be deprived of it." The first founders of our race who came over from England were enrolled burgesses and citizens in Ireland, because their design in coming thither was to renounce the land of their birth, and fix their dwelling here and found families. The Jews themselves are expressly ordered in the sacred Scriptures, "the strangers that shall come over to you, that shall beget children among you, they shall be unto you as men of the same country, born among the children of Israel." Cicero was often upbraided as an upstart, as Juvenalis sings:

> "Arpinas upstart clown, but now a knight,
> Struts through the streets of Rome, to all a fright
> And patron too."

Marius, who was a native of the same place, but was afterwards enrolled among the citizens of Rome, and acquired the highest military reputation, is yet described in the following terms by Juvenalis:

> "Arpinas on the Volscian mountain brow
> Once earned his pittance by his master's plough."

Novitatis autem exprobatione Hiberni Anglis oriundi perstringi non potuerunt: Hibernico enim et Anglico stemmate in Hibernia propagati, sic inter se mutuo immixti sunt, ut plurium origo ægerrime nonnunquam erui possit. Nam pro vicissitudine potentiæ majoris ab alterâ natione relatæ, altera ut gratiam potentioris aucuparetur cognomina validiorum consuetudini magis accommodata sibi indiderunt. Ante Brianum Borumhium regem an. Dom. 1014 in acie cæsum, rebus gestis et virtute clarissimum, ac proinde in Martyrologium Anglicum relatum; in Hibernia moribus ita comparatum erat, ut pro cognomine patris tantummodo nomen quivis retulerit. Quam consuetudinem plurima incommoda invehentem Brianus rex latius evagari minime passus penitus sustulit, omnibus imperans ut quo cognomine quisque tum afficiebatur, illud ad posteros transmitteret. Ita ut etiam hodie plerisque familiis Hibernicis heroum tunc superstitum nomina loco cognominum hæreant.

Cum pluribus victoriis relatis penes Hibernos major esset potestas, tum originis Anglicæ viri eorum se more nominari ambierunt. Hac ratione ad nobilissimam Burgorum familiam à Guillelmo Aldelmide primo in Hibernia gentis authore,[35] aut saltem ab alio Guillelmo ejus nepote Clanwillelmi nomen more Hibernico promanavit. Plures ejusdem familiæ surculi Mac David, Mac Walter, Mac Hubert, Mac Hug, [275] Mac Redmond, Mac Sonin, | Mac Philbin, ac Mac Gibbon dicti sunt; cognomine suo præferentes præstantissimi alicujus viri nomen qui rebus præclare gestis inter majores emicuit.

Clarissimi Berminghami à Pierio Moyleri primæ Berminghamiorum in Hibernia stirpis filio,[36] Mac Pheorus nuncupati; et rami aliqui ab iis erumpentes Mac Robucki, et Albanachi dicti sunt; illi à Robucko quodam Berminghamo factis claro; hi à quodam Berminghamiæ gentis in Albania seu Scotia profugo, sed postea nominis claritatem, et avitos fundos consecuto. Barettis Mac Phadini à Padino quodam, et Mac

[35] Camden. in Comit. Mayo. [36] Warræ. de Arch. Tuamen. p. 42.

[p] The honor of martyrdom is given to Brian by Stephen White also in his Apologia pro Hibernia, p. . On other merely national calendars some

But this reproach of being upstarts cannot be applied to the Irish descended from the English. The Irish and English races have been so intimately blended, that it is often impossible to trace their distinctive origin. According to the fluctuations of political preponderance of the rival nations, the weaker generally adopted the surname of the more powerful, to conciliate their affections. Before the days of king Brian Boroimhe, who was slain in battle in 1014, and who was so highly celebrated for his great actions and piety, that he has been ranked in the English martyrology,[p] the Irish were accustomed to use no other surname than the name of their father. But as that custom had been attended by many most serious inconveniencies, Brian abolished it altogether, and ordered that the name of the persons then living should henceforward for ever be the family names of their descendants. Even to this day, the names of most Irish families are the christian names of the heroes of that epoch.

When a succession of victories had placed the power of the Irish in the ascendant, the men of English race were ambitious of adopting their names. Thus the noble family of the Burgos, who were descended from William Fitz Adelm, the first of their name in Ireland were surnamed from him, or, as some say, from his grandson William, the Clanwilliam, according to the Irish custom. Many branches of the same family were called Mac David, Mac Walter, Mac Hubert, Mac Hugh, Mac Redmond, Mac Sinin, Mac Philbin, Mac Gibbon; always adopting the name of the most illustrious of their progenitors who had been famous in olden times.[q]

The renowned Birminghams, who were descended from Piers, son of Meyler, the first of their race in Ireland, are now called Mac Pheoris, and some of their branches are called Mac Robucks and Albanach; the former from some illustrious man named Robuck; the latter from an exile of the Birmingham family who took refuge in Scotland, but afterwards rose to fame, and acquired large possessions. The Barretts were called Mac Fadden, from one Padin [recte Wattin], and Mac Jordans, from

names were inscribed which had not better claims to public veneration than Brian's had on the Irish.

[q] The Fitzmaurices, Fitzgibbons, &c. were also Fitzgeralds.

Jordanis à Jordano de Exonia nomen deductum hæsit. Et in Lágeniâ Mac Thomas à Geraldinis Kildariæ, et alius Mac Thomas in Momonia è Desmoniæ Giraldinis. E Butleris Mac Pierus Dunbunniæ Baro; è Poeris Mac Sherum. Stapletonis Galduffi, Frainis Mac Crinki, et Fitzsimoniis Clanrideri nomen affixum est.

Quando autem belli vicissitudo sic tulerat ut in Hiberniâ bello superiores Angli essent, tum plures Hiberni cognominibus Anglorum consuetudini magis conformibus se obtexerunt. Anno post Christum natum 1465, et post regnum ab Edwardo quarto initum quinto in comitiis regis illius jussu indictis sancitum est ut omnes intra Comitatus Dublinii, Mediæ, Urelliæ, et Kildariæ fines constituti (nimirum iis finibus regis Angliæ potestas in Hibernia tum coercita fuit) Anglicum sibi cognomen assumant, vel ab oppido aliquo, Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skrine, Corke, Kinsale; aut ab aliquo colore, scilicet albo, nigro, fusco, aut ab arte aliqua, ut fabro, carpentario, aut ab officio quovis ut coquo, pincernâ. Et cognomen illud eorum nepotes per futurorum temporum seriem referant.

Hinc Sinnachi se Foxios, Mac Canghobhanni Smitheos, Galbhani Whitos, et Brannachi Walsheos appellabant, vocibus diversorum idiomatum eandem significationem referentibus; priori dictione vulpem, altera fabrum, proxima album, posteriore Wallum seu Britannum denotante. Quendam Cauponem è Dalbhanis Dublinii fuisse comperi, qui se "painter" id est pictorem appellavit, ut originis nomen sub Anglica voce paris omnino significationis celaret.

Quidam adhuc veteri more apud nos patris nomen cognominis vice usurpant; qua ratione obscuriores aliquos in clarissimas familias irrepsisse constat. Stanihurstus queritur plures se Geraldinis adscripsisse,

[37] Anglica descript. Hiberniæ. c. 6.

[r] It would be easy to point out many other families of English descent which adopted Irish names; and in some of them the transformation could never be detected were there not positive evidence of the fact: such as Cody, which is Archdickin. One of the family was Odo, Otho, or Hugh, and his children were called Mac Odo, and by corruption Cody, &c.

Jordan, of Exeter. In Leinster, too, there were Mac Thomases, from the Geraldines of Kildare, and in Munster from the Geraldines of Desmond. The baron of Dunboyne, one of the Butlers, was called Mac Piers; one of the Powers was called Mac Sherry; Stapletons, Galduff; Freignes, Mac Rinki; and Fitzsimons, Clanrider.[r]

But whenever the vicissitudes of war gave the ascendancy to the English, many of the Irish adopted names conformable to the English fashion. In the year 1465, the fifth of Edward the Fourth, a statute was enacted by his orders, whereby all residing within the counties of Meath, Dublin, and Kildare (namely the territories to which the power of the king of England was then restricted) should adopt an English surname; either from a town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skrine, Cork, Kinsale, or from some color, as Black, White, Brown; or from some trade, as Smith, Carpenter; or from office, as Cook, Butler; and that their posterity should retain that name in future time.[s] Thus the Sinnachs called themselves Fox, the Mac-anghobhann, Smith, the Galbhain, White, the Brannach, Walsh, which are merely translations of the Irish name; the first meaning a fox, the second a smith, the third white, and the last a Welshman or Briton. I knew one of the Dalbhans, a tavern keeper, in Dublin, who changed his name into "Painter," in order to conceal his Irish name under an English one of precisely the same signification.[t]

Some of our families still retain the old custom of using no surname but the name of their father; the consequence of which was that some persons of low origin were erroneously believed to be of noble families.

[s] This was one of those wretched expedients oftentimes used by the Irish government to conceal from themselves if possible disagreeable facts; to abolish by a change of name a race which they hated, and which they often wished to extirpate; as in later times, by "legal construction," it was presumed there was no papist in Ireland, &c.

[t] In various notes to the Archæological Society's works there are many amusing instances of the attempts made by Irishmen to disguise their names. In some cases they have adopted, as in the text, a fair English translation of their names; in others distorted the orthography, or pronunciation, &c.

quod aliquibus cum lustralibus undis ablueruntur Giraldi nomen inderetur. Cujus Giraldi filii si Thomæ, Joannis, Roberti, vel alio quovis nomine afficerentur, mox Fitz Giraldi, id est filii Giraldi dicebantur, quorum filii, nepotes, ac pronepotes, cæteraque posterorum series eadem appellatione ad Fitz Giraldos, seu Giraldinos sensim sine sensu se adjungebant. Qui error multum in Hibernia, et Wallia invalescens, confusionem, et interitum pluribus familiis comparat. Idemque paulo antè dixit Gerottos quosdam in Hibernia esse, qui quod quidam Giraldos per errorem Gerottos vocent, Giraldinos se nuncupant. Verum duæ illæ familiæ sic origine sunt dissitæ, ut ad gradum consanguinitatis, quibus se mutuo attingunt, numerum ineundum duo faborum modii non sufficerent. Hæc eo spectant ut videas eos, qui seu ante quamvis longissimam præteriti temporis memoriam, seu ante plura secula in Hibernia sati sunt, nulla posse ratione disjungi, cum Hibernia utrisque pari jure patria sit.

Proinde è profectis olim ex Anglia procreatos pro matre Hiberniam, pro avia Angliam habere, et illam quia patriam omnibus omnium charitatibus, hanc omni studio, et veneratione amplecti par est. Nonne tum Hiberni Anglicam sive Hibernicam originem cognominibus redolentes (cum utrique vel paterno vel materno stemmate genus ad Anglos referunt) officio suo rite functi videbuntur, si quo studio Angli erga Saxones et Normannos, Franci erga Sicambros, Hispani erga Gothos, Insubres [276] erga | Vandalos, ac cæteræ quæque nationes erga suæ originis gentes feruntur, eodem illi Angliam, unde sui generis initia nacti sunt prosequentur? æquum enim est ut originis quamvis longissimè petitæ ratio habeatur: quando è Virgilio dicente: "Troianus origine Cæsar" disci-

[38] Æneid. 1. Just. l. 31.

[u] From this dissertation of our author's on the transmutation and corruption of English and Irish names in Ireland, the ethnologists who sometimes amuse the public with their flimsy speculations on the characteristics of different classes of Irishmen, might learn a little caution. In the course of the last few years it has been often assumed as certain by the most influential portion of the English press that parts of Ireland were purely Celtic, which are known from authentic history to have been the earliest,

Stanihurst complains that many persons called themselves Geraldines, because some of their fathers had taken in baptism the name of Gerald. The sons of this Gerald, whether their name was Thomas, or John, or Robert, or any other name, called themselves Fitzgeralds, that is, sons of Gerald: and their sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, and all their progeny, were also called by the same names, Fitzgeralds, or Geraldines. In consequence of this error prevailing, the genealogies of some families became very confused and almost lost. He had also stated a little before that there were some Gerotts in Ireland who called themselves Geraldines, because some persons erroneously called the Geraldines Gerotts. Yet these two families are so far removed in descent that two bushels of beans would not be enough to number the degrees of consanguinity between them. From these facts it is evidently impossible to distinguish between the children of those who came thither some centuries ago and those who were here beyond the memory of man: both have the same right to be regarded as Irishmen.[u]

The descendants of the old English settlers are therefore sons of Ireland, grandsons of England; in the former, as their country, they are bound to centre all their affections; the latter, they must venerate and respect. If those Irishmen, whose names denote their English or their Irish descent, and who can trace back their parents or either of them to an English stock, have the same regard for England, their original country, as the English have for the Saxons and Normans, the French for the Sicambri, the Spaniards for the Goths, the Italians for the Vandals, and other nations for the people from whence they sprang, have they not punctually done all that can justly be required of them? It is but just to have some regard for origin, no matter how remote: thus Virgilius' words, "that Cæsar was a Trojan by race," prove that

and not the least thickly peopled with English settlers; and vice versa it has been assumed that other parts in which hardly any foreigners settled before the first quarter of the seventeenth century, were tenanted by the English or Scotch race. For instance, if the charge of assassination is to be fixed on the Irish, Tipperary is at once named—a county which (the Ormondes excepted) was more English, and earlier than any other out of the pale; while in Mayo and Kerry, supposed to be purely Celtic, murder has been comparatively almost unknown.

mus Romanis usitatum fuisse ad generis fontes quamvis remotos digitum intendere. Cum " Romani Asiam ingressi Ilion venissent, mutua gratulatio Iliensium, ac Romanorum fuit, Iliensibus" Æneam, " cæterosque cum eo duces à se profectos," Romanis " se ab iis procreatis referentibus." Itaque Claudius Cæsar " Iliensibus quasi Romanæ gentis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit, recitata veteri Epistola Græca Senatus populusque Romani Seuleaco regi amicitiam, et societatem ita demum pollicentis si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes præstitisset."[39] In Oriente " Albani qui Herculem ex Italia ab Albano monte secuti dicuntur, memores Italicæ originis, exercitum Cnei Pompeii bello Mithridatico fratres salutavere."[40] Et Alexander Thessalos monuit maternæ suæ cum his sub Æacidarum gente necessitudinis.

Sæpè animum cogitatio subiit optandi ut quam indulgentiam nepotibus aviæ præstant,[41] similem prorsus benevolentiam Hiberniæ Anglia exhiberet, ac saltem novercale odium in illam non exerceret.[42] Meminisse debent Angli Normannos, et Gallos Guillelmum vulgo conquæstorem dictum in Angliam comitatos (ut asserit Raighleus) dum Anglorum spoliis se ditarent contendisse ut nulla lex victoris arbitrio potior esset. Sed horum nepotes, ac pronepotes jam Anglis coaliti suo se flagello vapulare persentientes, tum demum quanto discrimine servitus et subjectio sejungantur intellexerunt. Liquido autem constat Anglos victorias in Hibernia consecutos pari se ratione gessisse: hactenus ille.

Sicut olim populus Romanus sævitia dominantium commotus in montem sacrum armatus secessit,[43] sic Angli genere emolumenta Hiberniæ in qua nati sunt sibi abripi, et ab Anglis ortu in Hiberniam ex Anglia turmatim indies confluentibus avidius rapi conquerentes, ad comitia Dublinii à prorege indicta concedere detrectarunt, et nullo tumultu excitato, regni proceres urbiumque delegati in cœtum Kilkeniæ an. Dom. 1341 coierunt. Et Spenserus vehementer queritur, Hibernos Anglicæ originis majori quam puros putos Hibernos novorum Anglorum odio teneri. Aiunt enim inquit: terram Hiberniæ jure suam esse, ut quam

[39] Sueton. lib. 5, nu. 25. [40] Idem. lib. 42. [41] Idem. lib. 22. [42] Colloq. inter Conciliarium et Judicem, p. 3. [43] Annales Hiberni. Apud Camden.

the Romans were accustomed to respect their origin, though so deeply buried in the night of ages. "When the Romans after entering Asia came to Ilium, the Ilians and Romans met as happy friends, the former stating that it was from them Æneas and his associates departed, and the latter acknowledging their descent from that hero." Therefore "Claudius Cæsar exempted the Ilians from tribute because they were the original progenitors of the Roman people. An ancient Greek letter of the senate and people of Rome to king Seleucus was produced, offering to him the alliance and friendship of the Roman people, if he would exempt from tribute their kinsmen, the Ilians." In the east also "the Albanians, who are said to have accompanied Hercules from the Alban Mount in Italy, did not forget their Italian origin, but saluted the Roman soldiers as brethren in the war of Cneius Pompeius against Mithridates." Alexander also "reminded the people of Thessaly of his affinity with them by his maternal descent from the Eacidæ."

Many a time I wished that England would extend to the Irish that kindness which grandmothers show to their grandchildren; or at least that she would not always exhibit towards them the malignity of the stepmother. "The English ought to remember that the Normans and French who followed the standard of William, commonly called the conqueror, to England, while they enriched themselves with the spoils of the English, maintained that there should be no law but the will of the conquerors. But their grandsons and great grandsons, being now blended with the English, and writhing under the torture of their own creation, at last practically felt the difference between the subject and the slave. But it is evident the English made precisely the same use of their victories in Ireland."

In ancient times the Roman people seceded in arms to the Sacred Mountain, when they were oppressed by their cruel governors: in the same way, the Irish of English descent, finding that all the honors and wealth of their native land were monopolized by successive hordes of Englishmen, who came over to Ireland to glut their rapacity, protested against the injustice, refused to attend the parliament which had been summoned to Dublin: but without the slightest tumult all the great nobles and the representatives of towns assembled at Kil-

sui majores expugnarunt.[44] Et à novis Anglis non modicâ se injuria affici, quod in eam se ingerant, quos proinde peregrinos, ac alienigenas tanta indignatione appellant quantâ canem ictu proscindunt, et quia è suis majoribus, aliqui proregum et gubernatorum dignitate insigniebantur, similem sibi potestatem modo conferri, totamque terræ administrationem credi debere arbitrantur: quam sibi abreptam et aliis collatam fiduciamque in majoribus repositam in se collatam non esse cum videant, indignitatem inde sibi non modicam et contemptum promanare censent, hinc offensi ab officio recedunt. Præteriti eventus futurorum temporum documenta sunt. "Nihil sub sole novum. Quid est quod fuit? Ipsum quod futurum est. Quid est quod factum est? ipsum quod faciendum est," inquit Ecclesiastes. Angli nunc Hiberniam dilaniantes, et stirpem ab Anglis olim in Hibernia satam non solum ad justam altitudinem non extollere, sed radicitus evellere contendentes, "Non cogitantes" (ut de Iasone liber Machabæorum loquitur) "prosperitatem adversus cognatos malum esse maximum."[45] Posteritati suæ non prospiciunt; cui citra dubium nova vulturum agmina in Hiberniam aliquando ex Anglia posthac irrumpentia, prædam ab his congestam ex unguibus extorquebunt.

Id nos abunde profecto expleret, si nobiscum Angli, vel Coloniarum jure agerent, quas Romani olim non minori ardore, quam parentes partum fovebant.[46] A quorum "Senatu" Livius ait: "Quatuor millia hominum qui nati fuerunt in Hispaniis, ex militibus Romanis et mulieribus Hispanis, petiisse oppidum ubi habitarent." Hos in ditionem receptos illi summa indulgentia complexi sunt. Antoninus Imperator omnes Imperii Romani finibus comprehensos promulgatâ lege, cives [277] esse Romanos jussit: quare de Roma Claudianus cecinit: |

[44] In prospectione folio 102. Hibern. mei M. S. [45] Lib. 2. c. 5. [46] Cap. i.

[v] That is nearly a century and a half after the invasion: a period long enough, if not to make the two races amalgamate, at least to make the dominant race feel that Ireland was their home, and resent exclusive favors shown to more recent adventurers from the mother country.

[w] This extract, as it stands, does not appear in any English copy of Spen-

kenny in the year 1314.[v] Spenser complains bitterly that the Irish of English descent have a more violent hatred of the English than the mere Irish themselves, "for they say," he adds, "that the land of Ireland is theirs by right, because they conquered it themselves: and they say it is a great injustice to them that the new English should intrude into it; they denounce the new English as strangers and foreigners with as much indignation as they kick a dog from them: and because some of their ancestors were chief governors and deputies, they think the same dignity and the whole administration of the land should be now left to themselves: and when they see it taken from them and given to others, and the same confidence not placed in themselves as in their ancestors, they deem that a great insult and indignity is offered to them, and in their anger renounce their duty."[w] The events of past ages are the presages of what are to come: "there is nothing new under the sun. What is it that hath been? the same that shall be. What is that hath been done, the same that shall be done," saith Ecclesiastes. The English who now embowel Ireland, and refuse to raise the descendants of the old English to their just honors, and even attempt to extirpate them, certainly are not consulting for the interests of their own children, who will infallibly one day find the prey which they now clutch in their talons torn from them by a fresh flock of vultures from England.[x] Like Jason, in the Book of Maccabees, they do not consider that prosperity against one's own kindred is a very great evil.

We should be perfectly content if the English would even treat us as colonies, which the Romans of old treated as parents their children. "4,000 men," says Livius, "born in Spain, "the sons of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, petitioned the Roman senate for a town in which they might settle." The senate received their petition, and treated them with the greatest kindness. The emperor Antoninus issued an imperial decree that all persons being within the limits of the Roman empire should be treated as Roman citizens: of which Claudianus says—

ser's State of Ireland, but its substance is clearly found in all.

[x] So the descendants of the Cromwellians and Williamites complained in 1782; and the same complaint is frequently heard at the present day from the representatives of the same class.

"Hæc est in gremium victos quæ sola recepit[47]
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris non dominæ ritu, civesque vocavit.
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit,
Hujus pacificis debemus moribus omnes,
Quod cuncti gens una sumus."

Quàm mitia fuerunt Romanorum in alienos imperia, tàm atrox Anglorum in fœtum suum dominatio nunc est, præ quâ,

"O mites Diomedis equi et Busiridis aræ."

Parum enim abest quin quicquid in urbem Romam Nero, et Attilla crudelitatis exercuerunt; quicquid sævitiæ in Trojam Græci, in Hispaniam Mauri, in Hierosolymam Vespasianus effuderunt, id universum in Hiberniam Puritani evomuerint. Ut in eam flebilis illa Hieremiæ lamentatio appositissimè quadrare videatur. Nam "omnis terra desolatione desolata est, facti sunt hostes nostri in capite nostro, inimici nostri locupletati sunt, manum suam misit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia nostra, facti sunt principes nostri velut arietes non invenientes pascua, abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem persequentis, velociores fuerunt persecutores nostri aquilis cœli, super montes persecuti sunt nos, in deserto insidiati sunt nobis,[48] lassis non dabatur requies, civitates nostræ captæ, portæ destructæ, sacerdotes gementes, virgines squalidæ, egressus est ab" Hibernia "omnis decor ejus, qui vescebantur voluptuose interierunt in viis, qui nutriebantur in croceis amplexi sunt stercora, cum caderet populus non erat auxiliator." Quicquid enim sævissima tyrannorum ingenia, aut ad contumeliam, ignominiamque inauditum; aut ad supplicium corporum asperum, ac vehemens, aut ad terrorem validissimum excogitari potuit, id omne in Hibernos Parlamentarii exeruerunt. Urbes enim nostras hostes diripuerunt, templa demoliti, agros populati sunt, cives propriis mœnibus, optimates sedibus, incolas ædibus ejece-

[47] De laudibus. Still. l. 3. [48] Cap. 12.

" The vanquished she alone as friends enrolled,
Blending all mankind in one common fold,
A mother not a mistress: in love's bands
She binds the conquered sons of many lands.
To this her peaceful policy we owe
That many tribes, we but one nation know."

But the sceptre of the English is as cruel to their descendants as that of the Romans was mild unto foreigners. Compared with English rule,

" Mild are Tydides' steeds; Busiris' shrine."

All the cruelty inflicted on the city of Rome by Nero and Attila, by the Greeks on Troy, by the Moors on Spain, or by Vespasianus on Jerusalem—all has been inflicted on Ireland by the Puritans. Nothing but that pathetical lamentation of Jeremias can appropriately describe her state, " with desolations is the whole land laid desolate, our adversaries are our lords, our enemies are enriched; the enemy hath put out his hand to all our desirable things; our princes are become like rams that find no pastures, and they are gone away without strength before the face of the pursuer; our persecutors were swifter than the eagles of the air; they pursue on the mountains, and lay in wait for us on the wildnesses; we have found no rest; our cities are captured; our gates broken down; our priests sigh; our virgins are in affliction. From" Ireland "all her beauty is departed; they that were fed delicately have died in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet have embraced the dung; when her people fell there was no helper." All that has ever been desired by the ingenuity of most cruel tyrants, either in unparalleled ignominy and degradation, or in savage and excruciating corporal torture, or in all that could strike terror into the firmest soul—all has been poured out on Ireland by the Puritans. They plundered our cities, destroyed our churches, laid waste our lands, expelled citizens from their walls, nobles from their palaces, and

runt, imo infinitos mortales, nec patriæ conspectu, aut aura illa quam in lucem editi primam hauserunt frui permiserunt. Multos enim senum ac juvenum greges, magnam virginum ac matronarum multitudinem, ut illi dura servitute, hæc vel sui prostitutione vitam tolerent, ad ultimos Indiarum recessus amandarunt. Ut Ælio se Adriano immaniores exhibuerint, qui quod Hierosolymæ cives natalis soli mœnia vel eminus prospicere capitis pœna vetuerit, crudelitatis infamiam retulit. Quæ atrocitatis nota ipsorum famæ inuretur, qui non ab unius duntaxat urbis prospectu indigenas arcuerunt, sed ab universæ patriæ finibus eliminarunt? Præterea sacerdotes alios vinculis et carcere tanquam pœna benigniori, alios cyppis, et catastis torserunt: his glande plumbea corpus transfoderunt, illis laqueo gulam fregerunt. Ab his in res sacras, et loca cultui divino consecrata sævitiam transtulerunt, quæ prius miserabiliter direpta, tabularum imaginibus laceratis, statuis bipenni frustatim conscissis, ignique pro pabulo traditis, vel in stabula, vel in prostibula converterunt. Ita ut templa, in quibus sacerdotes sacris operabantur, astantium aures sacro cantu mulcebant, sacrique præcones assiduis hortationibus multitudinem ad pietatem attrahebant, populus precationes ad Deum frequenter effundebant, ministeria omnia et mysteria divina religiosè obibantur, nunc ebriorum clamoribus, equorum hinnitibus, canum latratibus, rixantium militum jurgiis, mulierculaurum ejulatibus personare, et pro aris propinas, pro supplicationibus blasphemias, pro piis, et Orthodoxis concionibus hæreticas execrationes, pro castis colloquiis obscœnitates, et impudicitias sinu suo complecti videamus.

In Danielem Delanum parochum Arcloensem hostis ex improviso impetum fecit, et famulum ejus Welsheum cognomine saluti suæ, et sacræ suppellectilis sarcinæ fuga consulentem, sub viri venerabilis os crudeliter mactavit; sacerdos vero vir manu strenuus educto gladio hostium à se petitiones tam peritè avertit, ut se gladiumque non ante hosti tradiderit quam ab eo suam indemnitatem extorserit. Fidem vero

[y] This portion of our author's work is developed more fully in the Introduction, in epistle dedicatory to Charles II. See vol. i.

the natives generally from their homes—nay, they forbade countless numbers of men even to enjoy the sight of that native country, to breathe the air which they had inhaled at the moment of their birth. They banished to the remotest depths of India crowds of old men and youths, great numbers of matrons and virgins, that the former might toil in hard slavery and the latter support themselves by prostitution. Our enemies are more cruel than Ælius Adrianus himself; for if he has justly been stigmatized as atrociously cruel for prohibiting under penalty of death any citizen of Jerusalem from coming within sight of his native walls, what foul stigma can adequately express the guilt of the monsters who banish men not from the sight of one city alone, but from every part of their native land. Some of our priests they put in chains and dungeons; that was the most lenient punishment. Others they tortured with stakes and strapadoes; some were shot to death, others hanged or strangled. From the priests they turned their fury against all sacred things and places consecrated to the worship of God; which were first sacrilegiously pillaged: then all the paintings and images were torn; the statues were cloven in pieces with the axe, and either thrown into the flames, or consigned to stables and brothels. Those temples, where the priest performed his sacred functions; where the sacred canticles of the church ravished the ears of the faithful, and sacred orators encouraged the people to piety by their ceaseless exhortations; where the people often poured forth their prayers to God, and devoutly attended all the functions and mysteries of religion: these now resound with the yells of drunkards, the neighing of horses, the barking of dogs, the clamors of quarrelsome soldiers, and the howling of women. Within them we now see taverns instead of altars, blasphemy for prayer, the cursings of heretics instead of pious and orthodox sermons; obscenity and impurities instead of chaste conferences.[y]

The enemy came by surprise on Daniel Delany, parish priest of Arklow, and savagely massacred before his eyes his servant, named Walsh, who was flying for his life, with a packet of the sacred vessels and ornaments: but the priest himself, being a powerful man, drew his sword and defended himself so well against the attack, that he compelled his assailants to promise him his life if he delivered up his sword.

[278] datam tantum abest ut | hostis præstiterit, ut potius venerabilem virum veste illi protinus extractâ, equi caudæ nudum alligaverit, qui ad cursum quam incitatissimum à sessore provocatus per vias non magis sentibus ac dumis quam nive geluque asperas ac rigentes miserandum ad Gouræ municipium rapuit. Ubi cursorum istorum inhumanissimus Præfectus illum vestigiis cruentatum, lateribus lacerum, toto corpore fatiscentem neci contra fidem datam addixit, coegitque in militum custodia per vices excubantium nudum, insomnem, frigore algentem vibicibus lividum pernoctare, excubatoribus interim promissæ barbæ inguinisque pilos bacillo per ludibrium evellentibus, et latera ejus fuste contundentibus intolerabiliter excruciatum, et nihil aliud reponentem quam eas evulsiones eo se moderatius ferre quo majori ipsis voluptati fuerunt. Postridie illum in obviæ arboris ramum ter sustulerunt, quo toties in terram corruens, magis lento supplicio torqueretur. Tandem laqueo suffocatus, patiendi et vivendi finem, et in cœlis triumphandi initium fecit. Sed inter tormenta quibus nos excruciant, nullum quibusdam acerbius esse videtur, quam eorum in nos perfidia, quæ tam aperta est ut nemo eam non videat, tam luculenta ut authores ipsi diffiteri non possint. Nempe divina fides pridem istos, humana nuper defecit. A majori nimirum scelere ad minus facilis descensus est. Perfidiam non à privatis tantum hominibus, sed etiam authoritate publicâ crebrius usurpata hæc fuisse nemo non vidit, qui in ratione qua transactiones cum dedititiis inibant cogitationem defixit.

Si aliquando tribunus aliquis, aut centurio instructis copiis urbem, aut arcem cingeret; et obsessi aut propugnandi diuturnitate, aut commeatus inopiâ, aliâvè de causâ, ad honestas deditionis conditiones descendere cogerentur, et libertate ab obsidentium duce pactis impetratâ, munimentis egrederentur, non in libertatem, sed in interitus sui casum se venisse mox deprehendebant. Nam si à centurionis optione pacta salutis obsessi retulissent, mox non ille sed centurio concedendæ indemnitatis potestate præditus fuisse dicebantur. Si centurione sospi-

[a] The publication of these surrenders and capitulations to the Cromwellian forces has been promised by Mr. Hardiman for the Archæological Society. Unless Irish accounts be egregiously in error, these capitulations will prove that Cromwell, and his officers especially, have not the

But, so far from keeping that solemn promise, they immediately stripped the venerable man naked, and tied him to a horse's tail. The rider goaded the horse to his full speed through a road covered over with brambles and thickets, and rough with frost and frozen snow, and dragged the priest to the town of Gorey. There the savage commander of those hunters condemned him to death, in violation of the solemn promise. He was covered over with blood, his sides torn, and his whole frame exhausted; he was delivered up to a guard of soldiers, who were to watch in turn during the night, while he lay there naked, sleepless, frozen with cold and livid with bruises; his guards amused themselves with twisting and plucking his long beard with a cane, and cruelly beating his sides with a staff; but these excruciating tortures could extort no other answer than "the greater pleasure they appear to give you, the more patiently I will bear them." Next day he was three different times hanged to the bough of a tree. and three times let down to the ground, to protract the agony of his torture. But he was hanged at last, and ended his life in torture to reign triumphant in heaven. Among all the tortures they inflict, nothing is more cruel than their perfidy, which is so manifest that every one must know it, even themselves have not dared to deny it. These men, in truth, first renounced divine faith, and then violated all faith towards men. The transition is easy from the more heinous to the more pardonable crime. All who are acquainted with the history of the different surrenders know that this treachery was not the crime of individuals merely, but often perpetrated by public authority.[z]

If an officer or colonel besieged a city or fort, the besieged either wearied by the protracted assaults, or in want of provisions, or for some other reason, were at length compelled to treat for honorable conditions, and obtained from the besiegers full liberty to depart; as soon as they abandoned their fortress they found that so far from being at liberty, they had walked into the jaws of death. If the promise of protection had been made by the officer, they were told that it was not he but the colonel who had the power of granting such securities.

least claim to the faith and honor attributed to him by many of his modern apologists.

tatem impertiente, illius potestati se obsessi permisissent, mox nuntiatum est, non illi sed tribuno dedititiorum in fidem recipiendorum authoritatem collatam fuisse: quod si hic etiam se dedentibus incolumitatem pollicitus fuisset, non id ei, sed supremo militiæ præfecto licuisse certiores obsessi fiebant. Superiori bello paululum in Hibernia progresso, hostibus arcem Sligoensem adortis, ad sospitatem arce inclusis tradendum, expeditionis præfectus scripto se obstrinxit, statim tamen ac hostis arcem subiit præsidiariorum omnium pudenda strages edita est. Cromwellus ipse quanquam immensas copias expugnandæ Vadiponti admovit, illam tamen in suam potestatem non ante redegit, quam propugnatores urbis in sua salute cum iis qui dignitates in exercitu Cromwelli obtinuerunt transegerint: nihilominus Cromwello negante quempiam præfecturam in suis castris gerentem ejusmodi authoritate donatum à se fuisse, in propugnatores atrocissima cæde illico sævitum est. Imo præsidiarii civesque Castello de Mote Vadeponti finitimo inclusi, Cromwello ipso concedente indemnitatem consecuti; eo tamen postea jubente, omnes trucidati sunt. Delegatis Kilkeniensibus apud eum in Anglia jam versantem graviter conquerentibus conditiones ab ipso sibi collatas indies violari respondisse fertur, se jam in Anglia constitutum, pactis in Hibernia initis non obstringi. Quæ res consilia Rossensium compescuit expostulare cum illo, statuentium quod transactiones quas ab ipso retulerunt pessundarentur.

Galvia postrema omnium Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Scotiæ urbium in fide regi servandâ persistens, in hostis ditionem venit, unde aliquis cecinit:

> "Inter Juvernas urbes, urbesque Britannas
> Ultima ab hostili Galvia victa dolo est."

[279] Hæc urbs novem mensium obsidionem passa, omni spe subsidii, vel à | confœderatis jam prostratis, vel à Duce Lotharingo, undè opem expectarunt referendi destituta, non vulgari cuipiam in militia præfecto, sed

[a] For contemporary accounts of the frightful massacre at Drogheda, and for proof that quarter had been promised by the assailants, the reader is referred to Dr. Lingard's History of England, vol.viii., p. 633, 5th edition. Some modern writers had vainly attempted to prove that quarter was not

But if the colonel had made the promise, and they surrendered to him, then it was not he but the officer who was commissioned to sign terms of capitulation; even though the officer had promised security if they surrendered, the victims were informed that none but the commander in chief was invested with such authority. Shortly after the commencement of the late war, the castle of Sligo was besieged by the enemy. The commander of the besieging force promised in writing to spare the lives of the besieged; but as soon as the castle gates were thrown open the garrison was shamefully butchered to a man. Even Cromwell himself, though at the head of a large army besieging Drogheda, could not take the town until its defenders had received a promise of their lives from some persons of high rank in his army: nevertheless Cromwell denied that any officer in his army was commissioned to grant such terms, and instantly issued the savage order for that most atrocious of massacres.[a] The garrison and citizens of Moate, near Drogheda, surrendered on terms to Cromwell himself; but they were all massacred by his orders. When the Kilkenny delegates complained to him in England of the daily infraction of the conditions granted by himself, he is said to have answered, "that as he was now in England, he could not be bound by the stipulations he had made in Ireland." This fact prevented the people of Ross from applying to him, as they intended to remonstrate at the non-fulfilment of the terms which had been granted to them.

Galway was the last of all the towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland that remained faithful to the king, but it fell at last into the hands of the enemy. Of this a poet sings:

> "Of all the cities of the British isles
> Galway was conquered last by hostile wiles."

The city sustained a siege of nine months, without any hope of aid either from the prostrate confederates, or from the duke of Lorraine, from whom they expected it. The commander of the besieging army

promised, though even Borlase himself had admitted the fact. Irish Insurrection, p. 282.

ipsi Carolo Coote, qui Connaciæ, Ultoniæque summo cum imperio præfuit, et cujus arma binas illas provincias sub Parlamentariorum imperium impulerunt, honorificas conditiones extorsit. Nimirum, ut pristinæ urbis immunitates, et positæ intra fines urbis jurisdictioni obnoxios civium possessiones integræ illibatæque, cives deinceps manerent: Repub. ternionem tantum agrorum extra fines illos sitorum, et civium etiam domicilia ubivis collocata, quæ Parlamentarii præsidio munienda esse censerent referrente, fundis in cives pro ædium ablatarum æstimatione conferendis. Præterea civibus, intra, et extra urbem, arbitratu suo, negotiari per pacta licuit. Sed à Parlamento in suprema Hiberniæ præfectura constituti hæc pacta irrita, alia minoris momenti rata habuerunt. Exindè non ex abrupto, sed lenté in civium fortunis emungendis desudatum est. Tandiu enim in urbe patria hærere permissi sunt, quamdiu eorum opes stipendio gregarii militis solvendo, et illorum avaritiæ, qui præerant explendæ sufficiebant. Tum denique ubi quotidianæ collationes civium copias paulatim exhauserant, primum triennio pene jam elapso, magistratus Urbanus iis ereptus est. Deinde ut quisque civium manipulus rei familiaris jacturam istis impensis fecerat, urbe mox ejectus est, potestate copiosioribus in urbe diutius commorandi factâ, dum ad publicos sumptus ferendos, aliquot iis nummi superessent. Tandem penè omnes manipulatim emissi rusticationi ante ignotæ incumbere per agros palati coguntur. Nec solum Parlamentarii exitum belli perfidiâ clauserunt imo etiam sub ejus initium, et in ejusdem progressu, eorum perfidiæ non scintilla, sed flamma sæpius erupit. Anno partus virginei 1642 Henricus Tuchborne eques auratus, Moro Vicecomite in opem sibi adscito, copias militares Castello de Rathesker in

[b] Our author's partiality for Galway makes him exaggerate its fidelity to the king and the bravery of its resistance. The Parliamentarians themselves were amazed at its surrender, especially as Ireton himself had met with so gallant a resistance from Limerick not long before. "Many were amazed to see upon what easy terms they parted with their last important town, a place of great strength, and had they been resolute, *invincible*, having still in loose parties over the kingdom more men in arms to have defended it, than the English could have brought against the town." Borlase's Irish Insurrection, p. 364. The "easy terms," he admits, were violated by the parliament and commissioners. Ibid.

was not a man of ordinary rank, but Charles Coote himself, commander of Connacht and Ulster, which provinces he had subjugated for the Parliamentarians. From him the besieged extorted honorable conditions,[b] namely, that all the ancient immunities of the city, and all the possessions of the citizens within the city's jurisdiction, should be preserved intact: that the citizens should remain in their city: that one-third of the lands of the citizens beyond the city limits, and any houses of the citizens wherever they were situate, which the Parliamentarians might feel it necessary to select as garrisons, should be given up to the commonwealth, with the stipulation that the owners of the houses should receive lands of equal value in compensation. It was stipulated, moreover, that the citizens should have full liberty to trade within or outside their walls. But the men appointed to the chief government of Ireland by the Parliament refused to ratify these conditions, and gave their sanction to others only of lesser importance. In a short time, however, they commenced, not of a sudden, but by slow steps, to rob the citizens of their property. They were allowed to remain within their native walls, only so long as they had money to support the common soldiers and to glut the avarice of their officers. But when the daily contributions levied on the city had by degrees exhausted its wealth, they were deprived of the magisterial offices three years after the capitulation. Then as each roll of citizens was drained of all its property by these taxes, they were cast out of the city, but the more wealthy were allowed to remain so long as they had any money to contribute to the public expenses. But at last nearly all were cast out, and wandered through the country, endeavouring to support themselves by agriculture, of which they knew nothing. It was not in the close of the war only that the Parliamentarians committed this treachery.[c] In the beginning and through the whole course of the war, this perfidy not only appeared, but was glaring. In the year 1642 Sir Henry Tichbourne, summoning viscount Moore to his assistance, laid siege to the castle of Rathesker

[c] The reader need hardly be told that the charge of perjury and violation of conditions has been also made by the opposite party—as in all civil wars. See especially in Borlase, p. 96, a long array of cases in which the Irish, it is said, broke faith with the vanquished.

Comitatu Louthensi admovit, quod tandem ea lege deditum est, ut Barnevallus loci dominus, ac cæteri qui se in ejus ædes præsidii causâ receperant, indemnitatem, et libertatem consequerentur. Non libertate tamen Tichbornus quam promiserat ullos, sed carcere, et Plunketum quendam suspendio excepit. Eodem anno aut sequenti ejusdem Touchborni equitatus impunitatem Capitaneo Fotterrell pollicitus, eum in crucem mox egit. Eodem anno Capitaneus Bolton Corncellarii filius Capitaneum Traversium, Georgium à sancto Laurentio, et Petrum Delahoid indemnitatem pactos strangulari curavit. Eodem anno Tribunus Crafford, Baldonganum nobilis cujusdam Fitzwilliams dicti pagum incolentibus sospitatem pollicitus; plus quam centum viros, fœminas, et parvulos interemit. Anno proximè sequenti viri nobilis Ashbolli ædes in comitatu Kildariæ in hostis potestatem deditione pervenerunt, ita tamen ut iis inclusi libertatem nanciscerentur, sed ex iis mox centum ad minus hostis ferro contra fidem datam perierunt, imò et in teneriorem sexum, et ætatem sævitum est. Eodem anno vicecomiti Moro Balohæ Baronis Slaniæ Castrum aliquandiu obsidenti se obsessi dediderunt, incolumitatem suam prius pacti; verum omnes sine discrimine sexus aut ætatis, neci confestim dati sunt; et infantulus è cæsæ Catherinæ Flemmingæ Hadsort de Cappog uxoris alvo extractus ad parietem vivus allisus est. Præsidiariorum Timolingensium in comitatu Kildariensi, ubi se hosti sospitatem pollicito tradiderunt immanis edita strages est, fœminarum etiam et parvulorum cæde cruentata. Capitaneus seu centurio Smythæus Patricio Conrano de Wianston vitam pacto impertitus veste ademit. Equitatu Hibernico ad Knoclinchiam fuso, peditatus è mille quingentis constans in uliginem palude cinctam se recepit; unde post magnam hostium cædem editam, transactionibus initis, vitâ incolum discedere licuit; sed exercitus Parlamentarius à Johnes expeditionis istius præfecto in inermes immissus, omnes internicione delevit, ea [280] solummodo de causa (ut milites postea Dublinii gloriabantur) quod ab | adeo strenuè decertantibus ipsi pugna denuo excipi noluerint, vel potius timuerint. Wicloensem Comitatum, et Wexfordiensis partem incolentibus, per tribunum Cooke (quæ vox perinde est ac Cocus) licuit intra

[d] This is probably the battle of Rathmines or Baggotrath, which was fought in August, 1649; in other accounts the number stated to have been murdered in cold blood was only 300.

in the county of Louth. The besieged capitulated on condition that Barnwall himself, and all who had taken refuge in the castle, should be protected both in their lives and liberties. Tichbourne set none of them at liberty, but hanged one Plunket and cast the rest of them into prison. In the same or the following year, the troop of the same Tichbourne promised life to captain Fotterel, but crucified him on the spot. In the same year captain Bolton, son of the chancellor, strangled captain Travers, George St. Laurence, and Peter Delahoyd, though he had promised to spare their lives. In the same year, sergeant Crawford promised protection to all who were in the village of Baldongan, the property of a nobleman called Fitzwilliam, but he massacred 100 men, women and children. In the following year, the house of a nobleman named Ashball, in the county of Kildare, surrendered to the enemy on condition that the inmates should be set at liberty, but at last 100 of them were slain in violation of plighted faith, and some of these were women and children. In the same year Balohay, a castle of the baron of Slane's, surrendered after a long siege to viscount Moore; the besieged obtained promise of protection, but every soul in the castle, man, woman, and child, was massacred; Catharine Fleming, wife of Hallsar of Cappog, was ripped open, and her unborn babe dashed against the wall. The garrison of Timolin, in the county of Kildare, was barbarously massacred after surrendering on terms, and even women and children were butchered. Captain or Colonel Smyth promised to spare the life of Patrick Conran of Wianston, but stripped him naked and murdered him. After the defeat of the Irish cavalry at Knoclinch, the infantry, consisting of 1500 men, fled to a bog surrounded by a marsh, where they made so gallant a defence and slew so many of the enemy, that they extorted good terms and were permitted to depart safe; but the Parliamentarian army under Jones, the leader of this expedition, was sent down on the unarmed men and massacred them to a man.[d] The only reason for this butchery, (as the soldiers afterwards boasted in Dublin) was that they did not like, or rather were afraid, to encounter a second time in the battle field men who had fought so bravely. The inhabitants of the county of Wicklow and part of Wexford, were expressly allowed to remain in all security in their own homes until a certain time. The security was given by Cooke, (which is the same as Cook). But

suos fines citra injuriam omnem ac dispendium, ad statum diem permanere. Verum idem Cooke centurioni Bolton author postea fuit, ut indicto tempore nondum elapso, equitatu in eosdem fines illato, eosdem primum diriperet, deinde in omnes utriusque sexus tam adultos quam nonadultos, promiscuâ cæde grassaretur, quâ carnificinâ quatuor animarum millia è corporibus cùm teneræ tùm provectæ ætatis detrusa sunt. Idem Chiliarchus Cooke sub annum 1652, in comitatu Wexfordiensi trecentos mortales, et plurimos infantes iisdem tectis inclusit, quibus face mox subjecta, clausi omnes conflagrarunt. Unus tamen ex tribuni Centurionibus dictus capitaneus Goze parvulum incendio subductum penes se in equo sedentem sub clamyde abdidit; quod ubi tribunus aliquantulum in itinere progressus rescivit, ira excandescens, in centurionem acriter invectus est, ipse deinde ad flagrantes ædes reversus innoxium puerulum in eas injici jussit. Ut non mirum sit si supra memoratus centurio Bolton sceleris jam ante à tribuno imperati flagitiosus administer, Tribuni disciplinâ imbutus, ac exemplo incitatus, et atrocitatis, et perfidiæ aliud specimen ediderit. Pierius Butlerus de Clearmont vicecomitis Galmoensis hæres, pugnâ cum Parlamentariis, ad Balylamii in Wexfordiensi comitatu congressus, cum victoriam ad hostem inclinare vidisset, incolumitatem pactus in hostis potestatem ultro venit; Bolton autem hostilium agminum præfectus victoriam adeptus in colloquium cum Pierio veniens, ubi rescivit quis fuerit, cubitali suo catapulto citra moram exploso sinciput perfodit, crudelitatem perfidiæ adjungens. Daniel Axel militum Tribunus longâ obsidione castellum Moine in Moimeliæ finibus cinxit, quo tandem obsessis salvâ vitâ. et libertate se dedentibus potitus, apprehenso Leonardi Shortalli qui castello præfuerat baltheo, ipsius illum ense perfodit, nulla datæ fidei ratione habitâ; cæteri præsidiarii simili facto perierunt, præter eos quibus pedum pernicitas salutem comparavit. Manipulus Hibernorum qui nondum arma posuit novem Parlamentarios obvios sibi forte factos interemit. Quæ cædes istum Axel in tantam rabiem egit, ut è duabus comitatus Kilkeniæ barroniis Gauranâ et Ibercanâ obsequium ei, et immodicas pecuniarum summas pro ipsius arbitratu indictas citra reluctationem deferentibus, octodecem nulli affines crimini trucidandos delegerit. Tanti nimirum novem isti Parlamentarii fecerunt, ut singulorum

this same Cooke afterwards authorized captain Bolton, before the expiration of the stipulated day, to scour that county with his cavalry, and plunder it: then commenced an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children, by which not less than 4,000 souls, young and old, were atrociously butchered. In 1652, the same general Cooke shut up 300 men and many infants in a house in the county of Wexford, and then setting fire to the house, all were burned in the flames. But captain Goze, one of the officers under Cooke, succeeded in concealing on his horse under his cloak, a little boy that had escaped out of the house; Cooke, discovering the fact before they had retired far from the house, burst into a violent rage, severely condemned the captain, and returning himself with the poor little innocent boy, hurled him into the raging flames. . Little wonder that captain Bolton, who had formerly executed the savage orders of his commander, should emulate the ferocity and act on the principles of his master, and leave some other monuments of his own treachery and savageness. Piers Butler of Clearmont, county of Kilkenny, heir of viscount Galmoy, having engaged the Parliamentarian forces at Balylamy in the county of Wexford, surrendered to the enemy on terms when he found the battle going against him; but Bolton, who commanded the Parliamentarians, on coming up to speak to Piers after the victory, and learning who he was, immediately cocked his carbine and blew out his brains, thus adding cruelty to his treachery.[*] Daniel Axel, a Parliamentarian, a general, having succeeded after a long siege in inducing the castle of Mayne, in Moimelia, Moin-Ely, N. W. of the county of Kilkenny, to capitulate on a promise of life and liberty to its inmates, took the belt of Leonard Shortall, the commander of the castle, and slew him with his own sword without the slightest regard for the articles of surrender: all the soldiers of the garrison shared the same fate, with the exception of those who escaped by outrunning their pursuers. A band of Irish soldiers, who had not yet laid down their arms, slew nine Parliamentarians who happened to fall in their way. Axel was so incensed at this proceeding, that he selected eighteen men from the baronies of Gowran and Iverk, who had no participation in the guilt, and murdered them, though the two baronies quietly submitted to his authority, and paid without a murmur the enormous contributions which he levied on them at his own discretion.

etiam in pugna cadentium cædes non nisi binis insontibus Hibernis laqueo suspensis expiari potuerit, quibus morti addictis omnis purgandi sui facultas erepta est: cum tamen eos arma vel in sui propugnandi vel hostis impugnandi causâ nunquam sumpsisse constet.

Fine nuperi belli jam appetente, triginta tantum Hiberni Hogano qui ordines in bello duxit, adhuc in armis adhæserunt, quos ut ad arma ponenda Garrengubunæ gubernator alliceret, Hogano dum conventiones utrinque transigerentur, ultro citroque meandi potestatem in scripto fecit. Hoganus autem postea pacta re sua non iniri perspiciens, ad suos se recipere constituit, sed gubernatoris jussu, et manus illi moraque mox injecta est, et ipsius commilitones plumbeæ glandinis procella ex improviso impetiti trajectique sunt. Lucas O'Tohel de Castellkevan Fertoriæ dominus, et suæ familiæ Phylarchus, vir tam genere quam novem filiis jam adultis, et arma ferentibus nobilis, milites in Lagenia contra Parlamentarios primus conscripsit, et primus militum Tribunus fuit. Is cum pluribus conflictibus Parlamentarios sæpius attrivisset, ab iis ad conditiones pacis amplectendas non mediocri ambitione rogatus tandem vitam sibi bonaque pollicitis acquievit. Sed cum Parlamentariorum promissis facta non consenserunt. Nam ille quatriduo tantum in eorum potestate [281] constitutus, in | patibulum sublatus, et semivivus ex eo demissus capite plexus est, quod continuo Dublinii in S. Nicholai portæ fastigio omnium aspectibus iidem exposuerunt. Et filius ejus Christophorus simile supplicium subiit, quod cæteri ejus filii peregre in militia profecti declinarunt. Cahirus Fælimei filius, Fiachi nepos ex eadem familia vir opulentus, et à belli consiliis semper alienus, quietisque cupidissimus; et Morarchus de Duno filius Edmondi juvenis O'Brien, plurimique alii similibus Parlamentariorum promissis ad similem vitæ exitum pervenerunt.

Quid vero ludificationibus hiscè propudiosius, aut perfidiosius excogitari potest? Quid hoc aliud est quam viris honestis, ac minimè fraudulentis in laqueos ab uno "verba pacifica in dolo loquente" attractis,[49] ab alio fauces elidi? An non hoc perinde est ac si quis unâ manu caduceum præferrens, aliâ jugulo hastam infigeret? Unum hoc tempore facinus non simplici eos sed triplici scelere fœdavit: quod enim non

[49] Macchab. c. 1.

Such was the value, forsooth, of a Parliamentarian's life; if one of them was slain even in battle, his death should be avenged by the sacrifice of two innocent Irishmen, who were hanged without the slightest possibility of proving their innocence; though it were even notorious that they had never taken up arms either to attack the enemy or in self-defence.

About the close of the late war, Hogan, who had commanded a division, found his numbers at last reduced to thirty. The governor of Garrengubun, Garrygibbon, county of Tipperary, to induce them to lay down their arms, gave him permission in writing to pass freely through his lines, while they were arranging the terms of capitulation. Hogan, perceiving that the terms would not be good, resolved to retire to his men, but he was instantly seized and detained by the governor's orders, and his soldiers were taken by surprise, and mowed down with a storm of musketry. Luke O'Tuathail of Castlekevin, lord of Fertoria, Fertire [now called the Vartry, county of Wicklow], and head of his family, a man as distinguished by his high descent as by the nine brave sons, who were in arms with him, was the first to raise troops in Leinster against the Parliamentarians, and the first general in the field. After many decisive victories over the Parliamentarians, he was earnestly pressed to accept conditions of peace, and consented with the stipulation that he should not forfeit either liberty or property. But the deeds of the Parliamentarians were not in character with their words. For, before he had been four days in their power he was hanged, and, when half dead, let down and decapitated, and his head was spiked on the top of St. Nicholas's gate, Dublin. His son Christopher shared the same fate: but the other brothers escaped, and entered into foreign service. Cahir, son of Felim, and grandson of Fiach, of the same family, a wealthy man, always averse to the war, and most desirous of peace: Morach, of Down, son of Edmund Og O'Briain [O'Broin, O'Byrne] and many others, were murdered in the same way by the Parliamentarians, after false promises of protection.

Was anything ever so infamous, so perfidious as these false treaties? What else is it but to employ one man, "speaking peaceable words in deceit," to trepan honorable and honest men, that another may butcher them? Is it not holding the herald's rod in one hand, and with the other burying the dagger in the victim's throat? By one act they were

sincerè sed fictè cum aliis egerunt, mendaces; quod rem promissam opere non præstiterunt perfidi; quod illis quibuscunque pacti sunt, suum non tribuerunt, injurii fuerunt: è memoria sibi excidere passi, quod sacra pagina (cujus observantissimi cultores haberi volunt) præcipiat, ut "non mentiemini,[50] nec decipiet unusquisque proximum suum."

Non vero satis habuerunt nostrates vitâ, et bonis per fraudem ut jam audisti spoliare, nisi etiam Catholicæ religionis professionem fraudi nemini fore polliciti à promissione mox resilierint. Inter pasciscendum cum Galviensibus Parlamentum fidei Catholicæ abolitionem nullo pacto moliturum, aut cuipiam ejus professione interdicturum scripto affirmarunt. Eandem rem tabulæ transactionum, quas cum Catholico Lageniensium exercitu Parlamentarii peregerunt, perspicuam conceptis verbis faciunt, authoritatem enim ad ea pacta ineunda naeti in hunc modum loquuntur. "Nos denunciamus eam esse delegatorum Parlamenti voluntatem, ut omnes in Hiberniâ degentes beneficio gavisuri sint decreti, cujus titulus est, de religioso, ac tranquillo populo legibus iis exonerando, quas Parlamentum in re religionis antea sancivit:" quod decretum 27 Septembris an. Dom. 1650 latum est. "Insuper etiam denuntiamus ministrorum Parlamenti in Hibernia mentem esse, ut nemo è recusantibus (sic Catholicos appellant) hujus nationis ad cultum ullum aut officium divinum conscientiæ suæ contrarium adigendus sit." Datum 18 Martii 1651, subscripserunt Reynolds, Hieronimus Sanki, Willelmus Allen, Henricus Jones, Joannes Vernon.

Facultatem autem Catholicæ religionis impunè profitendæ his et aliis modis promissam illico sustulerunt, evulgatis edictis imperantibus, ut ad statum diem mystæ omnes Hiberniâ excederent, et præcipientibus fore illis capitale, si ultra præstitutam diem, in patria moram protrahant. Fore etiam ut qui tecto illos excepturi sint, impensam hospitii charitatem bonorum omnium amissione luant. Nimirum sicut lupus cum ovibus si canes à se arcerent amicitiam initurus fuisse dicitur, ut amotis canibus liberiori cæde in miseros grassaretur: sic isti pastores à Catholicis abegerunt ut ad illos Rectorum custodiâ nudatos fide Catholicâ exuendos expeditior pateret hæreticorum insultus. Mystis patriâ post indic-

[50] Levit. 19.

covered with the infamy of a triple crime; by acting without truth and deceitfully towards others, they were liars; by not fulfilling their stipulations, they were perfidious; and by not giving what the other contracting party had a right to, they were unjust: very jealous admirers of the Bible: if we can believe themselves, they totally forgot the command of the Bible, "you shall not lie, nor shall any man deceive his neighbour."

Not satisfied with robbing and butchering our nobles by this vile treachery, they should treacherously violate their most solemn engagement that Catholics were not to be molested for the profession of their faith. By the capitulation of Galway, the Parliament declared in writing that the abolition of the Catholic religion would not be attempted, nor any person prohibited to profess it. The same condition is laid down expressly in the terms entered into between the Parliamentarians and the Catholic army of Leinster. Being invested with full powers to negociate that treaty, they say, "we declare it is the will of the delegates of Parliament that all persons living in Ireland should enjoy the benefit of the decree entitled an act for relieving religious and peaceable people from the operation of the laws formerly enacted by Parliament regarding religion." That decree was issued on the 27th of September, 1650. "Moreover, we declare that it is the will of the officers of the Parliament in Ireland that none of the Irish recusants (the name they gave to the Catholics) should be compelled to attend any religious worship or Divine service contrary to his conscience." Given March 18, 1651. Signed, Reynolds, Jerome Sankey, William Allen, Henry Jones, John Vernon.

But the free exercise of the Catholic religion guaranteed by these and other acts was instantly prohibited. Edicts were issued commanding all priests to depart from Ireland before a certain day, and prohibiting them under penalty of death to remain beyond that time. All who harbored them were to forfeit all their property to expiate that act of hospitality. As the wolf in the fable was ready to make a friendly alliance with the sheep if they would drive away the dogs, as they could then slaughter the poor flock without resistance; so these men banished the priests from the Catholics, that the latter, when deprived of their pastors, might fall more easy victims to

tum tempus elapsum non egressis, alii extremo supplicio affecti, nonnulli carcerum fœtores, ac tædia passi animas efflarunt; plures ergastulorum adhuc claustris damnati, aliqui in remotissimam Innisbofiniæ insulam relegati, ac præsidiariorum custodiæ traditi, non modicis ærumnis torquentur, multi ad Indiarum insulas amandati, ut qui illic hastæ subjecti venundentur, et abjectissima quæque mediastinorum ministeria in tobacco constringendo obirent; indè quoque magistratus non modicam sibi mansuetudinis laudem aucupantur, quod plurimos sacerdotes suis unguibus in varias Europæ Catholicas regiones elabi patiantur. | [282]

Nec contenti mystis exilium, aut capitis pœnam edicto indicere, nisi etiam decretis in quoscunque Catholicos sævirent, quorum qui Catholicæ fidei ejurationem detrectaret duobus fortunarum omnium trientibus latâ lege multandus erat. Itaque Catholicorum superiori memoriâ perpessiones, præ his injuriis, in aliquo beneficientiæ gradu collocari posse videntur. Per ea enim tempora magistratus non modicis quidem acerbitatibus Catholicos exagitarunt, sed fidem datam nunquam fefellerunt, et legum asperitatem indulgentiâ non raro temperarunt. Hi vero qui nunc in Hiberniâ dominantur, aut potius debacchantur,[51] summam atrocitatem intolerabili perfidiâ cumularunt, quâ nihil ad animos hominum exasperandos valentius est, S. Chrysostomo dicente: "Nihil æquè inimicitias parere, ac odia excitare, quam decipere ac fallere. Infirmatis enim" (ait Aristoteles) "violatisque pactis tollitur inter homines commerciorum usus," Recte Cicero ait: "vi aut fraude fieri injuriam, et utrumque ab homine alienissimum esse, sed fraudem odio dignum esse majore."

Complures Hiberni nihil persuasius habentes quam sicut posteriores et priores Hibernorum vexatores eandem religionem professi, et ex eadem regione profecti fuerunt, si quam benignitatem et fidem Hibernis difficultate aliqua exortâ illi præstiterunt, similem benignitatem et fidem eosdem Hibernos ab his in tam dura rerum conversione relaturos esse. Non dubitarunt suis authores esse ut horum se potestati

[51] Homilia 14. ad Ephesi. 1. Rotherico. 1. Officiorum.

• In the document first published by the editor at the end of the Dedicatory Epistle, vol. i. of this work, see an account of the persecution of the priests at this period, and especially the fate of some imprisoned in Inisbofin.

the proselytizing attempts of heretical teachers. Of the priests who did remain in the country after the appointed day, some were executed, others wasted away their life in the long and loathsome horrors of a dungeon; others are still barred up in prisons; some were banished to the remote isle of Inisbofin,[e] and delivered in charge to the garrison, who tortured them with great cruelty. Many were banished to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves, and condemned to work in twisting tobacco and other slave labors: the magistrates prided themselves on what they considered extraordinary lenity, in allowing a great number of priests to escape from their talons to different Catholic countries of Europe.

Not content with dooming the priests to exile or death, they turned their fury against all Catholics, and condemned all who would not renounce the Catholic faith to forfeit two-thirds of all their property.[f] All that the Catholics had suffered before this time was mercy, compared with the injuries now poured out on them. In former times, the magistrates had, it is true, severely oppressed the Catholics; but they never violated their word, and they often relaxed the rigor of persecution. But the present rulers of Ireland, or rather her tyrants, have blackened the most atrocious cruelty by perjury the most foul, perjury which worse than any other injury provokes the indignation of a man. "Nothing," says St. Chrysostomus, "is a more fruitful source of enmities, nothing excites greater hatred than deception and lies." "When engagements are violated and contemned," says Aristoteles, "there is an end to all intercourse between man and man." "Injury," says Cicero, "may be inflicted by force or fraud, and both are hateful to man; but fraud, of the two, is more hateful."

Many of the Irish were under the firm impression that as the former and present persecutors came from the same country, and professed the same religion, whatever indulgence and good faith were practised in any persecution by the former would be extended to them by the latter in this last most dreadful catastrophe. The Irish now encouraged many of their friends to make a speedy submission to the Par-

[f] Cromwell's act for the settlement of Ireland may be seen in vol. viii. of Lingard's History of England, Appendix, p. 641. Fifth edition.

quantocius traderent. Verum tristi postea experimento deprehenderunt, se plurimum allucinatos fuisse, ac Puritanos à protestantibus in hoc discrepare, quod hi humanitatem, et fidem datam sanctius colant, illi cum humanitatem omnem exuant, tum promissis non stent: ut de his rex Jacobus verè dixerit:[52] "Testor magnum Deum (nec testamentum condenti fas est mentiri) nunquam inter montanos, aut limitaneos latrones majorem ingratitudinem, aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos Phanaticos nebulones." Nam in conventionum contractu Hiberni sibi sic prospexerunt, ut tantum rei familiaris adhuc superesset, quantum ad familiam satis exiliter alendam sufficeret, quo postea contra conventa erepto, res iis ad incitas rediit. Ita ut nobiles Dynastas, quorum domus advenis quibuscunque hospitio et ubere mensa excipiendis antea semper patuit, per pristinorum clientium et ambactorum casas, sedandæ famis gratiâ evagari, vel nautas, epibatasvè agere, aut sub alienis signis ad subveniendum paupertati tenue stipendium peregrè mereri oportuerit; dominatoribus istis illos deglubere quam tondere malentibus, ne radices quidem ad lanam denuo procreandam salvas esse permittentibus, et à prudenti appiario imitando abhorrentibus, qui tantum mellis in alvearibus relinquit, quantum apibus alendis sufficit ne interirent, reliquum omne aufert.

Sed extra viam quam exorsus sum oppressæ me patriæ dolor non cogitantem adduxit. Cœpto igitur itineri rursus insisto, et probro dantibus primos ex Anglia sobolis in Hibernia propagatæ authores alios ære alieno oppressos, illos decoctores, hos è Carcerum squalore eductos, nonnullos flagitiosos, plerosque obscuris natalibus ortos fuisse, omnes denique inopiâ laborasse, respondeo neminem rerum copiâ domi abundantem finibus suis ad rem familiarem bello augendam vix unquam excessisse; ii quos opes et potentia domi defecerunt, plerumque ad bella peregrè proficiscuntur, quos plebeia multitudo comitatur, ut quibus operandi assiduitas ad quoscunque labores perferendos callum obduxit.[53] "Maxima quæque Imperia vi à latronibus constituta" fuisse Bodinus asserit. Et Justinus ait exceptis Atheniensibus, "Cæteras gentes à

[52] Basilicon Doron. l. 2. [53] In Methodo Historiæ, c. 6. lib. 2.

liamentarians. But experience soon proved that they had been under a most fatal delusion; they discovered that there was a wide difference between the Puritan and the Protestant: the latter had some regard for mercy and plighted faith; the former trampled on the laws of humanity, and paid no respect to treaties. The character given of them by king James is perfectly true: "I call the great God to witness (and when one makes a will it is criminal to tell a lie) that greater ingratitude or perfidy was never found among mountaineers or border robbers, than among those fanatical rogues." For when the Irish were stipulating for themselves they reserved as much wealth as would barely support their family; and when, in violation of treaty, even this residue was taken away, they were reduced to extremities. In this manner, noble princes whose mansions were ever open to supply the guest and the stranger, with all the profuse delicacies of the festive board, were now reduced to the necessity of wandering about to the houses of their former tenants and servants for as much food as would support life, or to enlist as sailors or marines, or serve under foreign banners, far from their native homes, for the scanty pay which was their only support. Our tyrants did not shave, but grub; they left no roots to produce another crop of wool; they did not imitate the prudent hive keeper, who leaves as much honey in the hive as will support the bee, but takes away all the rest.

But sorrow for my suffering country has led me away contrary to my intention, from the plan which I had proposed to myself. I return once more to my path, and if any man object to me that the first founders of the English race in Ireland were some of them deeply involved in debt, others bankrupt, others just emerging from the horrors of a prison, some of them stained with odious crime, most of them of low origin, and all needy, I answer, that persons who had abundant wealth at home, hardly ever emigrated to strange countries to carve out for themselves a greater fortune by the sword; the men who embark in foreign wars are generally those who have neither power nor wealth at home; crowds of the lower orders are ready to follow them, because their laborious lives have made them ready for all sorts of laborious work. "All the great empires" says Bodinus "were founded by bands of robbers," and Justinus says that, with the exception of the Athenians,

sordidis initiis ad summa crevisse." An non asylum Romani aperuerunt, quo sicarii, decoctores, adulteri, prædones, parricidæ, protexerunt? E qua colluvie Romana gens mortalium nobilissima emanavit. De qua proinde Juvenalis pronuntiavit:

> "Quisquis majorum primus fuit ille tuorum
> [283] Aut latro fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo."[54] |

Quod si tam sordia fuerint gentis initia, quæ præstantiæ palmam à cæteris orbis terræ nationibus retulerat, quo se dedecore quævis alia natio collatulatum censebit, si primus in longa majorum serie abjectioris, imo vero turpioris conditionis fuisse deprehensus fuerit? nec enim ullus rex, princeps, aut majorum gentium nobilis unquam fuit, cujus è progenitoribus aliquis non humili ac sordido loco natus, aut turpitudine aliqua notatus fuerit.

[54] Juvenalis.

"all other nations arose from contemptible origin." Did not the Romans make young Rome an asylum for murderers, bankrupts, adulterers, robbers, parricides, traitors, and all sorts of criminals? Yet from this sink of depravity sprung the Roman people, the noblest race of men that ever appeared on the earth. It was of them that Juvenalis sings—

> "The founder of your line! that daring fellow,
> A bandit, or what indeed I blush to tell you."

Now if such was the base origin of that people, who have carried away the palm of pre-eminence from all the nations of the earth, what disgrace can it be to any other nation if the founders of the oldest and greatest families were of low origin, or stained with some less disreputable mark? There never was a noble, or prince, or king, one of whose progenitors was not either of humble birth, or stained with some grievous crime.

CAPUT XXIX.

QUOD GIRALDUS HIBERNOS IMPATIENTES, PRÆCIPITES AD VINDICTAM, PRODITIONI DEDITOS, PERFIDOS, PERJUROS, INCONSTANTES, VERSIPELLES, IMBELLES, DOLOSOS ET REBELLES FUISSE INVIDIOSE AC FALSO DIXERIT.

[283] Quid sit impatientia? minuta crimina indagat.—Giraldo asserenti Hibernos majori vindictæ cupiditate quam alias gentes flagrare non creditur.—Gens Hibernica innoxia. [384] Giraldus non agit historicum.—Omnis comparatio odiosa est.—Sui historici Gallos defendunt a scriptorum calumniis.—Nullum exemplum ad firmandam suam calumniam adfert.—Alii scriptores non tribuunt proditionem Hibernis. [285] Peregre vitia sunt antea natura quam in Hiberniam feruntur.—Giraldus Hibernos perfidia arguit.—Collactaneorum erga alumnos amor et fides. [286] Hiberni fide inclyti.—Giraldus Hibernos perjurii accusat.—Illi testem non producenti non est credendum.—Godwini perjurium punitum.—Perjurii pœna in Hibernia rara.—Juramenti vinculum.. [287] Pœna perjurii, Quæ narrat Giraldus non sunt verosimilia.—Giraldus lectori non fidem sed fucum facit.—Veritas historiæ oculus.—Giraldus dentatis salibus Hibernos mordet. [288] Qui pertinaciter vitiis hærent conversi æque constanter virtuti affiguntur.—Conversi ad fidem Hiberni illius erant tenacissimi.—Hiberni non sunt inconstantes. Giraldus fraudulentiam Hibernis exprobat.—Hiberni simplices et aperti homines. [289] Dolus in bello licitus: Angli dolosi.—Dermicius Murchardidis flagitiosus. [290] Angli Hibernos se juvantes agris spoliarunt.—Angli prædones.—Fallere fallentem non est fraus.—Giraldus malitia Hibernos improperat.—Militiam Hibernorum timuit.—Hiberni tyrocinium belli in cunis ponunt.—Pueri etiam bellandi rudimenta docentur. [291] Hibernorum equitandi peritia: Giraldus sibi contrarius. [292] Hibernos rebellionis insimulat.—Hiberni non subditi; ergo non rebelles.—Hiberni hostes, Angli bellum regi moventes rebelles dicti.—Hiberni suas ditiones gubernabant.—Eorum quæ proxime dicta sunt, anacephaleosis seu ponderatio.—Populi nunc laudati nunc vituperati. [293] Consuetudinem patrum deseruit Giraldus.—Bis tantum Hibernos laudavit. Giraldus similis Pharisæis. [294] Vis veritatis.—Historici narrant vitia et virtutes gentium.—Fœdas Hibernorum mores e Cambrensi scriptores alii hauserunt.—Scriptores affectu obcæcati non vident veritatem. [295] Vituperia hostis pro laude reputantur.—Romanorum sævitia in Gallos.—Anglorum sævitia in Hibernos.

SOLENT venatores non recto tramite decurrere, sed feræ per avia, et devia errantis vestigiis assidui adhærere. Sic enatas è Giraldi dictis occasiones in varios, et dissitos flexus abeuntes, me per plura diverticula consectari, hactenus oportuit et abducentes è via comitari. Nunc orationem per semitas pridem divagantem ad cursum primo institutum revoco, et Giraldum ipsum adorior, nova in Hibernos convitia evomen-

CHAPTER XXIX.

GIRALDUS CHARGES THE IRISH FALSELY AND INVIDIOUSLY WITH BEING IMPATIENT, QUICK IN REVENGE, ABANDONED TO TREACHERY, PERFIDIOUS, PERJURED, FICKLE, CRAFTY, COWARDLY, WILY AND REBELLIOUS.

[283] What is impatience? Giraldus picks out slight crimes.—He must not be believed when he asserts that the Irish were more revengeful than other people.—The Irish race harmless. [284] Giraldus does not write like a historian: all comparisons odious.—The French defended from calumnies by their historians: he substantiates his calumnies by no proof.—The Irish not charged by other writers with treachery. [285] Vices come to full growth in other countries before they are imported into Ireland.—Love and fidelity of fosterers for their foster children. [286] The Irish famed for their fidelity.—Accused by Giraldus of perjury.—He must not be believed as he produces no witnesses —Godwin's perjury punished.—The punishment of perjury rarely necessary in Ireland.—The obligation of an oath. [287] Punishment of perjury.—Giraldus's stories not probable.—He deludes but does not persuade his readers.—Truth is the eye of history.—Giraldus assails the Irish with bitter sarcasms. [288] Persons obstinately attached to vice, cling, when converted, with equal tenacity to virtue.—When converted to the faith the Irish became most attached to it.—The Irish are not inconstant.—Accused by Giraldus of treachery.—They are simple and sincere. [289] Stratagem lawful in war.—The English are treacherous.—Crimes of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha. [290] The English deprived of their lands the Irish who assisted them.—English robbers.—There is no fraud in deceiving a deceiver.—Giraldus charges the Irish with malice.—He dreaded their martial prowess.—They were trained to war from their cradle.—Even little boys instructed in the art of war. [291] Skill of the Irish in horsemanship.—Giraldus contradicts himself. [292] The Irish in arms against the king are called enemies; the English, rebels.—The Irish lords of their own territories.—Reflexions or recapitulation of the facts now stated.—The same people at one time praised; at another censured. [293] Giraldus does not follow the example of the Fathers.—Twice only does he praise the Irish.—He is like the Pharisees. [294] The power of truth.—Historians record the virtues and vices of nations.—Other writers borrowed from Cambrensis the foul character which they ascribed to the Irish.—Writers blinded by prejudice do not see the truth. [295] The censures of an enemy are to be considered as praise.—Cruelty of the Romans to the Gauls.—Cruelty of the English to the Irish.

HUNTERS never take a straight road, but track their game through bye ways and pathless deserts. Even so, I was bound hitherto to follow through all their tortuous and varied windings the subjects broached by Giraldus, and to accompany him, though he often led me far from my track. But returning now from my digressions to my original plan, I encounter Giraldus himself, pouring out new calumnies against the

tem, et dicentem:[1] "Nationis hujus homines præ aliis gentibus impatientes, et præcipites ad vindictam esse." Impatientiam motum esse judico derepentè in animo exorientem, et in iræ initia prorumpentem, cujus ardorem superveniens ratio mox compescit. Hujusmodi autem impetu quando justissimum quemque ferri constat, ab eo, sicut nec universum genus humanum, sic nec nationem ullam, nec continuo meam eximo. Sed indefessam Giraldi sedulitatem in minutioribus quibusque Hibernorum vitiis lectori enucleandis, obtrudendis satis mirari non possum. Illum sane ad maledicta expeditum, ad obloquia fortem, et ad convitia promptum esse video, qui non historici sed accusatoris acerrimi partes adimplet, et criminationum congeriem in adversarium struens, minores culpas initio collocat, ut magnitudo scelerum se per gradus attollens, tandem orationem in immensum crescat.

Ille deinde Hibernorum impatientiam vindictâ excipi, non modicâ ullâ, sed nimis immoderata, et aliarum gentium ulsciscendi aviditatem longo intervallo præeunte narrat. Sanè cum Hibernos ultionis sumendæ studia ardere primus asserat: Sicut apud creditores tantum solummodo fidei quidam nanciscuntur, quantum pecuniæ in numerato habent, sic ejus in hac re dicta tantum fidei referent quantum laudati ab eo testes affirmabunt:[2] quos cum proferre prætermiserit, non gravate ferat fidem huic ejus pronuntiato denegari; quando leges testimonium ejus ratum esse vetent, qui alieno animo esse deprehenditur ab eo cujus agitur causa. Nullum autem vel acerbiorem Giraldo adversarium vel infestiorem hostem in Hibernos unquam insurrexisse perspicuum est, ut qui ansam omnem vel minimam obviis ulnis amplectitur de illorum fama (quæ bonis et vita longè charior est) detrahendi. Præterea ad eos fortunis et vita spoliandos consilium non obscurè confert, ubi docet, "Qualiter Hibernica gens sit expugnanda."[3] Proinde Giraldus is non est qui cum in tenebris micandum sit aut testibus et adstipulatoribus non præsentibus agendum.

Porrò locupletissimus scriptor venerabilis Beda Hibernos "gentem innoxiam" vocat. Qui autem innoxii esse possunt, si ultionis felle non leviter tincti sed altè imbuti sint ut vel hoc uno testimonio Giraldi assertionem everti videas. Primi alicujus novi et inauditi effati evulga-

[1] Topog. d. 2. c. 65. [2] Capite imprimis. Mascard. tom. 1. [3] Hibern. expug. l. 2. c. 36. 37.

Irish. "No people on the face of the earth," he says, "is so impatient and so quick to revenge as this nation." Impatience, as I understand the term, is a sudden emotion arising in the soul, with indications of incipient anger, repressed, however, immediately by the control of reason. Now, if the most perfect men are subject to such emotions, all mankind, every nation, and of course my own, must be liable to them. What indefatigable industry this man displays in exhibiting, in forcing on the attentions of his readers, all the little faults of the Irish! It really amazes me. A perfect master in vituperation, powerful in invective, never at a loss for a calumny, he is not a historian, but a virulent partizan, hurling all imaginable accusations against his adversary, and dexterously placing the minor charges in front, that the progressive magnitude of his accusations may open a boundless field for the influence of his rhetoric.

This accusation of impatience is followed by that "of revenge," not an ordinary but an immoderate revenge, a revenge immeasureably more fell than ever burned the heart of any other people. Now, as he has been the first who accused the Irish of revenge, and as some creditors never get more credit than their ready money can command, we cannot give him more credit than his authorities deserve, and as he cites no authorities, he must not be offended if we refuse to believe him: is it not a maxim sanctioned by law, that the evidence of an enemy is not valid against the accused? But Giraldus was the most virulent adversary, the most savage enemy of the people of Ireland, for he evidently embraced with all his heart every, even the least opportunity of blasting, with all his might, their good name, which, to virtuous men, is infinitely more valuable than either property or life. Nay, he openly proposes plans for depriving them both of property and life, when he suggests "how the Irish people may be conquered." Giraldus, therefore, evidently is not the man on whose authority we can rely in a disputed question, when he cannot produce either witnesses or corroboration of his own evidence.

The venerable Beda, a historian of unquestionable authority, says that the Irish people "were an innocent people." But how could they be innocent, if they were not merely infected but deeply impregnated with the fell spirit of revenge? Does not this single testimony utterly subvert the evidence of Giraldus? When men propound any new and

gatores plurium exemplorum exhibitione scita sua corroborare assueverunt. Cum vero Giraldus exemplum adhibitæ ab Hibernis vindictæ [284] nec semel produxerit, in hac eum | lite, causâ cadere necesse est. Prætereà non satis habuit asserere Hibernos vindictæ inferendæ addictissimos esse, nisi adjecisset in injuriis vindicandis palmam ab aliis gentibus eos retulisse. Ita iterum ex historicorum consessu ad oratorum et poëtarum greges non transire, sed transilire non dubitabat. Hi res persuasionis aut voluptatis ergo ultra veritatem paulo attollunt, aut infra quandoque demittunt. Illi rei gestæ narrationem exæquant, et cis, aut citrà veritatis fines ne latum quidem unguem ementienti aliqua superjectione adhibitâ divagantur. Nam rei narrandæ non exaggerandæ orationem accommodant, et rarò comparationibus utuntur. Omnis enim comparatio (ut vulgo dicitur) odiosa est: odium enim et invidiam plerumque constat.[5] Inter majores injurias quibus nostræ salutis assertorem Judæi affecerunt à Theologis illa refertur qua illum Barrabæ contulerunt et postposuerunt. Pauperem se fortassè quis dici æquè ferret, sed Iro pauperiorem iniquè, et ignobilem sed non Mediastino ignobiliorem; timidum non damâ timidiorem, insipientem non amente insipientiorem. Minus itaque molestè Hiberni paterentur se pro præcipitibus et propensis in vindictam haberi; si non Scythis truculentiores, Gelonis atrociores, Camadensibus immaniores esse tacitè sugillarentur: perindè ac hostibus cutem detraherent, ac cœnas Thyesticas instituerint. Gentem Hibernicam vulgi fabulam facere, in votis illi proculdubiò fuit. Et non secus ac cum summam alicui perfidiam exprobramus, Pœno perfidiorem, cum inhospitalitatem, Scytho inhospitaliorem, cum mendacium, Cretensi mendaciorem, cum vanitatem, Partho vaniorem, cum bibactitatem Thracibus bibaciorem, cum fastum, Sybarita fastuosiorem, cum stoliditatem, Arcade stollidiorem dicimus; sic ille proverbia novo adagio cumulare expetens, Hiberno ulciscentiorem eum dici velle videtur, qui summum ultionis appetendæ gradum attigit.[6] Simon du Pleix

[4] Lib. 4, c. 26. [5] Busæus meditatione 15, de passione. [6] Memoire des Gaules lib. 1, c. 11.

[a] Giraldus does chronicle some instances of Irish revenge: and it would be strange indeed if none such could be found, when even himself

singular assertion, they generally endeavour to sustain it by many examples? But as Giraldus has not produced a solitary example of this Irish "revenge,"[a] the verdict must evidently be against him. Not content with asserting that the Irish were very prone to revenge, he declares that no nation under the sun had so keen a sense of injuries or so great a propensity to revenge. But here, according to his custom, he deserts the standard of the historian, and takes his place among poets and orators, who exaggerate, or sometimes extenuate things for purposes either of pleasure or interest. But the historian adapts his language to the facts, and does not allow it to depart one hair's breadth to the right or to the left, by any false addition. His object is to narrate, not to exaggerate a fact, and he rarely uses comparisons. Comparisons, according to the proverb, are odious; they generally excite hatred and jealousy. One of the greatest injuries inflicted on the Author of our Salvation by the Jews was, according to our theologians, comparing and preferring Barabbas to him. A person may not be deeply offended if you say merely that he is poor, or low-born, or a coward, or a fool; but he will be offended if you say merely that he is poorer than Irus, baser than a slave, more cowardly than a deer, more foolish than a madman. It would, therefore, be less offensive to the Irish to be merely accused of impatience and quickness to revenge, than to be stigmatized as more cruel than the Scythians, more atrocious than the Gelones, more savage than the Candians, as if they flayed their enemies alive, and rivalled the banquet of Thyestes. The object of Giraldus evidently was to make the Irish nation a bye-word among the people; that as a very treacherous person is stigmatized as more treacherous than a Carthaginian, an inhospitable man as more inhospitable than a Scythian, a liar as more mendacious than a Cretan, a vain man as more vain than a Parthian, a drunkard as more drunk than a Thracian, a pompous fellow as more pompous than a Sybarite, a dunce as more stupid than an Arcadian; so a new adage might be added to the preceding, by stigmatizing the most malignant degree of revenge, as the

denounces the frightful rapacity, cruelty, and sacrilege of many of the invaders. To have meekly borne all these injuries would have required a nation of cowards or of saints.

Gallos ab omnibus fere scriptoribus peregrinis tam veteribus, quam recentibus leves, inconstantes, et perfidos appellari conqueritur; scriptorum tamen ille torrens eum à sua gente his maculis purgandâ non terruit. Et quis in unius importuni convitiatoris testimonio tantum inesse ponderis arbitrabitur, ut homines ullos ad calumniæ tam levi fulcro nixæ assentiendum attrahere possit?

Verum graviore adhuc maledicentiâ Giraldus Hibernos impetit dicens: "Præ omni alia gente," Hiberni "proditionibus semper insistunt."[7] Et alibi: "proditionis pestis sic invaluit, et quasi radices posuit, adeo in naturam converti prævaluit."[8] Cujus rei cum ne unum quidem testem, ac documentum exhibeat, neminem fore tam levem existimo, qui homini toties in narrationum veritate cespitanti, fidem adhibebit. Nec enim ejus dicta oracula sunt è trypode prolapsa, nec ipse tantæ authoritatis, ut tamquam alter Pythagoras quæ "αὐτὸς ἔφα," ipse dixit, citra controversiam omnino aporiam auferant. Nam homines non tàm authores in disceptando, quàm rationis momenta quærunt. Nec apud eos tantum opinio præjudicata potest, ut sine ratione valeat authoritas. Judices (ut ait Quintilianus) præsumentem partes suas inviti audiunt. Vesparum se imitatorem præbet, qui calumniæ aculeo infixo, se mox è conspectu proripit, ne ad convitii rationem promendam, aut palinodiam canendam adigeretur.

Qui scriptores Anglici post Cambrensem, moribus Hibernorum describendis operosissimè desudarunt, et nullam in iis vel levissimam maculam missam fecerunt, propensionem iis ad proditiones non exprobrarunt. Ut à veritate quam alienissimum sit proditionem in Hibernia vel radices vel sedes fixisse, aut eam Hiberniæ incolis innatam fuisse. Non enim Hiberni consuetudines semel imbibitas, et animis tam altè (ut hic vult) infixas levi negotio ponunt. Quod si proditio tam esset Hibernis (vivo Giraldo) familiaris, vestigia profectò illius aliqua in Hibernorum qui tum vixerant, longâ nepotum serie à morum Hibernicæ

[7] Topog. d. 3. c. 20. [8] Ibid. c. 24.

[b] If the Irish had been as free from these vices as our author maintains, the English would not have so easily acquired dominion in Ireland. The Irish annals of the period record too many examples of the violation of en-

revenge of an Irishman. Simon Du Pleix complains that almost all foreign writers, ancient and modern, describe the Gauls as fickle, inconstant, and treacherous, yet that host of authorities could not deter him from vindicating the fame of his countrymen against these charges. Who then can allow that the testimony of one inveterate calumniator has such weight as to induce any man to assent to an accusation resting on such contemptible authority.

But he directs a still more malignant shaft against the character of the Irish. "Beyond all other nations, they are at all times traitors;" and in another place, "the plague of treason is so inveterate, and has struck such deep roots, that it has been changed into a second nature." But as neither witness nor fact is adduced to substantiate this charge, I think no person can be foolish enough to believe a man whose multitudinous fictions have been already exposed.[b] His words are not like the oracles of the tripod, nor is he of such authority, that, with Pythagoras, his "αὐτὸς ἔφα," "ipse dixit," must be taken as conclusive. In controversies, it is not mere names but arguments that men look for, nor can prejudiced opinions have such influence with them as to dispense with argument. Judges (says Quinctilianus) are displeased when they hear a man prejudging his own cause. He is like a wasp, striking deep the sting of calumny, and then running away from our sight, lest he should be compelled either to recant, or to prove his accusation.

The English writers, subsequent to Cambrensis, who have given very detailed accounts of the character of the Irish, and never omitted to chronicle even their slightest failings, never charged them with this propensity to treachery.[c] So that it is a most flagrant falsehood to say treason had struck its roots or fixed its home in Ireland, or that it was natural to the inhabitants of Ireland. The Irish are very slow in abandoning habits once contracted, especially if they be deeply imbedded in national character, as Giraldus represents them; and if during his lifetime, treason had been so rife among the Irish, some traces of it

gagements and treaties made among the Irish princes themselves. Might was too often the only rule of right.

[c] They have been often accused of treachery, and never more vehemently than at the very time they were the victims of the blackest treachery, perpetrated by their accusers.

gentis accuratissimis observatoribus, et carptoribus deprehenderentur. [285] Fieri enim non potest ut à radice | illo veneno tinctâ ad propaginem contagio non emanaret. Quam maximè igitur à vero abhorret Hibernos eo vitio laborasse, ut in eo familiam non solum inter plures sed etiam "omnes" omnino gentes duxerint.

Nisi tædium ac nauseam lectori, mihique parere vererer, innumeras exterarum gentium proditiones ex ipsarum historiis erutas huc congerere possim, quarum collatione cum nostratium proditionibus factâ, in me recipio illius generis flagitia, vel à quacunque una gente patrata et numero et atrocitate Hibernorum proditiones longè supergressura. Nam quò remotius Hibernia in ultimos terrarum fines abacta est, eò tardius huc vitia migrarunt, quæ justam semper maturitatem alibi antè nacta, quam in Hibernia sata sunt. Siquidem vitiorum ignoratio tantum Hibernis innocentiæ, quantum aliis gentibus virtutum cognitio præceptionibus hausta probitatis comparavit. Peregrè semper prius pulli malitiæ excluduntur, quam in Hibernia ova ponuntur et adulta sunt alibi scelera priusquam apud nos vestigia figere incipiant. Cum exteri periti vitiorum artifices evadunt, tum demum eorum rudimenta Hiberni perdiscunt, ac in iis tyrones fiunt.

Nihilominus proditioni perfidiam Hibernos attexuisse Cambrensis affirmat dicens:[9] "fidem datam nemini servant, fidei et sacramenti religionem quam sibi observari volunt, aliis præstitam quotidiè violant; cum cautelas omnes sacramenti, obsidum, amicitiæ, beneficiorum adhibueris, tum primò timendum tibi." Quæ ad proditionis maculam Hibernis abstergendam adhibui, eorum pleraquè ad perfidiæ infamiam ab iisdem amovendam accommodari possunt. Prætereà non abnuerim, sicut quælibet regio non magis pro aëre aut terminis, quam suis moribus definitur; sic Hiberniæ peculiares quasdam morum fæces adhæsisse. Prorsus autem abnuo proditionis aut perfidiæ scelera tam crebrò ab Hibernis frequentata fuisse, ut indè nævus toti universim nationi affigi debeat. Quibus criminibus si se pauci (ut ubique gentium) subinde

[9] Topog. d. 3. c. 20.

[d] As a matter of course, engagements made between a dominant race and their subjects or resisting victims are often broken; and the blame of

would certainly be found in the long line of their descendants by those who scrutinized closely and maligned the national character of Ireland. If the root had been tainted with poison, the contagion would infallibly be propagated to the branches. It is, then, a flagrant falsehood, that the Irish were debased by this vice; they were not more treacherous than the generality of other nations, much less than all.

If I were not afraid to disgust and tire my reader and myself, I could produce from the histories of foreign nations, innumerable acts of treachery, which, if compared with the treachery of the Irish, would, I pledge myself, far surpass both in number and atrocity in any one nation, the blackest deeds ever perpetrated in Ireland. The more secluded Ireland is, lying on the verge of the world, the slower was the progress of the vices towards her; they had attained their full maturity in other countries before they were planted in Ireland. Ignorance of vice has secured for the Irish as much innocence as the knowledge of virtue imbibed from precepts has given to other nations. Vice is hatched and full fledged in foreign countries before the eggs are laid in Ireland: it is full grown abroad before it can walk in Ireland. Foreigners are accomplished adepts in iniquity when the Irish are mere tyros only learning the rudiments.

Yet Cambrensis asserts that the Irish were both treacherous and perfidious. "They keep faith with no man; the fidelity and sworn engagements which they expect others to keep to them, they themselves violate every day: when you have obtained all possible securities, oaths, hostages, friendships, grateful adherents, it is only then you are in real danger." The arguments already adduced by me to exculpate the Irish from the charge of treachery apply with equal force against this charge of perfidy. And, moreover, I am by no means inclined to deny that each country has its national moral characteristic as well as its peculiar climate and geographical features, and therefore the Irish have their own national faults. Treachery, however, I maintain, was not so common among the Irish as to justify the application of the stigma to the national character.[d] If, as happens in all countries, a few persons were

such violations will be thrown generally on the injured party, to justify the injuries inflicted on them.

contaminarint; iniquum est (ut ait Suidas) ex unius aut alterius perfidia toti genti perfidiæ, et impietatis notam inurere. Cæterum quam sanctè fidem Hiberni colant, in homogalactis seu collactaneis specimen habes qui alumnos matrum suarum uberibus pastos tanto amore prosequuntur, ut "nihil perfidiosum, et insidiosum,[10] nihil fallax in iis inventurus sit: quinetiam parati sunt offerre capita sua pro lacteorum fratrum ut appellant salute, periculis omnibus. Cestibus hominem contundas, æquuleo excrucies, ignitis laminis comburas, omnia exquisita supplicia vehemens feroxque tortor in illum expromas: tamen nunquam de insita mentis fidelitate deduces; nunquam ut officium prodat induces. Ita ut horum:

"Non cum fortuna stetque cadatque fides."

Ejusdem sententiæ verba Cambrensi vel invito exciderant dicenti:[11] Hibernos, "si quid habent amoris, et fidei alumnis et collactaneis habent." Memini quoque à Camdeno dici, alumnorum, et collactaneorum amorem in Hibernia omnes omnium charitates complecti.[12] Trium igitur testimoniis confirmatum habemus non unum aliquem privatum hominem, sed integrum hominum ordinem et illum quidem (si quis uspiam alius) numerosissimum nec unquam in Hibernia primum, sed quandoque mediocrem, plerumque humilem in fide servanda religiosissimum esse. Præterea scriptor vitæ S. Cadroæ dicit in Hibernia "moris esse, ut qui nobilium liberos nutriant,[13] deinceps non minus genitoribus ejus in omnibus auxilium exquirant." Ut vel hinc constet Hibernos in fide servandâ non esse hospites ac peregrinos. Et cum inferioris notæ homines fidei tenendæ sint observantissimi, quis eorum consuetudinem à cæteris arcebit? Quod si nationis cujusque mores usitatâ vulgi consuetudine metimur; cum in Hibernia multitudo etiam imperita fidem sanctè colat, perfidia genti universæ falsò ascribitur.

Sed ut Hibernorum fidem à scriptoribus etiam vetustis astrui cernas percurre tantisper sequentem vitæ S. Brigidæ prologum è Cassinensi [286] bibliotheca deprömptum: |

[10] Stanihur. l. 1. p. 149. [11] Topo. d. 3. 23. [12] In Elizab. [13] Apud Colganum, 6. Martii, cap. 10.

guilty of these crimes, it is unjust (as Suidas observes) to charge a whole nation with perfidy and impiety on account of the faults of a few. An admirable proof of Irish fidelity could be taken from that holy bond of union that has ever existed between the Irish fosterbrothers." So great is their affection for the child nursing on the breast of their own mother, that "they are never guilty of any treachery, or injury, or deception against it: nay, they are ready to lay down their lives for the sake of their foster brother, and to expose themselves to every danger. Beat them with clubs, tear them with the lash, burn them with red hot plates, inflict on them all the exquisite tortures that the most ferocious and savage ingenuity can devise, you never can shake the inborn fidelity of their soul, nor induce them to betray their duty. So that

"Their faith ne'er veers with fickle fortune's breath."

Cambrensis himself, even against his will, states the same fact substanstantially. "Whatever love," he says, "and fidelity the Irish have, they have towards their foster-children and foster-brothers." I remember, too, Camden asserts that in Ireland this attachment of foster-parents and foster-children was the most powerful and comprehensive feeling. Thus, on three different testimonies, it is evident that a whole class of men, not a few individuals, but a most numerous body, generally of the lower orders, sometimes of the middle, but never of the highest, were most devotedly faithful. The author of a life of St. Cadroe asserts "that in Ireland, the custom was that the foster-parents of the child of the noble had the same universal claim on its gratitude as the parents themselves." Does not this single fact prove that the Irish could not be so ignorant of or insensible to the virtue of fidelity? and if persons in the humblest rank in life were so tenacious of their fidelity, can the credit of that virtue be denied to the higher ranks? If the character of the mass of the people be the test of the national character, it is false to stigmatize Ireland as treacherous, while the mass even of her unlettered sons were religiously faithful to their engagements.

But to prove that the fidelity of the Irish was celebrated by ancient authors, we may refer to the following prologue to the life of St. Brighid, taken from the library of Monte Cassino:

"Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus,
Nomine, et antiquis Scotia dicta libris.[14]
Insula dives opum, gemmarum vestis et auri:
Commoda corporibus, aere, sole, solo.
Melle fluit, pulchris, et lacteis Scotia Campis,
Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; Sæva leonum
Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit.
Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba
Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu:
In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur
Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide."

Non igitur perfidia præditus seu potius præpeditus ille populus est, quem "inclytum fide" scriptores locupletes appellant.

Attamen non perfidia solum, sed et perjurio Hibernos inquinari Cambrensis author est, aiens:[15] "sub religionis et pacis obtentu ad sacrum aliquem locum conveniunt cum eo quem oppetere cupiunt; primo compaternitatis fœdera jungunt; deinde ter circa ecclesiam se invicem portant: postmodum ecclesiam intrant, ac coram altari reliquiis sanctorum appositis sacramentis multifarie præstitis, demum missæ celebratione, et orationibus sanctorum sacerdotum, tanquam dispensatione quadam indissolubiliter fœderantur: ad ultimum vero, ad majorem amicitiæ confirmationem, et quasi negotii consummationem, sanguinem sponte ad hoc fusum uterque alterius bibit. Hoc autem de ritu gentilium adhuc habent, qui sanguine in firmandis fœderibus uti solent. O quoties in ipso desponsationis hujus articulo à viris sanguinum, et dolosis, tam dolose, et inique funditur sanguis, ut alteruter penitus maneat exanguis." Sed sicut ab accusatore criminationes in adversarium prolatæ, nisi testium, aut alterius probationis firmamento nixæ judicem ad ullum condemnandum non adducunt: sic nudæ Cambrensis narrationi nisi

[14] Trias Thauma. p. 582. [15] Topog. d. 3. c. 22.

[e] It is a eulogy rather on their Christian faith, than on the virtue of fidelity.

[f] There are numerous examples of leagues of amity and of reconciliations effected between Irish princes swearing on relics before the altar, &c.; but the strange ceremonial described

"Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame
By nature blessed, and Scotia is her name,
Teeming with gems, and gold, and varied wealth;
Her soil, her air, her sky, exhaling health;
Her beauteous fields with milk and honey flow;
Her arts, and arms, and pomp no rival know.
The traveller fears not there the savage bear
Nor lion springing from his fatal lair;
No poisons there can kill, nor treacherous snakes:
No croaking frogs defile her placid lakes.
There dwell the Scots, a favoured race and free,
Renowned for faith, for peaceful arts and chivalry."

The Irish, therefore, so far from being tainted with perfidy, were entirely free from it, being "celebrated for their fidelity"[e] by eminent authorities.

But if we believe Cambrensis, perjury as well as perfidy was a national crime of the Irish. "Concealing," he says, "their hostile intentions under the guise of religion and peace, they appoint a meeting with their intended victim at some sacred place; then, their first act is to enter into the league of brotherhood with him: next they walk three times in procession around the church: afterwards, they enter the church, and there before the altar they swear many oaths on the relics of the saints:[f] mass is then celebrated; the priests of God pour forth their prayers, that the bonds of amity may last for ever. But to add a still stronger link to their union, and to give the finishing hand to the treaty, each draws some of his own blood, which the other immediately drinks. This custom still prevalent amongst them is a relic of the rites of the pagans who use blood in confirming their leagues. But, oh! in this very act of amity, how many crafty men, men of blood, shed blood so treacherously, so heinously, that one of the contracting parties loses all his blood." Charges urged by an accuser against an adversary are not admitted by the judge as evidence, if they be not confirmed by witnesses or other evidence, nor can we allow any authority to the mere assertions of Cambrensis, when he produces no proof. Had he written

here by Giraldus as accompanying such acts is not mentioned by any Irish authorities.

aliundè fides concilietur, fidem non adhibebimus: etenim si susceptum historici munus ritè adimplesset, pœnas de perjurio sumptas adjicere debuit. Nam eò plerumque scriptor historiæ spectat, ut è suppliciis de flagitio sumptis ad sceleris odium lectores alliciat.

Sicut historici perjurium Godwini Cantiorum comitis, sic etiam datas ab eo perjurii pœnas enarrant. Ille porrò filium suum Heraldum Edwardo regi Angliæ poculum porrigentem, et offenso pede propè lapsum, nisi altero se pede sustentaret conspicatus in risum effusus fratrem exclamavit auxilio fratri fuisse, alterum pedem alteri subvenisse innuens. Quam ejus vocem rex excipiens; sic (inquit) me meus frater juvisset, nisi è medio te curante sublatus fuisset. Si (Godwinus mox adjunxit) affinis fratris tui Alfredi cædi sum, hac panis buccella quam in os infero me strangulari numen oro ut permittat. Nec mora pane in faucibus hærente, repentina suffocatione cædis, et perjurii pœnas dedit. Quis etiam crederet Giraldum Hibernicæ gentis odio imflammatum, e tminores ejus nævos avidius evulgare consuetum, quicquid illi probro cederet, silentio præteriturum, ac pœnas perjuris Hibernis divinitus inflictas celaturum? Ego quidem facilè adducor ut credam ideò illum ab ultionibus quæ perjuria secutæ sunt enarrandis abstinuisse, quod in Hibernia raris aut nullis pœnis perjuria excepta fuisse accepisset. Ut non dubitem quan quàm fuerunt pejerationum animadversiones minus in Hiberniâ frequentes, tam fuerint ibidem perjuria inusitata: sicut enim, cum diem illuxisse videmus, solis ortum præcessisse compertum habemus; sic cum juramenti violationem ultione plecti cernimus, pejerationem ante ivisse judicamus. Illa dux est, hæc comes. Pejeratio enim nunquam sola incessit, quin ejus calcaneo mox sua pœna inhæserit.

Proindè juramenti religionem non modò lex divina veri Dei cultoribus; sed etiam natura, et ratio paganis inseruit; ut hinc Cicero dixerit: "Nullum vinculum ad astringendam fidem majores nostros jurejurando arctius esse voluisse."[16] Et Hesiodus. "Clades mortalibus unde adveniunt; quoties fallaci pectore jurant." Perjurium | enim omnem

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[16] Officiorum. 1.

[a] Irish annals contemporary with Giraldus record many instances of leagues solemnly confirmed by oaths on relics, &c. &c. in presence of the clergy, and speedily violated. That, however, was a period of great disorder and anarchy.

in the true spirit of the historian, he would have told what were the penalties against perjury. The historian generally makes it his business to inspire his readers with a hatred of vice by recording the punishments enacted against it.

The historians who relate the perjury of Godwin, earl of Kent, do not omit recording the punishment inflicted on him. His son Harold, while presenting the bowl to Edward king of England, happened to slip, and would have fallen to the ground, if he had not supported himself by the other leg. The father, bursting into a fit of laughter, exclaimed, "that one brother had helped another," meaning that one foot had assisted its fellow. The king, taking up the words, remarked, "and thus would my brother have aided me had he not been cut off by your machinations." "If I be guilty of the murder of your brother Alfred," exclaimed Godwin, "I pray God that this piece of bread I am putting in my mouth may choke me." Instantly the bread stuck in his throat and strangled him, and thus was he punished both for the murder and perjury. There cannot be a doubt that Giraldus, who hated the Irish so cordially, and greedily collected all the blemishes that could redound to their discredit, would not omit the punishment inflicted on Irish perjury by the Almighty, had they been really guilty. I am strongly inclined to believe that his reason for not recording the penalties against perjury in Ireland was that such penalties either were not in existence, or were but very few: and as the penalties against perjury were very rare in Ireland, I am confident the crime itself must have been almost unknown.[g] For, as when we have daylight, we know that the sun is risen, so when we find a person punished for the violation of an oath, we know that there must have been perjury. These two facts are inseparable; the former leads, the latter follows. Perjury never goes alone: its penalty always follows on it quickly.

The religious obligation of an oath is known not only to the true worshippers of God from the Divine law, but even to pagans themselves from reason and nature. "Our ancestors," says Cicero, "believed that of all the bonds of fidelity, the oath was the most stringent." "Whence," asks Hesiodus, "spring the woes of mortals? from swearing what they know is false." Perjury draws down utter ruin on families and tribes;

vastat stirpemque domumque sacris literis asserentibus fore ut "maledictio veniat ad domum jurantis in nomine meo mendaciter."[17] Sic Sauli perjurium cum Gabanitis, Sedechiæ cum Nabuchodonosore, Deus gravissime ultus est. Quid multis? innumera suppetunt exempla (quæ prolixitatis declinandæ causa proferre nunc supersedeo) per omnes omnium gentium historias sparsa, quibus evinci potest, vix cuipiam ex ore perjurium excidisse, qui non statim pœna mulctabatur. Etenim tam arcto inter se nexu copulantur perjurium et ultio: ut ubi alterum fuerit ibi alterum fuisse necesse sit; et qui locus altero caruerit, etiam altero carere oporteat. Non igitur ab Hibernis perjurium usitatum erat, quos affixum perjurio supplicium non affixit.

Reliquæ vero narrationis filum, maximam adulterationis similitudinem præ se fert. Quorsum enim fœdus icturi initium à pietate ductum tam execrando fine clauderent et in omnium oculis superstitionem cæde cumularent? Certè templum non est idoneus compotationi tam feræ ac sacrilegæ locus. Nec est credibile fœdus ineuntibus per "sanctos sacerdotes;" ut tam nefariæ mutui sanguinis propinationi indulgeretur licuisse. Tam atrox facinus scriptores profectò nostri non siluissent, qui multo leviora propalant et execrantur. Nec ejusmodi scelerum authores summi pontificis legatus in Hibernia tum assidue moratus, aut optimi episcopi ubique tum constituti, impunè illa ferri paterentur. Saltem illud Cassiliense concilium ad pravos Hibernorum mores abolendos, et ipsos bonis institutis imbuendos Henrici regis operâ indictum, tam detestandam superstitionem, et abominabile scelus latâ lege abrogarent. Nec accurati morum censores tam execrabiles ritus in ecclesiæ ac Reipub. visceribus hærere permitterent. Itaque his indiciis patere non frustra existimo quod non è veritatis, sed ex affectus (qui animum sæpe transversum agit) armamentario ista tela Cambrensis ad Hiberniæ gentis famam confodiendam deprompserit.

Nec minore invidiæ veneno sunt illita quæ in Hibernos tela deinde conjicit his verbis:[18] "Gens hæc est gens inconstans, gens varia, gens versipellis, et versuta, gens sola in instabilitate stabilis, sola in infideli-

[17] Zacha. 5. [18] Topog. d. 3. c. 24.

for it is declared in Sacred Scripture, " that a curse shall fall on the house of him who swears falsely in my name." Thus God punished most grievously Saul's perjury towards the Gabanites, and that of Sedechias towards Nabuchodonosor. But why more? if it would not carry me too far from my subject, innumerable examples could be produced from the history of all nations to prove that no man ever committed perjury without being almost instantly punished. So closely connected are perjury and its punishment, that where one is the other must be, and where one was not, the other could not be. Perjury, therefore, could not be common in Ireland, because in Ireland there was no legal penalty against perjury.

The other parts of his narrative bear upon them the strongest evidences of their falsehood. After commencing under the auspices of religion the arrangement of their treaty, why would they close it by so execrable an act as public superstitions and murder? Most certainly the church is not a suitable place for that savage and cannibal drinking of each others blood. It is impossible that men who used the ministry of "holy priests" in making their treaties, would be allowed to drink each others blood. Such an atrocious crime would not be omitted by our own historians, who detail and condemn much lighter enormities. Neither could it be tolerated by the pope's legate, who resided so constantly in Ireland during that time, nor by the many illustrious bishops who were ornaments of the church. But above all, assuredly this detestable superstition and abominable crime would have been suppressed by some canon of that famous synod of Caiseal which was summoned by king Henry II. for the express purpose of checking the moral disorders of Ireland and reforming her inhabitants according to the best principles. The zealous reformers of Irish immorality would not have tolerated the existence of such an execrable custom in church and state. These arguments, I hope I may say without presumption, clearly prove, that in this accusation against Irish character Giraldus was led not by facts, but by his own malignant feelings and fancy, which often drive the mind into the bye-ways of error.

The following charges against the Irish are conceived in the same fell spirit of poisonous jealousy. " This people," he says, " is an inconstant people, a fickle people, a crafty people, a cunning people, a

tate fidelis, hoc firmum servans quod nunquam firma, fidele hoc solum retinens quod nescit esse fidelis.[19] Est igitur magis timenda eorum ars quam mars, pax quam fax, mel quam fel, malitia quam militia, proditio quam expeditio, amicitia quam inimicitia. Hæc enim est eorum sententia: dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat." En ut ad inconstantiæ, fraudulentiæ, ignaviæque ignominiam Hibernis infigendam omnes ingenii nervos intendat, et non historicum sed oratorem agens, crebris repetitionibus, oratione sæpius ab eodem verbo ductâ luxuriet; Paranomasiarum conglobatione lasciviat, et è Rhetorum penu plura dicendi ornamenta adsciscat et congerat, historiæ vultum hac cerussa oblitriens, ut lectori non fidem, sed fucum faciat.[20] Nam ut ait Quintilianus: "Cura verborum derogat affectibus fidem, et ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videtur." Cum tamen historia veritatem pigmentis occultare dedignetur, quam si historiæ auferas, perinde facis, ac si pulcherrimo corpori oculum erueris. Nam historia nihil aliud est quam veritatis imago, et rerum gestarum veluti tabula, quæ in clarissima populi luce omnibus ad judicandum proponitur. Ut hinc Cæsar gravissimo Ciceronis testimonio historicos omnes superasse videatur. Etenim inquit: "Commentarios scripsit rerum suarum valdè quidem probandos:[21] nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detractâ." Consimilis est historia Xenophontis, et Thucididis, qui nulla orationi adhibent ornamenta. Consilium nempè Giraldi fuit ad assentiendum calumniis ab eo in Hibernos effusis lectorem orationis vel strepitu percellere, vel fascino delinire. Quot enim vocum allusiones adhibet? tot illusionum ejus in Hibernos monumenta extant, quibus mimum scurrilem illum agere, dentatis salibus, et sarcasmis tam impendio addictum constat; immemorem proverbii, qui ridet ridebitur, et ab altero speres quod alteri feceris. Cum probus historiæ scriptor veritatem nullis verborum ambagibus ac phaleris obvolvere

[19] Eadem. l. 2. Hib. expug. c. 1. et. 37. [20] Lib. 9. 3. 3. [21] Suetonius in Cæsarem. c. 36.

[h] A most faithful description of Giraldus's style of writing. Even on the most solemn subjects, and on those which most deeply interest his feelings

people constant in nothing but inconstancy; faithful in nothing but unfaithfulness; firm in one point alone, that they are firm in nothing; and true to this alone, that they know not how to be true. Hence their craft is more to be feared than their campaigns; their friendship than their ferocity; their honey than their gall; their malice than their martial array; their treachery than their expeditions; their alliance than their antipathy. Their maxim is: "when an enemy is before you, who makes a difference between valor and stratagem." Here he works up all the power of his soul to affix to Irish character the stigma of fickleness, treachery, and indolence; he lays aside the historian and acts the rhetorician, luxuriating in his repetitions, and anaphoras; revelling in paronomasia and ransacking the rich repository of rhetoric to provide himself with figures—[h] such is the meretricious ornament he would give to history, to deceive, not to convince his readers. "For," says Quinctilianus, "too much art in diction impairs the influence of the sentiment: wherever there is a vain parade of art, we are inclined to say there cannot be truth." History disdains to conceal truth under frivolous ornaments: history without truth is a beautiful body without an eye. History is a mirror of truth; a picture of facts, placing them in the clearest light before the comprehension of the people. In this respect, Cæsar seems, according to the great authority of Cicero, to have surpassed all historians. "His commentaries on his own achievements," says Cicero, "are very excellent: they are plain, direct, and graceful, dispensing with all the drapery of ornamental diction." The histories of Xenophon and Thucydides are of the stame stamp: they introduce no ornament into their compositions. The object of Giraldus was to imbue his readers with his own hatred of Ireland, either by the vehemence of his declamation, or the delusive fascinations of his style. All his verbal allusions are so many illusions brought into play against the Irish, lasting monuments of his own scurrilous buffoonery, and of his slavish indulgence in sarcasm and venemous vituperation. He forgot the maxim, "that he who derides, shall be derided, and that we must expect from others what we have done to others:" but an honest his-

he never can resist the temptation of some verbal jingle, mock antithesis, &c. &c.

[288] debuerit.[1] Rectè | Lucianus in præceptis historiæ scribendæ vult scriptorem liberum et incorruptum esse, qui rem ut gesta est narrans ficus ficus appellet, ligonem ligonem.

Itaque ut Giraldi consilio larvam abripiam: nititur ille pro viribus lectori probare Hibernos inconstantiâ incredibili, inusitatâ fraudulentiâ, et effeminata ignaviâ præditos esse. Quibus ego vitiis illos vacare his rationibus contendo. Ea quorundam est pertinacia, ut ad quamcunque opinionem velut tempestate delati sunt, ad eam tanquam ad scopulum adhærescant. Ab ea vero cum pluribus diceptationibus abducuntur, sicut errorem veritate, sic etiam pertinaciam constantiâ mutant. Ut quam obstinatè errori luto prius infixi fuerunt, veritatem jam edocti, tam firmiter illam amplectantur. Sic Divus Paulus Judaismi à majoribus traditi quam ardentissimo studio tenebatur; sed errore illi postea divinitus excusso, priorem ardorem simili expiavit, in laborum, et cruciatuum perpessione, pro fide Christiana ubique propagandâ. S. Augustinus in hæresis cœno sic immergebatur ut nisi divi Ambrosii singulari industriâ, indè non emerserit. Fides vero Catholica post ab eo semel imbibita pari tenacitate illius animo insedit. Hiberni autem falsæ patrum religioni adeò mordicus insistebant, ut non simili facilitate illis error innatus, ac aliis nationibus evelli potuerit. Nolebant enim rebus à S. Patricio ad credendum propositis assensum præstare, nisi oculis eas perciperent. Ita ut frustrà sermonem ille profuderit, nisi specimen aliquod eorum quæ asserebat jam tum facto edidisset, et pœnas à mortem obeuntibus perferendas, ac voluptates pro meritis percipiendas ipsis adhuc vivis visendas exhiberet. Quare mox ille assiduis à Deo precationibus impetravit, ut antrum in Hibernia (quod Purgatorium S. Patricii appellamus) subeuntibus cruciatus quibus rei torquentur, et gaudia quibus in cœlum relati fruuntur ob oculos ponantur. Cujus rei cum periculum plurimi fecissent, et experimento jam deprehendissent veritati conformia fuisse, quæ S. Patricius inculcavit, contumaciâ positâ quàm altè prior superstitio in eorum animos descen-

[1] There is not the least authority for this story in the older lives of St. Patrick. For some account of the "purgatory" mentioned here, see vol. i. p. 140, text and notes.

torian ought not to conceal the truth under tortuous verbiage and ornament. He ought to follow the sound advice of Lucianus on historical composition; the author must be independent and honest, stating facts as they are, calling a fig a fig, and a spade a spade.

But to expose briefly the covert object of Giraldus. All his efforts are directed to prove that the Irish were addicted to incredible fickleness, extraordinary treachery, and effeminate indolence. Against these charges I offer the following vindication. Such is the obstinacy of some persons, that they adhere to whatever opinion the tempest of passion may have driven them to, as the shipwrecked mariner does to the rock. But when they have been induced by sustained arguments to renounce their opinions, what was obstinacy in error becomes constancy in defence of truth. When they are convinced of the truth, they adhere to it with tenacity as great as the obstinacy which they evinced in defence of error. Thus St. Paul was a most zealous champion of that Judaism which he had imbibed from his fathers; but when the miraculous interposition of God emancipated him from his error, he expiated his former zeal by equal zeal in the better cause, exposing himself to labors and tortures in propagating the Christian faith. St. Augustinus was so deeply immersed in the slough of heresy, that nothing but the admirable prudence of St. Ambrosius could have liberated him, but when he was convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith, it took an equally powerful hold of his mind. The Irish also were so devotedly attached to the false religion of their fathers, that they could not be induced to renounce it with as much facility as other nations. They refused to believe what was announced to them by St. Patrick, if they had not the testimony of their of own eyes. His preaching would have been useless, had he not given one palpable proof of his doctrines, by exhibiting to them, even during life, the punishments inflicted on men after death, and the rewards which were to crown the merits of good men. He accordingly obtained, by incessant prayer to God, that all who entered a certain cave in Ireland (now called St. Patrick's Purgatory), should see with their eyes the future torments of the guilty and the joys reserved for the blessed in heaven.[1] Several persons having ventured to test these truths, and ascertained by experience that St. Patrick's doctrine was true, the nation utterly renounced

derat, eâ radicitus evulsâ, tàm profundas radices in eorum mentibus vera religio egit. Adeò ut postea nullâ unquam corporum excruciatione, nulla bonorum direptione, nulla sanguinis profusione, ab illâ deduci potuerint.[22] Ac proinde à scriptoribus "Hibernia fidei Catholicæ tenacissima esse, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem excellere,[23] omnibus vicinis gentibus fide præpollere prædicetur."[24] Imo inquit Guillelmus Brutius Scotus: "Hibernia non minus ab hæreticis quam Hungaria à Turcis afflicta provincia pro singulari Catholicæ religionis studio, quo gens ista præ cæteris fere omnibus est laudanda." Ut Giraldus inconstantiæ ac instabilitatis Hibernos insimulans, calumniam in eos à se cudi perspiciat:[25] à quâ vel consuetudinum à progenitoribus olim usurpatarum, in vestitu, et cæteris rebus continua defensio illos vindicabit. Joannes Apostolus dixit: "Qui non diligit fratrem suum quem videt, Deum quem non videt, quomodo potest diligere?" Perinde ac si diceret, homo non amat fratrem quem videt, non igitur Deum, quem non videt amabit. Unde cum contraria contrariorum sint consequentia, hoc ego argumentum efformo:[26] Hiberni in fide erga Deum quem non vident retinendâ constantissimi sunt, in homines ergo quos vident, perquam constantes esse non desinunt. Quare in Hibernos frendat licet et fremet Giraldus, inconstantia non cadit.

Cæterum ut catenata foret Giraldi de Hibernorum flagitiis narratio, et nihil omitteret quod eorum famæ fraudi fore putaret, fraudes ab illis, dolosque texi solitos esse memorat. Quos tamen testis illo longe locupletior S. Laurentius Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus morti vicinus,[27] "Populum insipientem, et stultum" appellat. Qua cygnea voce cives suos vindicavit simplices et apertos homines, ac vere Israëlitas esse, in quibus dolus non est. Nimirum populares suos, quos etiam cura, et sollicitudine utpote legatus Apostolicus Hiberniæ, complexus est, intus et in cute novit. Ut veritas à cive, archiepiscopo, et legato, et ultimum [289] emittente spiritum, et jam in divos | relato prolata exploratior multo sit

[22] Baroni. an. 1053. [23] Sur. 21. [24] Novemb. Flodoard in vita S. Helani. [25] De Bello adversus Turcas gerendo, p. 31. [26] 1 Epistol. c. 4. [27] Vitæ c. 33.

[k] The words of St. Lorcan were rather expressions of ardent affection for his countrymen than a panegyric on their virtues. He pitied them,

the superstition to which it had formerly clung with such obstinacy, and adopted with equal devotedness the truths of the Christian religion. So deeply did it strike root in their hearts, that no bodily tortures, no plunder of their property, no form of death could eradicate it. Hence writers have declared "that Ireland is most tenacious of the Christian faith; that in faith she is eminent above all neighbouring nations; that no country near her equals her in faith." William Bruce, a Scotchman, even says "that the singular attachment of Ireland to the Catholic faith, an attachment which is the peculiar glory of that people, has drawn down upon them as great persecutions from the heretics as Hungary ever suffered from the Turks." Giraldus must have known that his charge of fickleness and inconstancy was a calumny, against which the well-known adherence of the Irish to the dress and other manners and customs of their ancestors will always be a triumphant vindication. The apostle St. John says, "He that loveth not his brother, whom he doth see, how can he love God, whom he doth not see?" meaning, a man does not love his brother whom he sees, and therefore cannot love God whom he does not see. And as contraries follow from contraries, I make this argument. The Irish were most constant in their fidelity to God, whom they did not see; therefore they must be very faithful to men whom they do see. However Giraldus may fret and foam, he cannot convict the Irish of inconstancy.

To omit no link in the serried array of calumnies against Ireland Giraldus states that fraud and treachery were constantly practised in it. But a far higher authority, St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, declared, on his death bed, "that the Irish were a simple and foolish people," indicating by these his last words that his fellow countrymen were candid and innocent men, and true Israelites in whom there was no guile.[k] The saint, as apostolical legate, had long watched with pastoral care and solicitude over his countrymen, and was thoroughly acquainted with their character. His evidence, the evidence of a native, an archbishop, an apostolical legate, on his death bed, and now a ca-

seeing them unable to cope with their invaders, either in arms or diplomacy, by union among themselves.

quam invidiosi alienigenæ calumnia; qui fraudulentias in factis non deprehendens, eas in dictis venatur; cum crebris Hibernorum sermonibus usurpatum esse dicat hemystichium illud Virgilianum: "dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat:" Quibus verbis recte perceptis laudem inesse non culpam, et homines naturæ tantum luce perfusi docuerunt et viri divino nomine afflati pronuntiarunt; et utrique factis comprobarunt.[28] Thucydides ait: "Illa belli furta pulcherrimam laudem habere, per quæ hostes maximè decipiuntur, et amici plurimum juvantur." Quibus addit Polybius: "facinorum militarium esse minoris laudis et momenti,[29] quæ propalam, et per vim parantur, his quæ ex occasione et per dolum."[30] Quod Xenophon confirmat nihil dolis in bello utilius esse dicens: his Silius assentitur hoc carmine:

"Bellandum est astu, levior laus in duce dextra."

Hinc Spartani majorem victimam ab eo immolandam esse statuerunt qui dolo, quam qui aperto marte rem confecisset.[31] "Digniorem enim, magisque convenientem homini actionem ratione et mente institutam, quam illam quæ per vim et robur." Ammianus dixit: "nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus."[32] Principum sciscitationes Jeremias elusit: et Josue fugam præ se ferens Haiæ cives in insidias allexit, et perdidit.[33] Unde "admonemur" (inquit S. Augustinus) "cum justum bellum suscipitur,[34] utrum apertâ pugnâ, utrum insidiis vincat quis, nihil ad justitiam interesse." Et S. Hieronymus: "quamdiu non jures et pactum non ineas sub nomine Dei, prudentia est, et fortitudinis vel decipere, vel fraudare adversarium." Imo S. Chrysostomus ait:[35] maximè laudari Imperatores, qui fraude victoriam quæsiissent; eadem est sententia D. Thomæ, reliquorumque doctorum. Quorum torrenti Giraldus frustra solus obnititur. Tot enim pugilum in theologiæ palestrâ contra decertantium impetu prosterni eum necesse est. Nemo enim usque adeò viribus excellit, ut

[28] Lib. 5. [29] Lib. 9. [30] In Cyro, lib. 5. [31] Plutarchus in Marcello. [32] Cap. 18. [33] Cap. 8. [34] Quæst. 10, in Joannem. [35] De sacerdotio, 22, q. 4, ar. 3.

nonized saint, is better authority than a jealous and calumnious foreigner, who, in default of facts to substantiate his charge, has recourse to words, and accuses the Irish of having ever on their lips the hemistich of Virgilius, "What is the difference in war between force and stratagem?" These words, however, if understood in their true sense, are not wicked. Their truth was made known to men by the mere light of reason; it was declared by men under the inspiration of God; it has been acted upon by both. "Those stratagems in war," says Thucydides, "deserve the highest credit, by which the enemy is most effectually deceived, and our friends most effectually aided." Polybius also writes: "Triumphs acquired in war openly and by force are less praiseworthy and useful than those which are acquired by surprise and stratagem." Xenophon also gives it as his opinion that nothing is more useful in war than stratagem. Silius's words are to the same effect:—

"Use craft in war: 'tis better than brute force."

Hence the Spartans were bound to offer a more valuable sacrifice for a victory obtained by stratagem than for one obtained by force, "because an action planned and effected by reason is more noble and more suitable to the dignity of man, than one which is effected merely by strength and animal force." Ammianus also says, "that all triumphs in war, whether acquired by valor or stratagem, are equally deserving of commendation." Jeremiah eluded the interrogatories of the princes, and Joshua, by a pretended flight, drew the citizens of Haia into an ambuscade and overthrew them. "By this," says St. Augustinus, "we are taught that in a just war, it is no violation of justice to conquer by stratagem, no more than in the open field." St. Hieronymus also says, "that provided you do not swear nor make any covenant in the name of God, it is both prudent and brave to deceive or blind your enemy." St. Chrysostomus says, "that no emperors are more extolled than those who gained victories by stratagem:" and St. Thomas and all other doctors teach the same opinion. Giraldus alone opposes this torrent of authorities, but to no purpose; for, as no one man can resist single-handed a great multitude, he must be borne down by the combined

unus pluribus par esse possit. Ne Hercules quidem (ut est in proverbio) adversus duos: et unus vir nullus vir. Sed ad dolum Hibernis affingendum ipse dolos adhibet, stratagemata ab illis usurpata dolos esse interpretatus, nihil pensi habens vocum significationibus abuti, modò Hibernis in probrum redundet, more calumniantium qui quæ virtutes in æmulo nitent, eas pro nævis venditant, et hostis cunctationem pro timiditate, repentinos impetus pro temeritate deprædicent. Perpendisse debuit à se uno perfidiæ ac doli dicam Hibernis impingi, et plurium consensionem iisdem maculis Anglos inurere. Quorum mores cum Hiberni assidua consuetudine accuratius observarent, hoc quod subjicio carmine tanquam vulgari gentis proverbio expresserunt:

"Na déin commaoin re faar Galda, ma nir, ni féirde dhuit.
Beidh choidhe ar tidh do mhealta commaoin an fhir Ghalda riot."[1]

Id est:

"Fœdere amicitiæ tibi ne conjunxeris Anglum,
Angli te semper fallet amicitia."

Præterea legi in historiarum Galliæ compendio, anno Dom. 1639 Anglicè Londini edito, cum Angliæ legatus suorum encomia enumerans Anglos sicut vocis sono, sic etiam candore morum ab Angelis parum abesse diceret, à Philippo rege pro responso hæc carmina retulisse:

"Anglicus Angelus est, cui nunquam credere fas est,
Cum tibi dicit ave, sicut ab hoste cave."

Ut hinc quis ediscat Hibernorum an Anglorum "amicitia magis quam inimicitia timenda sit." Quando unus tantum testis qui in jure perindè est ac nullus, Hibernos una vero populosæ gentis vox, et regis integerrimi suffragium Anglos de perfidiâ et fraudulentiâ insimulat; quâ vero

[1] It would be neither agreeable nor useful to collect from Irish annals a confirmation of the character ascribed in these popular lines to the English:

assault of so many champions in the field of theology. "Hercules himself," as the proverb goes, "could not withstand two." One man is no man. But in accusing the Irish of treachery, Giraldus himself is treacherous, by stigmatizing the stratagems used by the Irish as treachery. He never hesitates to sacrifice propriety of language, provided he can point a calumny against the Irish, like those jealous detractors who stigmatize the virtues of a rival as faults, and call the slow operations of an enemy cowardice, and his sudden onsets rashness. Giraldus ought to have reflected that he is the only person who charges the Irish with treachery, while very many authorities are unanimous in that charge against the English. The Irish, who by long intercourse had an intimate acquaintance with their character, expressed their opinion in the following lines,[1] which have become a proverb in Ireland:

> "With one of English race no friendship make,
> Should'st thou destruction will thee overtake:
> He'll lie in wait to ruin thee when he can;
> Such is the friendship of an Englishman."
>
> *Hardiman's Hist. Galway, p.* 68.

Or:

> "Friendship's bonds ne'er form with the English,
> The friendship of England will always betray."

I read also, in an English abridgment of the History of France, published at London in 1639, that when the English ambassador was boasting that his countrymen, by the purity of their morals, were as like angels in nature as in name, king Philip immediately answered with the following lines:—

> "The English are angels whom you ne'er can believe;
> When they treat you most kindly, they mean to deceive."

From this we may easily conclude whether it be not more true of the English than of the Irish, that their friendship is more dangerous than their hostility. One witness only (and in law one is no witness), is evidence against the Irish, but the voice of a populous nation and of an

deeds of hideous treachery and cruelty perpetrated on the natives are frequently recorded in the sixteenth century.

de causâ sententiam ejusmodi de Anglis rex Galliæ tulerit modo non scrutor. Est autem tàm certum quàm quod certissimum Hibernos Anglorum perfidiam ac fraudes sæpe sæpius expertos fuisse. Hi enim initium Hiberniæ bello infestandæ à perfidia duxerunt,[36] cum opem Dermicio Murchardide regi Lageniæ homini mortalium perfidissimo armis tulerunt. Nam "ille ab ineunte ætate, regnique sui novitate, nobilitatis oppressor existens, in terræ suæ magnates gravi, et intolera-[290] bili | tyrannide sæviebat."[37] Et rursus, "timeri à cunctis quam diligi malens, nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis, manus omnium contra ipsum, et ipse contrarius omni."[38] Qui pacta pacis cum Rotherico initæ juramento etiam confirmavit, à quo postea resiliens,[39] potestatem suam exiguis Lageniæ finibus contractam esse molestè ferens, totius Hiberniæ dominationi justo avidius inhiavit, in quo consilio peragendo perjuri hominis audaciæ Angli se sedulò administros ac satellites præbuerat.

Itaque cum Angli sceleris authori societate se facinoris adjunxerunt, non video qua ratione à perjurii ac perfidiæ ignominiâ quam ille contraxit, hi sejungi valeant:[40] quandoquidem juris regula sit, ut "Principalis naturam accessorium sequatur." Nonnè summa illa perfidia est quâ se tum Angli fœdarunt, "cum terras Hiberniensium qui à primis tam Stephanide, quam comitis adventibus cum ipsis fideliter steterant suis contra promissa contulerunt?"[41] Ita etiam è Cambrensi deprompta, perfidiam Anglorum plurimum urgent. "Stephanides" (inquit) "et comes à prædonum injuria quoad Lageniam longe distare noscuntur.[42] Quoad Waterfordiam verò et tam Desmoniæ quam Mediæ partes insolenter occupatas comitem non excuso." Prætorea "Saxonum gentem perfidam" vocat Harpsfeldius.[43] Et Anglos Scaliger pater dicit esse "perfidos, inflatos, feros, stolidos, amentes, inertes, inhospitales, inanes." Ut Anglos nulla injuriâ Hiberni affecisse videantur, si laqueis quos ipsi tendebant eos irretierint. Nam fallere fallentem non est fraus.[44] Et "frustra fidem sibi postulat servari ab eo cui fidem à se præstitam servare recusat."[45] Certè si aliquibus fraudum artibus im-

[36] Cambrensi. Hibern. Exp. lib. 1, c. 1. [37] Ibid. c. 6. [38] Ibid. c. 10. [39] Ibid, c. 13. [40] Regula 138, in sexto et 24. [41] Hiberniæ expug. lib. 2, c. 35. [42] Ibid. c. 32. [43] Seculo. 7, c. 1. [44] Poeti. lib. 3, c. 16. [45] Dom Pinus in 3, Reg. 75.

honorable king accuse the English of perfidy and fraud; for the present I forbear examining the grounds on which the king of France rested his accusation. But it is an unquestionable fact that the Irish were often made the victims of English perfidy and fraud. Their first war against Ireland was engendered in perfidy, when they flew to the assistance of Diarmaid MacMurchadha, king of Leinster, the most perfidious of wretches. "From his earliest years, and the day he ascended the throne, he oppressed his nobles, and was guilty of atrocious and intolerable tyranny against the great men of his kingdom." And again, "preferring to be an object of universal hatred, rather than of love to his people, an oppressor of his nobles, a patron of upstarts, a curse to his own and a loathing to foreigners, he had his hand against all, and all hands against him." He made a treaty of peace with Ruaidhri, and confirmed it with an oath, but afterwards violated it, and not content with the narrow limits of his kingdom of Leinster, he aspired even to the chief monarchy of Ireland. That nefarious project of the perjured wretch was warmly seconded by his English supporters and satellites.

The English, therefore, having been accomplices with the principal in this crime, I do not see how they can be exculpated from the ignominy of perfidy and perjury; for it is an axiom of law, that "the accessory follows the fate of the principal." Could any perfidy be greater than the perfidy of those English, "who, in violation of treaty, conferred on their own countrymen the lands of the Irish, who had faithfully adhered to Fitzstephen and the earl, from their first landing in Ireland." Do not these facts, which are chronicled by Cambrensis himself, affix the brand of perjury on the English? "It is notorious," he says, "that in the occupation of Leinster, neither Fitzstephen nor the earl can be at all accused of robbery; but I will not defend the earl's audacious occupation of Waterford and parts of Desmond and Meath." Harpsfeld calls the Saxons "a perfidious race." Scaliger the elder, "describes the English as treacherous, proud, savage, stupid, mad, sluggish, inhospitable, and trifling." The Irish, it would appear, therefore, were not guilty of injustice in using English arts against Englishmen. It is no treachery to deceive a deceiver. "A man has no right to require fidelity from him to whom he will not keep faith." From the testimony of Giraldus himself, it appears that whatever fraud

buebantur Hiberni, ab Anglis illas hauriebant,[46] ipso Cambrensi fatente: Hibernos "Martiis tam insidiis quam cautelis per mutuos, et crebros cum Anglis conflictus, et successus plurimos instructos fuisse." Debuit igitur Giraldus meminisse quod loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

Nihilo tamen minus convitia in Hibernos evomere Giraldus pergit, quos non solum dolis, et perfidiâ, sed etiam malitia fœdatos esse contendit, novam vocem, sed non novum crimen proferens dicit enim: "Eorum malitiam magis esse timendam, quam militiam." Ut pro varietate nominis, numerus etiam criminum major appareret. Verum quando ea quæ ad fraudes ab Hibernis amovendas antea protuli ad malitiam quæ nunc iis exprobratur reprimendam accommodari possint, ab ea crambe amplius recoquenda me temperabo.

Illud autem satis mirari non possum, cur militiam eorum despicatu habeat, quasi Martiæ indolis expertes eos esse calumniaretur, quibus incunabula ferrum est? Utpotè qui in ipsis cunis, cibis parentum mucrone porrectis enutriti, militiæ quasi tyrocinium posuerunt, quibusque nondum è pueritia egressis flectere ludus equos, et spicula figere dextra.[47] Scribit Froissardus fastigio ingentis conti in late patente campo fixi scutum adhæsisse,[48] quod nobiliores pueruli septennium adhuc non supergressi levibus jaculis, teneriori eorum ætatulæ magis accommodatis assidue petebant, quorum quò plura in ejaculatione frangebant, eo majorem laureolam referebant.[49] Palmam in hac palestra reportantes equitum titulo insigniebantur. Ut stultitiæ sit illi genti militiæ ignorantiam improperare, cujus rudior ætas militandi rudimentis assuescit, pusiones armorum exercitatione capiuntur, adolescentes bello gerendo consuetudine ac usu adaptantur. Quid de adultis dicam? qui asserente Froissardo tanta pernicitate præditi sunt, ut quemvis incitatissimum equi cursum velocitate adæquent, et in equos celerrimè pro-

[46] Juris can. Hibern. lib. 2, c. 33. [47] Solin. c. 25. [48] Tomo. 4, c. 63. [49] Vide Warreum De antiq. c. 19.

[m] This like many other arguments of our author appears inconclusive. Froissart, whose testimony he produces, lived some centuries after Giraldus, and merely attests what he saw in his own time. The Irish, in

the Irish used against the English was learned from the English. "The Irish," he says, "by their constant and repeated conflicts with the English, and several victories, soon became proficients in all the stratagems and arts of war." Giraldus ought to have remembered that it is only a white man that can ridicule an Ethiopian, and a straight man a cripple.

But nothing can arrest the torrent of Cambrensis's invectives against the Irish. After charging them with perfidy and treachery, he adds an additional epithet, but not an additional crime. "Their wicked craft," he says, "is more to be feared than their war." This is a mere repetition of the same charge in different words, to give a more exaggerated estimate of Irish crime. But as the arguments already adduced to vindicate the Irish against the charge of treachery may be applied to this charge of wicked craft, I abstain from returning over the same beaten track.

But it really amazes me, that he speaks so contemptuously of the martial genius of the Irish. Does he mean to accuse of cowardice men who were cradled in war? who received their first nourishment from the point of their father's sword, and who, before the days of boyhood were passed, were able to manage the fiery courser in the race and to hurl the lance. Froissart relates, that a shield was set up on the top of a high pole in the centre of an extensive plain, and that all the young nobles under seven years of age were provided with light javelins suited to their tender age, which they were ordered to hurl against the shield. This was a constant exercise, and the greater number of javelins the young knights broke, the laurels of victory were in proportion. The conquerors in this martial exercise were raised to the order of knighthood. Is it not an excess of folly to charge with ignorance of war a people, whose children were trained in the rudiments of war, whose boys were inured to martial exercises, and whose youths were actually engaged in the field.[m] But what shall I say of their young men? they ran with such extraordinary speed, according to

the lapse of centuries, may have borrowed some of their martial institutions from the English settlers; especially the Leinster Irish to whom Froissart particularly refers.

gredientes, pone fessorem derepentè insiliant, et sessorem quam arctissimè complectantur:[50] eorum enim brachiis maximum robur et strenuitas inest. Ita ille. A vetusto scriptore quem Usherus producit non longe abiens, dicente:[51] quod Hiberniæ "populus magnus est sicut gigantes, proceræ homines staturæ et fortissimi, peritissimique jaculandi sagittas atque strenuissimi milites in bello." Goodi (iniquissimi alioquin Hibernorum censoris) hæc sunt verba: "In universum gens"[52] Hibernica "corpore valida et imprimis agilis animo forti et elato ingenio acri, bellicoso, vitæ prodiga, laboris, frigoris, et inediæ patiens." His con-
[291] formia Spenserus | scribit dicens; Hibernos strenuos et audaces esse, ac plerumque frigus, labores, famem, cæterasque ærumnas fortiter ferre, agiles, manu fortes, pernicissimos, vigilantissimos, in molitionibus circumspectissimos, in periculis erectos, et maximos esse mortis contemptores. Additque postea Hibernos ad militiam peregre profectos, et ad catapultas hastasve torquendas adhibitos, tam egregios milites evadere ac quamcunque aliam nationem, qua cum illis consuetudinem intercedere contigerit. Et alibi de Hibernorum equitandi peritiâ sermonem instituens:[53] magnos bellatores, inquit, dicentes audivi in exteris se regionibus nullibi magis comptum ac decorum equitem quàm Hibernum vidisse, aut magis egregie ad imperata facienda progredientem. Ejus veró in equum ascendendi modus inconcinnus omnino non est, licet ephippiariis subicibus non innitatur, imo magis expeditus quam si ejusmodi subicum ope in equum efferretur,[54] dum enim ascendit, equus progreditur, et in itinere ipse pergit, proinde ephippioriæ istæ scandulæ per irrisionem nomen Anglicum stirup quasi stir up, id est tollere sive tollitur, sursum aut te sursum effer, quod per eas, quasi per gradus quosdam in equum ascensio fieret.

Nec aliud potest esse luculentius de Hibernorum[55] militandi peritia quam ipsius Giraldi testimonium qui dicit; "Tribus eos armorum generibus uti, lanceis longis, jaculis binis, et securibus optime chalybatis. Una tantum manu, et non ambabus in securi percutiunt, pollice desuper manubrium in longum extenso ictumque regente, à quo non galea caput in collum erecta, nec reliquum ferrea loricæ tricatura tuetur.

[50] Pag. 726. [51] Apud Camden, p. 789. [52] Pag, 49, in M.S. mea. [53] Ibidem. [54] Ibidem, p. 48. [55] Topo. d. 3, c. 10.

Froissart, "that they kept pace with the swiftest horse, and would suddenly bound up behind the rider while the horse was at full speed, and clutch the rider in their arms with powerful strength. There is wonderful strength and vigor in their arms." This account of Froissart is the same substantially as that given by Ussher from an ancient writer. "The inhabitants of Ireland," he says, "are large as giants, men of tall stature and powerful frame, very expert in the use of the bow, and the bravest soldiers in war." Good, though a malignant enemy of the Irish, says "that all the Irish in body are strong and very active, of high and daring spirit, of martial and energetic temper—prodigal of life, and patient in labor, hunger, and cold." Spenser gives the same opinion: "Yet, sure they are very valiant and hardy; for the most part great endurers of cold, labor, hunger, and all hardiness; very active and strong of hand; very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises; very present in perils; very great scorners of death." He afterwards adds, "that when the Irishman cometh to experience of service abroad, or is put to a piece or a pike, he maketh as worthy a soldier as any nation he meeteth with." And in another place speaking of the skilful horsemanship of the Irish, he states: "I have heard some great warriors say, that in all the services which they had seen abroad in foreign countries, they never seen a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemly, though he lack stirrups, but more ready than with stirrups; for in his getting up his horse is still going, whereby he gaineth way; and therefore the stirrup was so called in scorn, as it were, 'a stay to get up,' being derived of the old English word sty (sic), which is to get up or mount."

The testimony of Giraldus himself is most decisive for the military skill of the Irish. "They use," he says, "three kinds of arms, long lances, two javelins, and battle axes of the finest tempered steel. They use one hand only in wielding the axe; the thumb is fixed along the upper part of the handle, and directs the blow with such precision that the helmet towering over the neck cannot protect the head, nor a coat of chain armor the rest of the body, against the blow. In my own day, it has happened that a knight's thigh, closely encased in its double iron

Unde et in nostris contigit temporibus, totam militis coxam ferro utrinque fideliter vestitam, uno securis ictu præcisam fuisse, ex uno parte equi coxa cum tibia, ex altera vero corpore cadente moribundo. Lapides quoque pugillares, cum alia defecerint, hostibus in conflictu damnosissimos, præ alia gente promptius, et expeditius ad manum habent." Ut Hibernorum secures ingentem sæpe terrorem Anglis incussisse vel hinc perspicere liceat, quod Giraldus crebro exclamet, "ab eorum securibus nullam esse securitatem."[56] Ergo nostrorum sequitur de vulnere sanguis, "Qui lapidum ictibus graves et armatos cominus appetere solebant, et indemnes agitatis beneficio crebris accedere vicibus, et abscedere." Necnon etiam "crebros cum Anglis belli conflictus, et plurimos successus habere."[57] Victoriis, et cladibus ab hac et illa parte vicissim alternantibus.[58] Multum decantatus ille à Giraldo athleta Joannes Curcius secundis præliis vix pluries quam adversis usus est.[59] Nec adeo felici Marte semper decertavit, quin subinde profligatus ægre sibi fugâ salutem pepererit.

Sane gentem Hibernicam Solinus "bellicosam" appellat.[60] Et Jovius: "omnem sudorem præter bellicum effugere ait:" Cassaneus etiam "bello aptissimam membrisque robustis" esse asserit. Quid multis? nullus unquam scriptor Hibernis tam infestus fuit, qui bellandi laudem illis detraxit. Ut plura argumenta proferre quibus eos bellandi gloriâ inclaruisse constet, perinde sit ac si soli ostendendo lucernam admovero. Imo Hiberni ad nostram usque memoriam tam invicti perstiterunt, ut in eandem cum iis gentem Angli potius coaluerint, quam eos evicerint. Quare Joannes Waddingus recte advertit "Hibernos quoties ipsis vincere contigit, quod sæpissime quidem contigit, solos suis militibus Dei auxilio munitis vicisse hostes: quoties vero Anglis victoria cessit, toties à suis deficientibus, aut hosti auxiliaribus victos fuisse."[61] Ut quod Annibal de

[56] Hibern. expug. lib. 2, c. 35. [57] Ibid. c. 36. [58] Ibid. c 36. [59] Ibid. c. 16.
[60] Cap. 25, descript. Hiberniæ Catalog. glor. mundi. parte 12, consid. 57.
[61] M.S, Hist. Ecclesi. Hiber. lib. 1, dist. 9.

[d] This assertion is fully confirmed by the Irish annals; but the same could probably be said of far the greater number of conquered nations. It very

plate, has been lopped off by one stroke of the axe; the dismembered thigh and leg falling to one side of the horse, and the expiring trunk to the other. When other weapons fail, they hurl stones against the enemy with horrible effect; no people in the world is so quick and vigorous at that sort of missile." What terrible dismay those Irish axes must have struck into the English appears from the frequent complaint of Giraldus: these axes!—there is no security against them, "there is no bulwark against these battle-axes." Therefore, my countrymen, it appears, were able to inflict wounds, "who belabored with showers of stones the mailed and massive warriors, and by their agility advanced and retreated a thousand times in perfect security." They also frequently met the English in the field, and often gained the victory; victory and defeat alternated between both parties. John de Courcy himself, the champion so highly lauded by Cambrensis, was as often defeated as he was victorious. He was not such a favorite of the god of battles, as not to be compelled on one occasion to fly precipitately, and with imminent danger to his life.

Solinus says that the Irish were a "warlike nation," and Jovius says "that they disliked all labor except war." According to Cassaneus, "they were of very robust frames, and made for war." But what need of more? the most malignant calumniator of the Irish never denied their fame in war: so that to produce more arguments in defence of their military fame would be only holding up a candle to the sun. So invincible were the Irish down even to our own day, that instead of being their conquerors, the English coalesced with them into one people. Upon this subject John Wadding has appropriately remarked, "that in all the victories gained by the Irish, and which were very numerous, the success was solely attributable under God to their own soldiers; but that all the victories of the English were owing either to the revolt of some of the Irish, or their serving under the English banner."[n] Thus we may say of Ireland what Annibal said of Italy, "that the Romans

seldom happens, that invaders are unable to enlist in their support the interests or jealousy of some of the invaded.

Italia dixit, in Hiberniam jure cadat: nimirum "Romanos vinci non nisi armis suis posse, nec Italiam aliter quam viribus suis subigi."[62]

Id velim hic adverti Giraldum cum aliàs multoties, tum speciatim hic sibi non constare, dictaque sua contrariis dictis jugulare: cum Hibernos militari laude nunc ornet, nunc spoliet;[63] veritatis vi verum raro, convitiandi autem impetu calumnias ab ipso sæpius eliciente. Sed quæ fides illi laudes efferenti adhibetur, maledicta emoventi denegabitur. "Ex inimicis enim laudantibus" (ut ait Basilius) "testimonia præstantiora, fideque digna sunt." Et S. Hieronimus dicit:[64] "illud verum esse testimonium seu potius præconium, quod ab inimica voce profertur" cum adversarium laudibus efferunt.

Istud autem non capio, post plures sarcasmorum aculeos famæ Hi- [292] bernorum | infixos, cur illis rebellionem exprobret dicens: Hiberniam "terram esse rebellem" cum subditi tantum bellum principi moventes rebellionis se crimine contaminent? et Hibernos non fuisse subditos ipse non obscurè sæpius insinuet: et Davisius palam asserat, verbis hunc sensum ferentibus. Principes Hiberni fidem tantum dederunt se tributarios Henrico secundo futuros. Qui autem tributa solummodo pendunt, licet in primo subditorum ordine à Bodino constituantur, proprie tamen subditi non sunt.[66] Quamvis enim principe illo, cui vectigalia pendunt, inferiores sint, cæteris tamen dominorum absolutorum notis insigniuntur, et persoluto quod polliciti sunt tributo, ad quietem sibi comparandam, ab omnibus aliis officiis exhibendis, eodem Bodino authore soluti sunt ac liberi.[67] Nec Hibernos pro subditis ipsi Angli, sed pro hostibus habebant, quod creberrime Davisius inculcat. Et in senatus consultis in lucem ante plures annos emissis, Angli ab Hibernis hoc discrimine crebro secernuntur, quòd illis ab Angliæ regis imperio deficientibus rebellium nota, his hostium inuratur.[68] Richardus secundus in diplomate Oxfordiæ comiti concesso, potestatem eidem comiti facit suo peculio adjiciendi quoscunque agros ab "Hiberno hoste" referre posset. Quod si Gallo bellum Hispanus inferat, non rebellem illum agere, sed hostem dicimus. Etenim populus alii principi non obnoxios bella illum petens potius in hostium, quam rebellium

[62] Justinus, lib. 31. [63] Homilia de humana Christi generatione. [64] Epist. 61, ad Pamachium. [65] Hibern. exp. lib. 2, c. 35. [66] Pag. 14. [67] Pag. 102, 108, 111, et alibi. [68] 18 Henri. 6, c. 3, 4, 5, 25, alibi.

could not be conquered except by their own arms, nor could Italy be subdued except by her own power."

I wish to remark, that on this matter especially, as well as on many others, Giraldus contradicts himself laying down positions which are utterly irreconcileable; thus he praises the military glory of the Irish and depreciates it; the force of truth sometimes extracts a truth from him; but the rage for calumny more generally explodes in virulent lies. But though we believe him when he praises, we must disbelieve him when he censures so virulently. "Praise from an enemy," says St. Basilius, "is the best testimony and commands our assent." "The best testimony, or rather eulogy," says St. Hieronymus, "is that which comes from the lips of an enemy" when he praises his adversaries.

But I am at a loss to understand why, after discharging his poisoned quiver against the character of the Irish, he ventures to brand them with rebellion. "Ireland," he says, "is a rebellious land," though no persons are rebels who are not in arms against their lawful prince; and Giraldus himself often insinuates that the Irish were not subjects of England—a fact which Davis plainly asserts in words to the following effect: that the Irish princes only bound themselves to become tributary to Henry II. Now they that pay tribute, though placed in the first class of subjects by Bodinus, are not properly subjects. For though they are inferior to that prince to whom they pay tribute, they retain all the other characteristics of absolute lords, and when to purchase peace for themselves they have paid their tribute, they are exempt and discharged, according to the same Bodinus, from any other service. Hence the English themselves, as Davis frequently observes, did not look upon the Irish as fellow-subjects, but as enemies; and in the statutes published many years ago, this line of distinction is frequently made between the English and the Irish, that if they were in arms against the king, the former are styled rebels, the latter enemies.

Richard II., in a grant made to the earl of Oxford, gave him all the lands that he could conquer from the Irish enemy. If the Spaniard makes war against the Frenchman, we do not call him a rebel but an enemy, because when a nation, not subject to a king, marches in arms against him, it is called an enemy, but never a rebel.[o] Now, that the

[o] Curwen, archbishop of Dublin at Elizabeth's accession, exhibits in a

numerum refertur. Hibernos vero nullas sui administrandi rationes à regibus Angliæ suspensas habuisse vel hæc deprompta è Davisio verba plane indicant. E præscripto legum inquit, quas Angli Brehunslawes vocant, populos sibi subjectos Hiberni regebant;[69] magistratus instituebant, vel supplicio, vel condonatione reos, intra ditionum suarum fines, quisque prosequebatur, mutua bella nemine consulto inter se mutuo gerebant. Et hæc omnia non solum Henrico secundo rege sed etiam per secutorum temporum successiones; vel usque ad ipsa Elizabethæ reginæ tempora præstiterunt. Plures quidem Hibernos enixius efflagitasse ut regum Angliæ subditis adscribentur, idem Davisius author est, qui plures etiam tabulas ejusmodi co-optationum in subditos profert,[70] quibus aliquot homines privati ad legum Angliæ perfugium se receperunt. Quod argumento est Hibernos subditorum regis Angliæ conditionem nondum passim induisse; ac proinde bella eorum in reges Angliæ suscepta, non rebellionis nomine sed hostilitatis notari debuisse.

Extra disputationis igitur aleam positum est Giraldum calumniæ manifestæ reum esse, qui rebellionis contra jus, fas, et veritatem Hibernos arguit. Quare non dubito quin sicut in Hibernis rebellione, sic etiam in iisdem perfidiâ, fraude, ac inconstantiâ perstringendis simili errore lapsus fuerit. Qui plurimis gemmis furto sigillatim amissis, aliquem postremas furantem in flagranti delicto deprehendit, hunc reliquas surripuisse non immerito conqueritur; ita cum Giraldus Hibernos falsò rebelles appellaverit, eosdem perfidos, fraudulentos, et inconstantes falso dixisse judicandus est.

Hactenus carcinoma convitiorum, quæ Giraldus in Hibernos ad infamiam eis conflandam egessit exhibuimus, quæ nunc denuo lectorum oculis contractius objicere ideo piget, ne nauseam iis provocem. Id autem asserere non dubito aliquot illum vera Hibernorum vitia protulisse, sed in immodicam gravitatem ea sic extulisse, ut ultra fidei fines

letter opposing the establishment of a university the feelings with which the Anglo-Irish regarded the old Irish. "A university here were unprofitable, for the Irish enemy, under color of study, would send their friends hither,

[69] Pag. 25. [70] Pag. 106, et seq.

Irish nation was not in any way dependant in its government, on the king of England, is obvious from the following passages of Davis: that the Irish governed their subjects according to those laws, which the English call Brehon laws: they appointed magistrates; punished or acquitted offenders within the limits of their territories, and made wars on each other without any man's permission. And all this they did not only in Henry the Second's time, but in all succeeding ages, and even to the reign of Queen Elizabeth herself. Many of the Irish, it is true, earnestly begged, according to the same Davis, to be acknowledged as subjects of the king of England. He produces several charters by which private individuals were acknowledged as subjects and received under the protection of the laws of England. But these exceptions prove that the Irish were not regarded as subjects by the English crown, and, therefore, in their frequent wars against the kings of England, they were not rebels but enemies.

No possible evasion, therefore, can exculpate Giraldus from the guilt of glaring calumny, in stigmatizing the Irish as rebellious, in the teeth of law, justice, and truth. And as he is so egregiously wrong in this charge of rebellion, must I not infer that he is equally unjust, when he charges us with perfidy, fraud, and fickleness? If you found that your jewels were disappearing one by one, and at length caught the thief in the act of stealing the last, would you not justly infer that he had stolen the others; and if Giraldus falsely stated that the Irish were rebels, must you not conclude that his accusations of perfidy, fraud, and fickleness, were equally false?

Hitherto I have been exposing that cancerous stream of calumny, which Cambrensis discharged on the Irish to sully their fair name; and I fear that in bringing the same subject briefly before the eyes of my readers, I may excite their disgust. I willingly acknowledge that Giraldus has exposed some real faults of the Irish, but in such exaggerated deformity, that he surpasses all bounds of credibility. He has incorporated a few facts with a thousand falsehoods, to give an air of

who would learn the secrets of the country, and advertize them thereof, so that the Irish rebels should by them know the privity of the English pale." Shirley's Original Letters, p. 152 to page 243.

ultro abierit. Complura quidem falsa veris immiscuit, ut veritatis specie figmentis obductâ, opportunius incautos falleret, et lectorem ad malam opinionem de Hibernis imbibendam facilius impelleret. Neque video qua excusatione factum hoc ejus oblini valeat. Deus olim Isaiam prophetam effatus est in hæc verba: "annuntia populo meo scelera eorum, et domui Jacob peccata eorum."[71] Ille continuo in Israëlitas flagitio pertinacius adhærescentes acriter invehitur vocans eos,[72] "gentem peccatricem, semen nequam, filios sceleratos, populum Gomorrhæ, principes [293] eorum socios furum." Sed ubi eos luto scelerum emergentes aspexit, | summis illos laudibus in cœlos mox evehit, eos appellans: "civitatem justam, urbem fidelem, semen sanctum, filios Dei et hæreditatem dilectam."[73] Pari quoque ratione S. Paulus Corinthios nunc increpat, nunc commendat, illis exprobrans quod sicut "carnales inflati, spiritualibus rebus inepti:" mox encomii exornans, dum eos dicit:[74] "spirituales esse, ac sapientes, quibus nihil deest in omni gratia et dono." Deinde addit Judæos "secundum Evangelium quidem inimicos esse propter gentes, secundum electionem autem charissimos propter patres." S. Bernardus etiam plures primæ notæ magnates in Epistolis absentes,[75] in concionibus præsentes asperius nunc objurgat, nunc impensius laudat, optimi monitoris officium explens, qui delinquentes increpatione, muniis suis rite fungentes commendatione prosequitur, S. Pauli monitis obsecutus docentis ut peccantes ab hortatoribus "obsecrentur, et increpentur,"[76] id est ut in illis ad bonam frugem attrahendis verborum aliquando mollities, aliquando asperitas adhiberetur. Sed Giraldus suasoris titulum non ambiens, detractorum se gregi ultrò aggregat, cum sceleribus inquinatos non in os ut illi de criminibus arguit, sed summopere contendit, ut Hibernorum nævos quasi classico canens nemo mortalium ignoret.

Utinam quantum à memorato divi Pauli consilio recessit, tantundem immunis esset ab Evangelii comminatione dicentis:[77] "Qui dixerit fratri suo Racæ reus erit concilio, qui autem dixerit fatue, reus erit gehennæ ignis." Non profecto suum omne studium, conatum, ac industriam eò contulisset, ut Hiberni male audirent. Patres ergo illi

[71] Isaiæ 58. [72] Cap. 1, v. 4, 10, 23. [73] Cap. 26, c. 6, v. 13, c. 51. [74] 1 Corinth. 3, 5. [75] Ad Rom. 11, v. 28. [76] Ad Tim. 4. [77] Math. 5.

truth to his fictions, and thereby more securely lead his unsuspecting reader to adopt more readily a bad opinion of the Irish. I know not what extenuation he can plead for this proceeding. God formerly addressed Isaiah in the following words: "show my people their wicked doings and the house of Jacob their sins." He accordingly reproves the Jews with great severity for their obstinacy in sin, denouncing them "as a sinful nation, a wicked seed, ungracious children; a people of Gomorrha, and their princes the companions of thieves." But when he saw them rising from the mire of their iniquities, he extols them to the stars, and praises them as a just city, a faithful city, a holy seed, sons of God, and a beloved inheritance. In the same way St. Paul at one time praises, at another censures the Corinthians, reproaching them as "carnal men, puffed up, and unfit for spiritual things," and immediately after praising them "as spiritual and wise, and not wanting in any grace or gift." Again he says of the Jews, "that as concerning the Gospel they are enemies for the sake of the gentiles, but as touching the election they are most dear for the sake of the fathers." St. Bernard also often addressed nobles of the highest rank sometimes by letter, sometimes in their presence in his sermons, in terms of severe admonition and warm eulogy; thereby discharging the duty of a faithful monitor, praising those who were faithful, and censuring those were negligent in the discharge of their duty. In this he acted on the advice of St. Paul, who teaches "that sinners ought to be reproved and entreated," that is, that in laboring to reform them we should sometimes use mildness and sometimes severity. But Giraldus abandons altogether the mildness of persuasion, and boldly takes his stand among calumniators; he does not reprove the guilty, face to face, like those others, but strains every nerve for this single point, that the faults of the Irish may be trumpeted by his pen to the ends of the earth.

Would that he had been heedless of the above cited admonition of St. Paul, he were equally safe from that threat of the Gospel: "whosoever shall say to his brother, raca, shall be in danger of the council; and whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." Had he reflected on this, he never would have devoted his heart, and soul, and labor, to blast the fair name of the Irish. Those fathers are justly styled holy monitors and reprovers; but he is condemned as

reprehensoris et objurgatoris sacri, ille profani detractoris et calumniatoris nomen retulit. Illi nimirum quos hortabantur nunc increpationibus deprimebant, nunc commendationibus erigebant, Giraldus habenas conviciis ita laxat, ut nullam laudis rationem habeat, ne Diogenis quidem monitis obtemperans jubentis ut vituperiis encomia semper immisceantur. Illi vero patrum illorum consortium deserenti etiam inter historicos locus non est, qui non magis gentium vitia, quam virtutes commemorant. Nec enim homines ita tenaciter malis adhaerescunt, quin ab iis aliquando divulsi in virtutum quoque palestrâ se exerceant. Quare historici in gentium vitiis enarrandis justo diutius non immorantur, nec in earum laudibus, ac labibus exaggerendis omnem suam eloquentiam impendunt, sed eas tantum obiter potius innuunt quam inculcant. Secus ac Giraldus agit, cujus omnis industria in Hibernorum spurcitiis naviter exprimendis desudat, ne ullos illorum naevos legentium oculos subterfugeret, uno vel altero rariori verbo commendationem illorum leviter attingens. Quod in opere toto bis tantum ab illo praestitum esse memini. Tum nimirum cum inter commendationem et condemnationem Hibernici cleri fluctuans, tandem hac sententia orationem clauderet. "Sunt tamen nonnulli inter" Ecclesiasticos "optimi, et sine fermento sincerissimi."[78] Et ibidem post longos logos de pravis potius quam probis Hibernorum moribus habitos, haec verba profert: inter Hibernos, "Sic mali deterrimi sunt, ut nusquam pejores, ita bonis meliores non reperies."[79] Ut de Atheniensibus dictum est, qui boni inter illos essent, eos optimos, ac praestantissimos; qui mali, pessimos ac longe deterrimos fuisse; mediocrem neminem. Quibus sententiis expendendis infra diutius immorabor. Hic tantum adverto Giraldum Pharisaeis non absimilem esse Salvatorem nostrum in haec verba collaudantibus:[80] "Magister scimus quia verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces, et non est tibi cura de aliquo: non enim respicis personam hominum." Quas laudes effundentibus non gratiam Christus, sed increpationem reposuit, hipocritas eos appellans, quod nullius illi commodi sed damni potius asserendi causa ejusmodi encomia protulerint. Humani quoque generis hostis,[81] ait S. Hieronymus "verba sub dolo melle circumlinit, ut qui audit verborum dulcedinem, venena pectoris non formidet. Pacem

[78] Topo. d. 3, c. 27. [79] Dion Petavius. oratione 8. [80] Math. 22. [81] Prolog. lib. 3, in Hierem.

a profane detractor and calumniator. The former, in their endeavors to reform the guilty, alternately overwhelmed them with reproaches and cheered them with commendation. But Giraldus gives such unbridled license to his invective, that he allows them no credit, and will not listen even to the advice of Diogenes, that censure must be always mingled with praise. But in abandoning his place among those fathers, he is not admitted among the historians, who record the virtues as well as the vices of a people. No man can be so inveterately attached to vice, as not to break its chains occasionally and perform some virtuous actions. Historians, therefore, never dwell too long in depicting the vices of a nation; they do not spend all their eloquence in exaggerating its praise or its condemnation; they rather suggest, than expound, those topics. Giraldus proceeds in a manner entirely different. He devotes all his talents to a laborious detail of the faults of the Irish, that all may be exposed, and he never introduces more than two or three laudatory expressions. In his whole work, I do not remember, that he has praised the Irish more than twice. Once, where after some hesitation, whether he should praise or censure the Irish clergy, he closes their portrait with the following sentence: "Some of them, however, are excellent men, and entirely free from all leaven." In the same place, too, after a rambling dissertation on the immorality, not the good qualities, of the Irish, he says, "that as the bad amongst them are very bad, so the good are better than can be found in any quarter of the world." The same remark was made of the Athenians, that they knew no medium; if good, they were admirable and the best; but if bad, they were very bad and the worst in the world. I reserve for another occasion more detailed remarks on this subject. For the present, I will only remark that Giraldus resembles the Pharisees, who praised our Savior in the following strain: "Master, we know that thou art a true speaker, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man; for thou dost not regard the person of men." But Christ, so far from thanking them for their praise, reproached them, and called them hypocrites, because their object in praising Him was to injure, not to serve Him. The enemy of mankind, who, as St. Hieronymus observes, "craftily covers his suggestions with honey, that the person who hears the honied words may not be deterred from imbibing the poison

pollicetur, ut graviora bella exerceat: ridet ut mordeat, manum offert, ut ex improviso simplicem interficiat." Pari prorsus ratione Giraldus convitiorum acervis rarissimè verum admiscet, ut hac frigidâ calumnia- [294] rum ignem perfundens majores infamiæ Hibernis | ab illo congestæ flammas accenderet. Certe magna veritati vis inest, quæ odii cineribus obducta instar scintillæ nonnunquam erumpit, et calumnioso homini aliquando per imprudentiam excidit. Ut majus multo pondus habere videatur elogium quod veritas, quam vituperium quod malevolentia expressit.

Historicorum consuetudinem in populorum fœcibus et encomiis expromendis rite Munsterus observavit, qui ubi plurium gentium maculas à me supra ex ipso productas exhibuit,[82] earum quoque virtutes mox memoravit his verbis: "Hebræorum prudentia, Persarum stabilitas, Ægyptiorum solertia, Græcorum sapientia, Romanorum gravitas, Chaldeorum sagacitas, Assiriorum ingenium, Gallorum firmitas, Francorum fortitudo, Scotorum fidelitas, Hispanorum argutia, Britannorum hospitalitas, Normannorum communio." Similem prorsus rationem ineunt Joannes Boemus Aubanus de moribus gentium, ac reliqui Geographiæ, Cosmographiæque scriptores, qui suæ narrationi de fœdioribus nationum consuetudinibus mox præstantiores eorum ritus annectunt. Sanè Thomas Lansius homo extra fidei Orthodoxæ castra positus omnium penè gentium quas finibus suis Europa complectitur pluribus prolixis orationibus laudata,[83] et illaudata instituta sedulò prosequitur. Qui omnes Hibernis in hoc minus æqui sunt, quod præclariores eorum mores plerumque sileant, sordidiores non segniter evulgent. Cujus rei non tam in ipsos culpa quàm in Cambrensem conferenda est. In cujus calumniarum istarum primi propagatoris, aut scriptorum istas ex eo depromentium sententiam, nullâ veritatis excussione præmissâ, tanquam pedarii senatores manibus, pedibusque frequentes iverunt, instar gregis ovium, qui arietem quocumque præeuntem inconsideratè sequuntur.

Sed quispiam fortassè patrocinium Giraldi suscipiens dicet: veritatem sic historiæ necessariam esse, ut illius vita ac fundamentum jure nuncupari debeat. Nam quemadmodum humanum corpus simul ac anima

[82] Cosmog. lib. 2, c. 39. [83] Consultatio de principatu edita Tubingæ 1626.

into his breast. He promises peace, only to excite more terrible wars; he laughs that he may bite; he presents his hand, that he may kill you unawares." In the same way Giraldus, though very rarely, mingles some truths among the mass of calumnious invective, that, by throwing in some slack on the fire of his malicious rage, he may excite a more devouring tempest against the character of the Irish. Such is the power of truth, that even when buried beneath the mouldering rubbish of calumny, it will yet burst forth like a flame, and escape from the lips even of the calumniator himself. For this reason a eulogy extorted by truth is of greater authority than a calumny suggested by malignity.

The usual custom of historians in describing the virtues and vices of different nations has been observed by Munster. After giving the national vices of various nations, such as I have already cited, he then characterizes their virtues in the following terms: "The prudence of the Jew, the constancy of the Persian, the skill of the Egyptian, the wisdom of the Greek, the gravity of the Roman, the sagacity of the Chaldean, the genius of the Assyrian, the firmness of the Gaul, the bravery of the Frank, the fidelity of the Scot, the subtle wit of the Spaniard, the hospitality of the Briton, the sociableness of the Norman." John Boemus Auban and other authors of Geographies and Cosmographies, adopt the same course, for after describing the bad customs of any nation they always give an account of their good qualities. Thomas Lansius, a man not a member of the true church, describes in great detail the good and bad qualities of every nation in Europe. But in one respect writers are generally more unjust to Ireland than to any other country, because they generally omit altogether her good qualities, but take care to record her vices. But they are less to be blamed for this omission than Giraldus; like silent voters in the senate, or like the flock blindly following the ram, they take up without any examination the calumnies which they find in Cambrensis, the great father of lies, or in those other writers who had borrowed from him.

In defence of Giraldus, some person, perhaps, may say, that truth is the essential for history, its foundation, its life. When the soul departs, the human body becomes a lifeless corpse, so when truth, which

discessit, examine cadaver efficitur, ita etiam historia, si à veritate (quæ illius vita, et anima est) deseratur protinus vel in commentum, vel in fabulam abibit. Recte quidem ista dicuntur; sed etiam historiæ scriptori præsertim sacerdoti charitas quoque necessaria est,[84] "Quæ non cogitat malum, et congaudet veritati." Tam verum quam tritum est illud proverbium, affectus excæcat intellectum; quo fit ut historicus studio aliquo antè occupatus in scribendo animi sui affectioni plus æquo indulgens, non satis claro aspectu veritatem intueatur. Ut solent humani oculi colore aliquo infecti, vel per quid coloratum prospicientes rem visam eodem colore tinctam cernere, vel minus aut majus quam est aut etiam fractum quod integrum est, pro speculatoriorum vitrorum per quæ quis prospicit diversitate representare. Unde sæpius evenit ut historia ab authore charitate destituto, tanquam ex impuro fonte privati amoris effluens mutetur in amoris proprii commentum, fabulam, et aliorum calumniam. Certè maculis saltem aspergitur ut veritatis candor minus appareat.

Clamabant olim filii prophetarum ad Elizæum gustato pulmento eis infuso, mors in olla vir Dei, quia nimirum unus ex pueris ejus inter herbas silvestres colocynthidas collegerat,[85] et in ollam pulmenti conciderat, nesciens quid esset. Idem in Historicos meritò declamari potest, qui sine delectu rerum eventus quos fama vulgavit, instar herbarum silvestrium colocynthidas amararum narrationum in ollam historiæ concidunt et conjiciunt, quæ legentium mentibus nauseam amaritudine provocant. Invidiæ conspicilium ad res Hibernicas eminus prospiciendas mentis oculis proculdubiò Giraldus admovit, quæ non suam sed quam livior suggessit speciem præ se tulerunt, ut alienum illis narrando saporem addens, amaritudine multa suam historiam infecerit.

Maledicta Giraldi si paulò accuratius perpendantur, Hibernis in laudem, non in labem cedunt. Sicut enim improborum, sic etiam [295] hostium vituperia | in laude ponuntur, qui cædibus, vastationibus, et incendiis per hosticum grassantur, à suis magnanimitatis, ab hoste crudelitatis titulum referunt. Sic "Simon patriæ delator, male loquebatur

[83] Consultatio de principatu edita Tubingæ. 1626. [84] Corinth. 13. [85] 4 Reg. 4.

is the life and soul of history, is not there, history becomes a lie or a fable. This is perfectly true, but furthermore the historian, especially if he be a priest, ought to be charitable, "he ought to think no evil, and to rejoice in the truth." The proverb, "passion blinds the intellect," is as true as it is trite. The historian who is under the influence of strong prejudices, and indulges his feelings in the composition of his work, cannot see the truth clearly, just as the eye which has been tinged with a particular color, or which views things through a colored medium, will impart that same color to the object, or even represent a thing as greater or less than its real dimensions, and sometimes even make an object appear broken which is really entire, according to the various qualities of the glasses through which these various objects are viewed.

Hence, histories written by men devoid of charity are often mere effusions of personal feeling, monuments of self-love, or fictions or libels. At all events, it will be tainted with some defects to obscure the brilliancy of truth.

In olden times the sons of the prophets cried out to Elizæus, after tasting the pottage poured out for them, "death is in the pot, O man of God!" because one of his servants whom he had sent for the herbs had collected some wild gourds of the field, and not knowing what they were, cast them into the pot of herbs. We may justly exclaim in the same way against those historians, who without any discrimination gather every vulgar report, and cast them like the wild gourds of the field into their history to provoke by their nauseousness and bitterness the disgust of their readers. Jealousy, no doubt, lent her green glasses to Giraldus, to take his hurried glance at Irish matters, not such as they really were, but in the guise with which his malignant bile invested them. The feast which he has served up to us has such a strange taste, that its bitterness is ever grating on the palate of his guests.

But upon mature consideration, it will appear that the calumnies of Giraldus redound rather to the praise than to the discredit of the Irish. The censures of your enemy like those of wicked men are your encomiums. The men who waste, burn and depopulate an enemy's country, are styled great by their own countrymen, but cruel by the

de Onia tanquam ipse fuisset incentor malorum: provisoremque civitatis, ac defensorem gentis suæ, et æmulatorem legis Dei, audebat insidiatorem regni dicere."[86] Joannes Pitsius scriptores suos Anglicos à Joanne Baleo hæretico profligatissimo, et à Catholica fide quam aversissimo mutuatus fuisse dicitur, ea mutatione dumtaxat adhibitâ ut quos hic nigro calculo, ille candido notaverit, quos hic vituperiis illæ encomiis cumulaverit.[87] Denique quos hic improbos, infidos, et contumaces, ille probos, fidos, et constantes appellabat. Idem facinus diversi sæpè sæpius probant et damnant qui nimirum ex eo detrimentum hauriunt illud execrantur; qui emolumentum attollunt. Hinc quando perfidiam levitatem, et inconstantiam Romani scriptores Gallis improperant, eo probro Gallorum prudentiam indicari,[88] et gloriam illis comparari Duplexius contendit. Improperia enim inquit illa indè duntaxat exorta sunt, quod Galli Romanorum jugo colla sua subtrahere sæpius connixi fuerint, crudelitate scilicet Romanorum adacti ut ad se in libertatem asserendos nullum (ut aiunt) lapidem non moverint. Omnem enim atrocitatem in eos et bello et pace Romani exeruerunt; bellum cum iis non eorum expugnandorum, sed extinguendorum causâ gesserunt. Pacis verò beneficium illis impertientes, tributis illos ita onerarunt, ut aperto bello quam ejusmodi pace affligi maluerint. Nam Romani facile passi sunt, ut suo magistratui liceret, quod liberè vectigal à Gallis, contra jus, et fas exigere, qui proindè Gallis expilandis, sic atrociter indulserant, ut in ipsorum non modo fortunas, sed etiam personas immanè sævierint. Ita ut cum prophetâ Galli tum clamare potuerint.[89] " In pace amaritudo mea amarissima." Si nonnullis civitatibus immunitates aliquas Romani conferebant, id eò spectabat, ut ex iis contra cæteras auxiliarios educerent. Tot autem et tam justis de causis ait Duplexius Romanorum obsequio se subducere tantum abest ut levitas, inconstantia, vel perfidia, ut potius summa prudentia fuerit. Prudentis enim est fortiori quandoque cedere, et libertatis ea ratione qua amissa est recuperandæ occasionem opperiri.

Hibernos autem Angli non minoribus injuriis, quam Romani Gallos cruciarunt. Illos enim bello incessentes, non ut ipsorum ditioni subde-

[86] Machab. lib. 2, c. 4. [87] Apostolat. Benedicti. in Anglia. [88] Memoires de Gaules, lib. 1, c. 11.

enemy. Thus Simon, "who was the betrayer of his country, spoke ill of Onias, as if he had been the promoter of evils, and he presumed to call him a traitor to the kingdom, who provided for the city and defended his nation, and was zealous for the law of God." John Pitzeus is said to have borrowed his "English writers" from John Bale, a most profligate heretic, and sworn enemy of the Catholic faith. The only change made by Pitzius, was to praise those whom Bale condemned, and condemn those whom he praised. Those who were dishonest, faithless and obstinate with one, became honest, faithful and obedient with the other. The same act is often represented in different colors by different persons; those whom it serves, extol; those whom it injures condemn it. Thus, when the Romans charge the Gauls with perfidy, fickleness and levity, Dupleix interprets these reproaches as a eulogy on the prudence, an undoubted proof of the glory of the Gauls. "Why," he asks, "were these charges made against the Gauls?" Solely, he answers, because they often endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke, because Roman cruelty compelled them to strain every nerve to recover their liberty. Both in peace and war, the Romans subjected them to innumerable atrocities; the war of the Romans against them was not a war of conquest, but a war of extermination; and peace brought with it such an intolerable burden of taxes, that war itself was preferable to such a peace. The Romans allowed full liberty to their magistrates to levy contributions on the Gauls against law and justice; and so dreadfully was this license abused, that not only the fortunes, but even the persons of the conquered, were sacrificed. Well might the Gauls then exclaim with the prophet: "My most bitter bitterness is in peace." The Romans, it is true, conferred immunities on some cities, but it was to strengthen themselves against the others. Now, says Dupleix, the attempt to shake off the Roman yoke which imposed grievances so numerous and so oppressive, was not levity, or perfidy, or fickleness, but rather consummate prudence. For prudence requires that we should sometimes succumb to the stranger, and watch every opportunity of recovering our liberty by the same means which subverted it.

The injuries inflicted on the Irish by the English are not less grievous than those inflicted on the Gauls by the Romans. The war

rentur, sed ut internicione penitus delerentur, vires omnes intenderant. Quando civium numero semper exclusos pro hostibus invitos habuerint.[90] Nam Hiberni scribit se Anglorum cives enixius flagitantes crebrò repulsam passi, hostiles animos in Anglos merito gesserant, qui perpetuo ab illis bello divelli voluerunt, ut ultimam iis perniciem quandoque machinarentur. Quævis igitur astutia ad tam infestorum hostium potentiam reprimendam adhibita non perfidiæ, sed prudentiæ nomine afficienda est, cum fraudes bellicas integerrimi scriptores ut supra docui semper approbaverint. Propterea Angliæ regis in Hibernos potestas non indefinita, sed certis quibusdam limitibus circumscripta fuit. Ita ut nihil ab Hibernis ei nisi tributum exigi per pacta licuerit. Quod si definitæ potestatis limites transilierit, et ultra tributum agros quoque proprios, et summum imperium abripere contenderit, perfidosnè vocabis? an prudentes potius et cautos, si vim libertati, fortunisque contra fas illatam viribus et consilio propulsaverint? alio præsertim Hibernos conspicati, qui opem Anglis contra suos cives ab initio tulerunt, non solum præmio affectos, sed avitis etiam agris spoliatos Anglis memorata jam Romanorum arte utentibus, in incolis ad populares suos debellandos suæ parti sub beneficii specie adscicendis. Cum igitur omnis vendicandæ libertatis honesta ratio sit, liberandi sunt à perfidiæ, inconstantiæ, fraudulentiæque ignominiâ Hiberni, qui licitas tantum, et laudatas rationes ad libertatem fortunasque tuendas inierunt: ac proinde jam non perfidi, sed prudentes, non inconstantes, sed constantes; non fraudulenti sed cauti dicendi sunt. | [296]

[89] Psal. 38. [90] Vide supra, c. 3, n. 19.

which they waged against us and prosecuted with all their might was not merely to conquer the country, but to exterminate its inhabitants. All who were not recognised as fellow subjects were, whether enrolled or not, regarded as enemies. The Irish who often earnestly petitioned to be acknowledged as English subjects, and were repulsed, had just grounds of war against the English, who had doomed them to eternal war, that they might be extirpated in the end. Whatever craft or ingenuity the Irish exercised against such merciless enemies assuredly must not be stigmatized as treachery: it was prudence, because, as I have already proved, writers of the highest authority sanctioned stratagem in war. Moreover, the power of the kings of England over the Irish was not absolute: it was circumscribed within certain limits. The only rights treaty gave them was tribute. But, if besides tribute, those kings extorted other rights to which they had no title, and would seize the lands and aspire to the absolute government of the Irish, were the Irish traitors? were they not rather men of sense and prudence in repelling both by force and ingenuity against the unjust aggressions on their liberty and property? especially when they saw some of their countrymen who fought, from the commencement, in the English ranks, not only receiving no reward, but even despoiled of their hereditary possessions. For the English, in imitation of the policy of the Romans, allured, by promises of reward, some of the natives to fight under their standard against their Irish countrymen. All means then being lawful in defence of liberty, the Irish cannot be charged with perfidy, fraud, or fickleness; they used none but just and glorious arms in defending their liberty: and therefore were not perfidious, but prudent; not inconstant, but constant; not treacherous, but provident.

CAPUT XXX.

QUOD IN MONARCHAS, REGES, AC PRINCIPES HIBERNIÆ, GIRALDUS NON PARUM INJURIUS FUERIT.

Chronographus quisque nomina regum refert.—Giraldus reges Hiberniæ ne nominavit quidem.—Malos reges meminit, bonos omittit.—Necessaria reticet, aliena narrat —Non stat promissis. [297]. Copiosa Hiberniæ chronica vidit.—Pigritiæ accusatur.—Numerus regum Hiberniæ.—Numerat Turgesium inter Hiberniæ reges.—Turgesius regum nomenclaturæ non inseritur.—Giraldus sibi contrarius. [298]. Dani quando Hiberniam vexare cœperunt, nimirum Nellio Calneo rege.—Felimeus rex Momoniæ, non Hiberniæ.—Gurmundum facit regem Hiberniæ.—Reges Hiberniæ bello clari.—Reges Hiberniæ in acie potiusquam domi occumbere maluerunt. [299]. Constantinus Centimachus.—Nellus noviobsides.—Hiberni Britanniam aggressi.—Nelli mors.—Dathias rex.—Hiberni reges Herulorum.—Suria matre Hiberna genita Biscaiæ dominabatur.—Bella Hibernorum cum Danis. [300]. Suppetiæ ab Hibernis ad exteros missæ.—Dermitius Lageniæ rex.—Reges Hiberniæ bene Rempublicam administrarunt, Felimeus Rachtmar rex Hiberniæ: Cormacus rex Hiberniæ.—[301]. Cormacus Culenani filius Momoniæ rex.—Brianus Boromhius rex Hiberniæ.—Reges Hiberniæ litteris dediti. Ollamhus Follaus Hiberniæ rex.—Cormaci regis Hiberniæ scripta et eruditio.—Cormacus Culenani promovit litteras.—Brianus Boromhius litteratos fovit. [302]. Pietas regum Hiberniæ.—Decimatio hominum pecorum et agrorum.—Nelli noviobsidis miraculum.—Moelchobus Hiberniæ rex fit monachus.—Flabertachus Hiberniæ rex fit monachus.—Nelli Frassachi pietas.—Pluit argento, melle et tritico.—Nellus Frassach abdicavit se regno.—Malachiam regem Hiberniæ S. Corbreus in cœlum advolare vidit.—[303]. Stratagema ad Turgesium perdendum laudabile fuit.—Quis tyrannus? quomodo licitum occidere tyrannum.—Tyranni Danorum in Hibernia. [304] Malachias explevit officium regis et patris.—Vim vitæ et castitati inferentem occidere licet.—Qui vitam potiusquam castitatem perdere maluerunt.—[305] Supplicium tyrannorum, facinori lauded igno notam opprobrii Giraldus inurit.—Briani Borumhi regis pietas. [306] Ejus bellum cum Danis.—Milites belli sacri martyres.—Mortui dum pestiferis ministrant, martyres habentur.—Pietas Donati O'Briani, Murchertachus rex Hiberniæ factus religiosus.—Regum qui provinciis præerant pietas. Hibernia magnitudine Angliam a Scotia et Wallia sejunctam æquat.—Quot in Hibernia trencæ. [307] Cantredus et trenca non idem significant.—S. Columbæ sanctitas.—Aililli Connaciæ regis sanctitas.—Enachdunia S. Brendano donata Lageniæ rex fit monachus.—Alius Lageniæ rex fit monachus.—Connaciæ rex fit monachus.—Alius Connaciæ rex fit monachus. [308] Alii reges provinciales fiunt monachi.—Rex et dominus ejusdem significationis. [309] Reges Hiberniæ regum nomine insigniendi, licet regibus Angliæ tributum solverint.—Exiguarum ditionum olim reges, comites, principes dicti, hic reguli vocantur.—Dynastæ qui?—Ulidiæ regulus in cœlum migravit.—Huamethiæ regulus simili gaudio fruitur.—Alius Huamethiæ regulus fit clericus.—Orgialliæ et Ossoriæ reguli in cœlum advolarunt.—Dalgassiorum, Moghdormæ, Oilighæ, Conalliæ et Kinnelleoghaniæ reguli fiunt monachi.—Ossoriæ regulus vir piissimus.—Ossoriæ reguli honore affecti, Huaginsolach, et Huadiarmadæ, reguli facti clerici.—Mannachæ reguli pietas. [311]. Non semper armis Monarchia Hibernia obtenta fuit. [312]. Qui reges Angliæ regnum per vim compararunt.—Reges Hiberniæ coronam gestabant.—De unctione regum Hiberniæ quid sentiam?—Quando imperatores occidentis ungi cœperunt. [313]. Quando Galli: quando Angli: Galfridus Monumetensis fabulosus.—Reges Hiberniæ inter unguendos reges numerantur. [314]. Nullus Hiberniæ rex nisi ex certis familiis.—Tanistria non

CHAPTER XXX.

BITTER CALUMNIES OF GIRALDUS AGAINST THE MONARCHS, KINGS, AND LORDS OF IRELAND.

Every chronographer gives the names at least of the kings.—Giraldus does not give the names of the kings of Ireland.—He mentions bad kings and omits the good.—He omits what should be told, and tells what is foreign to the subject: does not keep his promises. [297]. He saw copious chronicles of Ireland.—His laziness.—The number of Irish kings.—He ranks Turgesius among the kings of Ireland.—Turgesius is not on the catalogues of Irish kings.—Giraldus contradicts himself. [298]. First ravages of the Danes in Ireland occurred in the reign of Niall Caille.—Feidhlimidh was king of Munster only.—Giraldus falsely makes Gurmund king of Ireland.—The kings of Ireland famous in war.—They preferred death on the battle field to death in their homes. [299]. Conn of the hundred battles. —Niall of the nine hostages.—Britain invaded by the Irish.—Death of Niall.—King Dathi.—The Irish kings of the Heruli.—Suria, born of an Irish mother, ruled Biscay.—Wars of the Irish with the Danes. [300]. Aids sent by the Irish to foreign lands.—Diarmaid king of Leinster. The kings of Ireland governed their country well.—Feidhlimidh Reachtmar, king of Ireland.—Cormac king of Ireland. [301]. Cormac Mac Culainn king of Munster.—Brian Boroimhe king of Ireland.—The kings of Ireland patrons of learning.—Ollamh Foladh king of Ireland.—Works and learning of Cormac king of Ireland.—Cormac MacCuileanan promoted learning.—Brian Boroimhe patron of learning. [302]. Piety of Irish kings.—Tithes paid of men, of cattle, and of land.—Miracle of Niall of the nine hostages.—Moelcobha, king of Ireland, became a monk.—Flaithbheartach, king of Ireland, also becomes a monk.—Piety of Niall Frassach.—Showers of silver, of honey, and of wheat.—Niall Frassach abdicated the throne.—St. Corpre saw Maelseachlainn's soul ascending to heaven. [303]. It was laudable to use stratagem in destroying Turgesius.—What is a tyrant? how is it lawful to kill a tyrant: tyranny of the Danes in Ireland. [304]. Maelseachlainn discharged his duty of king and father.—It is lawful to kill an aggressor on life or chastity.—Instances of princes who preferred death to the loss of their chastity. [305]. Punishment of tyrants.—Giraldus stigmatizes, by his censure, a deed deserving of praise.—Poets of king Brian Boroimhe. [306]. His wars with the Danes.—Soldiers slain in the holy wars are martyrs.—Persons dying in the service of the plague-stricken are considered martyrs.—Piety of Donnchadh O'Briain.—Muircheartach, king of Ireland, becomes a monk.—Piety of the provincial kings of Ireland.—Ireland equal in size to England proper, excluding Scotland and Wales.—Number of trencæ in Ireland. [307]. Cantred and trenca do not mean the same thing.—Holiness of St. Columba.—Holiness of Ailill, king of Connacht.—Eanachdun granted to St. Breanainn.—A king of Leinster becomes a monk: another king of Leinster also a monk.—A king of Connacht becomes a monk: another king of Connacht becomes a monk. [308]. Other provincial kings become monks.—Rex and Dominus, used as synonymous. [309]. Kings of Ireland properly styled kings though paying tribute to English kings.—The lords of small territories formerly called kings, princes, or counts, now reguli.—What are dynasts?—A king of Uladh died a saintly death: and a king of Uimeath.—Another king of Uimeath becomes a cleric.—Kings of Orgiall and Osraidhe died holy deaths. [310]. Kings of the Dalgais, of Moghdorn, of Oileach, of Conall, and Kinealeoghain, became monks.—A very pious king of Osraidhe.—Special honors of the kings of Osraidhe.—Kings of Ui Cinseallaigh and Ui Diarmada became clerics.—Piety of a king of Manach. [311]. The Irish throne not always obtained by the sword. [312]. Kings of England who obtained the crown by arms.—

damnanda.—Multis in locis filii patribus non successerunt.—Rege electo successor eligebatur. [315]. Successoris designatio utilis.—Successio et electio.—Commentitia regulorum Kinelconelliæ inauguratio.—Giraldus expers verecundiæ. [316]. Giraldus sui laudator.—Vera forma inaugurationis Regum Tirconelliæ.—Invalidum in hac re Giraldi testimonium, ut cui domestici scriptores adversantur.—Iste inaugurandi modus vel à Patricio sublatus est, vel ab aliquo sanctorum ipsius Tirconelliæ. [217]. Modus quo inauguratus est dux Carinthiæ.—In imperatoris inauguratione ludicris cæremonia.

Post omnes omnium ordinum Hibernos convitiis amarulentissimè proscissos, ad monarchas etiam Hiberniæ speciatim carpendos sermonem vertit. Quorum cum numerum indicet nomina taceat, à suscepto historici munere adimplendo se multis abesse parasangis ostendit. Nemo enim vel in succindatâ Chronicorum scriptione unquam elaboravit, et plerasque res gestas silentio involvit, cæteris potius insinuatis quam narratis, qui regum provinciæ cujus res gestas paucis perstringere aggressus est nomina non ediderit. Nulla regio est vel à nostris finibus terrarum spatio, vel à nostrâ memoria temporis intervallo quamvis remotissima, cujus regum seriem, vel priscorum opera, vel nuperorum industria nobis non aperuit. Quid præclari de Hibernia promanaturum ab eo sperabimus, qui Principum ejus ne nomina quidem promere dignatur? Annon qui non solum recessus, ac latebras artis quam docere profitetur, sed etiam rudimenta tradere vel neglexit, vel sprevit, aut ignorantiam, aut malitiam prodit? A Giraldo autem prima suscepti operis elementa prætermissa fuisse quis negabit? cum Hiberniæ conditionem, et quæ in ea scitu digna fuerunt, scriptis patefacere conatus, regum ejus nomina lectorum notitiæ subduxerit. Qui regionis alicujus cognitione è libris hauriendæ naviter incumbunt, nominibus in ea dominantium ediscendis avidius inhiant, qui ubi suam in hac parte spem à Giraldo non adimpletam esse perspexerint, continuo illum socordiæ (ut nihil gravius dicam) arguent. Hæc autem supina ejus negligentia minus molestè ferenda foret, si non in eorum regum qui gentem factis dedecorarunt facinoribus memoriæ posteritatis transmittendis sedulum se scriptorem præbuisset. Ut eorum quæ Hiberni præclare gesserunt oblitus; quæ minus benè de industria recordatus fuisse videatur. Quo quæ iis ornamento futura erant à memoriâ hominum eraderentur, quæ probro hominum animis insculperentur. In qua re, heroibus illis disparem se Giraldus gessit, qui nihil præter injurias ob-

The kings of Ireland were crowned.—My opinion on the anointing of the kings of Ireland.—When were the emperors of the West first anointed? [313]. When the French and the English kings?—Geoffry of Monmouth a fabulous writer.—Kings of Ireland mentioned amongst those who were anointed. [314]. Kings of Ireland always elected from certain families.—Tanistry must not be condemned.—In very many countries the sons did not succeed their parents.—The Irish king and his successor both named at the same time. [315]. That was a politic arrangement.—Succession and election.—Giraldus's false account of the inauguration of the kings of Tirconaill.—Testimony of Giraldus not to be admitted, because it is contradicted by native authorities.—St. Patrick, or some of the Tirconaill saints, would have abolished an indecent mode of inauguration. [317]. Mode of inauguration of the dukes of Carinthia.—Ludicrous ceremony in the inauguration of the emperor.

AFTER disgorging the most virulent calumnies against all orders of the Irish people, he next singles out the Irish monarchs as the victims of his slander. By merely recording their number, without telling their names, he proves himself utterly insensible to the duties of a historian; for no person ever undertook to compile a chronicle, however abridged, however meagre in its notices, or silent with regard to the greater number of facts, who would not give the names at least of the kings of that province of whose history he was compiling a summary. There is no kingdom, however remote from our shores, or deeply buried in the night of ages, whose line of kings has not been preserved by some ancient annalist or modern compiler. What good could Ireland expect from a man who would not condescend to give even the names of her kings? When an author neglects or disdains to explain not only the abstruse and delicate points of what he professes to teach, but omits even its first principle, how can he be excused from ignorance or malice? And has not Giraldus manifestly neglected the most essential requisites of his work, in attempting to describe the state of Ireland, and all things deserving of notice, and yet not favoring his readers even with the names of the kings of Ireland? Whenever men apply themselves diligently to study the history of any country from books, their principal care is to learn the names of those who made the principal figures in it; but as Giraldus does not gratify their curiosity in this respect, gross negligence is the mildest censure they must pass on him. But this supine negligence would be more tolerable if he had not tasked his perverted industry in transmitting to posterity the memory of those kings whose reigns reflected dishonor on the nation. He appears to forget all the noble deeds of the Irish, and to treasure in his memory nothing but their crimes, that future generations should

liviscebantur, ille contumelias solummodo meminit; Illi assiduâ recordatione aliorum beneficia fovebant, Giraldus Hibernorum beneficia sicut ex animo, sic etiam è libris obliterat. Ut historiæ legem quæ veritatem celari vetat, huic frustra occlames.

Verum (si diis placet) hoc sibi silentium studio brevitatis indixit. Obvia quæque reticere, et aliena verbosius contexere, non grata brevitas est, sed turpis omissio. Ut vapulare Giraldus jure mereatur Horatiana illa objurgatione "brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio." Quidni enim obscurissimus ille sit, qui quæ necessitatem habebant tacitè prætermisit, quæ non habebant, loquacissimè ut edicerentur prosecutus est. Itaque mirari jam desino illum qui prolixitatis declinandæ causa, Reges Hiberniæ ne quidem nominavit, res eorum gestas nec vel verbo attigisse. Quorum nimirum non nomina, ideo forsitan edidit, quia numerus iis tantum Giraldo fuerint, et fruges tantum consumere nati, ac ad nihil aliud præstandum habiles ab illo æstimati. Qui consilii sui causam refert his verbis:[1] Regum Hiberniæ "nomina, gesta, et tempora hic prætereo, tum quia pauca in his insignia, et memoratu digna reperio: tum etiam ne compendium nostrum inutilis prolixitas impediret." Ille autem in Topographiæ vestibulo, sic pollicitationibus habenas laxavit, ut opus omnibus numerus absolutum fore, ac in eo nihil desideratum iri expectaverim: sed fidem ille suam, et omnem expectationem fefellit. Cum enim asseruerit: "Hibernicum orbem non omnino intactum, nullius tamen hactenus stylo comprehensum fuisse." Quis crederet [297] | illum res omnes Hibernicas scriptis ad amussim potius evulgaturum, quam brevi narratione perstricturum? cum præsertim paulò post subjecerit:[2] "Tertiam Topographiæ partem totam gentis Hibernicæ usque ad nostra jam tempora memoratu dignam producere historiam." Sed quàm liberalem in fide danda nunc illum vides, tàm parum integrum in ea servandâ mox comperies. Si adverteris quantum inter se discrepent, ac diducantur "totam historiam memoratu dignam" promittere, et

[1] Topo. d. 3, c. 43, [2] Ibidem. Præfat. Topog.

have no record of the glorious pages of Irish history, and that its black spots should be branded indelibly on the minds of men. This conduct of Giraldus is very unlike that of heroes who forget nothing but injuries. He remembers nothing but contumely; they treasured constantly in their hearts gratitude for favors. Giraldus has no place either in his heart or in his book for the good acts of the Irish. There is no use of reminding him of that law of history which prohibits truth to be concealed.

But, if you please, it was for brevity's sake that he passed over these things. The suppression, however, of the most prominent facts and verbose dissertation on irrelevant topics are not brevity but culpable omission. Giraldus justly falls under the censure of Horatius, "when I wish to be brief, I become obscure," for who can be more obscure than the man who suppresses essential points, and spins out long dissertations on irrelevant matters? It is by no means surprising that a man who, in his love of brevity, had no space even for the names of the kings of Ireland, should omit altogether the events of their reign. His reason for suppressing their names probably was that, in his opinion, they were only "a herd," born to consume the fruits of the earth, and capable of nothing better. Indeed, he plainly assigns the motive of his conduct in the following words: "I omit," he says, "the names, dates, and deeds of the kings of Ireland, both because I find very little worthy of being recorded, and because useless prolixity would only encumber my work." But in the commencement of his topography he was so lavish of promises, that I expected a perfect work, complete in all useful details; but he violated his own promise and deceived my expectations. For when he says "that the Irish world, though not entirely a novel subject, had never yet been fully exhausted by any writer," would not every man believe that it was not a brief narrative, but a detailed account of everything connected with Ireland that he was about to publish, especially when he adds, a little lower down, "that the third part of the Topography would contain all that was worthy of notice in the history of Ireland down to our own times." But he afterwards proves to be as faithless in keeping as he was liberal in making these promises, as you will find by comparing the enormous contradiction between a promise of "writing a complete

"pauca memoratu digna" omittere. Ut jam cernas qui pauca memorare detrectavit perinde esse ac si diceret nihil omnino "memoratu dignum" se relaturum. Cum tamen idem linguam, calamumque non compescat, sed loquacitate nimiâ lectorum aures obtundat, statuisse videtur quæ "memoratu indigna" sunt oratione prosequi. Ego jam nomina, resque aliquas regum gestas, non pro rerum dignitate, sed pro instituti brevitate operis initio edidi, ut Giraldi præteritionem aliquatenus resarcirem, ad alia nunc gradum facio.

Non dubito quin Latine scripta fuerint illa "Chronica" in quibus res Hibernicæ "diffusè nimis, et inordinatè, magnaque ex parte superfluè satis et frivolè, rudi quoque et agresti stylo congestæ fuerunt."[3] Giraldus enim linguam Hibernicam non callens, de stilo Hibernico indicium ferre non potuit. An proinde illa tam diffusà chronicà sermone latino contexta fuisse oportuit. Nec sat scio quo veterno correptus regum Hiberniæ nomina è tam vasto chao decerpendi laborem subire Giraldus fastidivit. Quos labores illum in gravioribus rerum Hibernicarum monumentis luce donandis non fugiturum censes, qui paucorum nominum exscribendorum onus præ tædio, vel fastidio declinavit? Certe culpam in illam jure conferimus, quod non iis latinis vocibus propria hominum nomina nunc efformamus, quæ tum in usu fuerunt. Hominum nomina quæ horridiorem enuntiationem Hibernicè præ se ferebant, illi tum expressione molliori proferebant. In qua re cum iis concordia nobis modo intercessisset; nec in tanta prolationis eorum nominum varietate modo fluctuaremus, si Giraldus propriorum nominum latinè exprimendorum beneficium posteritati præstitisset.

Quod autem ad regum Hiberniæ numerum attinet, illum Giraldus complexus est his verbis:[4] "Est numerus omnium regum qui à primo gentis hujus rege Herimone usque ad ultimum Rothericum Hiberniam rexerunt 181, et ab adventu Patricii usque ad Filimidii regis tempora 33 per 400 annos in Hibernia regnaverunt:"[5] Quæ numeratio non tam à veritate aberrat, quam ab eadem Giraldus recedit, cum in regnum Hiberniæ classem Turgesium refert quem dicit: "Regnum Hibernicum

[3] Prima Præfat. Topog. [4] Topog. d. 3, c. 45. [5] Ibidem. c. 36.

history of remarkable facts," and suppressing "the few facts which were remarkable." Who does not see that in thus refusing to chronicle even the few facts, he plainly professes that he will not record a single remarkable event, though he gives unbridled licence to his tongue and pen, and duns the ears of his readers, and appears obstinately bent on recording things which did not deserve to be recorded. Having already given the names of the Irish kings, and a few of their deeds, in a detail less suited to the dignity of the subject than to the precise object of my work, namely, to supply, in some measure, a deficiency in Cambrensis, I now proceed to other matter.

I have no doubt those chronicles which he describes as "treating of Irish affairs, in an exceeding diffuse and disordered style, full of frivolous redundancies, and in a rough, unpolished language," must have been written in Latin. Giraldus did not know the Irish language, and could not pronounce any judgment on Irish style, and therefore those diffuse chronicles must have been compiled in the Latin language. But I am at a loss to know what infatuation could have prevented Giraldus from taking the trouble of selecting from the vast chaos the catalogue at least of the kings of Ireland. What attention, think you, would that man give to the publication of the more important documental records of Ireland, who omitted, either from contempt or laziness, to transcribe a short catalogue of names? On him alone must rest the blame of our not being able now to write the proper names in the Latin form sanctioned by the usage of that day. The proper names of men, which sounded harsh and uncouth in Irish, were in those days written in a less repulsive form; and we could now follow their standard, and not be so much distracted by conflicting orthography of names, if Giraldus had conferred the slight favor on posterity of transcribing the Latin forms of those proper names.

With regard to the number of the kings of Ireland, Giraldus has the following statement: "The number of all the kings who reigned over the land from Ereamhon, their first king, down to Ruaidhri, the last king of Ireland, was 181, and from the arrival of St. Patrick to the reign of king Feidhlimidh, a space of 400 years, there reigned 33 kings." This statement of Giraldus is more conformable to truth than what he says of Turgesius, "that he held peaceful sway over Ireland during

aliquandiu pacificè rexisse."[6] Nemo tamen antè Giraldum regibus Hiberniæ Turgesium annumeravit. Plures enim regum qui post Hiberniam Catholicæ fidei luce perfusam eam administrarunt nomenclaturas a variis institutas percurri: varios etiam rerum Hibernicarum Annales evolvi. Licet autem illæ nomina tempusque regum; hi res prætereà illorum gestas accuratè complectantur, non tamen in regum album illæ, aut hi Turgesium retulerunt. Flannus à monasterio Buithiniæ lector, vir scriptis, et eruditione clarus an. Dom. 1050 fato functus, et Gillamadudas insignis condendi carminis artifex, qui circa annum Domini 1150 floruisse videtur, seriem eorundem regum carmine texuerunt, Tugesium tamen non intexuerunt. Nec post Giraldum eidem operæ quempiam incubuisse comperi, qui regum numero Turgesium adscripsit, præterquam unum Ketingum, qui à Giraldo in errorem adductus, Turgesium inter reges nostrâ memoria collocavit.[7] Certè catalogus regum Hiberniæ à Warræo nuper in lucem missus, Turgesii non meminit. Præterea Giraldus errorem hunc alio cumulavit non cum veritate modo, secum etiam de more pugnans:[8] Cum hic Hiberniam à Turgesio "pacifice" gubernatam, alibi "turbatam quietem, et interruptam aliquandiu ejus tranquillitatem fuisse" asserat. Quasi tumultum in republica excitare perinde foret, ac eam pacifice regere. Warræus in egregio libro quem de Hiberniæ antiquitatibus elucubravit, Hibernorum quotannis creberrima cum Danis prælia commemorat. [298] Et Giraldus ipse gentem utramque | "multis variisque conflictibus, et bellis atrocibus" decertasse scribit.[9] Ut vel hinc intelligas Hibernos summa contentione semper dimicasse, ne supremo Hiberniæ imperio Dani potirentur. A quo illos continenter exclusos fuisse id argumento est, quod scriptores non interruptum regum ordinem Turgesio ne memorata quidem historiis et annalibus inseruerunt; qui tradunt multo antè annum "octingentesimum trigesimum octavum," Danos Hiberniam crebris incursionibus vexasse, contra ac Giraldus eo anno Danos Hiberniam primum aggressos fuisse scribit. Omnium vero scriptorum veterum consensu liquet, illo anno Nellium Caillium ad Hiberniæ clavum, non Felimeum sedisse, contra quem Giraldus insinuare videtur. Felimeus vero Cassiliæ, seu Momoniæ rex anno Domini 818 salutatus

[6] Ibid. c. 37. [7] Antiquit. Hibern. [8] Topog. d. 0, c. 46. [9] Ibid. c. 37.

some years," for Giraldus was the first that gave a place to Turgesius in the catalogue of Irish kings. I have examined several catalogues of the kings who ruled Ireland after the establishment of the Christian faith, and these catalogues the works of different hands; I have also carefully perused different Irish annalists; yet, though the former record the names and the dates of the kings, and the latter give a careful account of the events of their reigns, neither of them mentions the name of Turgesius in the catalogue of kings. Flann, who was professor in Monasterboice [Mainister Buithi], and died in 1050, leaving a high reputation for learning and writing; Gillamadud, also, who was an eminent proficient in poetry, and flourished, apparently, about the year 1150, both compiled metrical catalogues of the Irish kings. But they do not mention Turgesius. Nor, with the exception of Giraldus himself, do I find a single person, treating of the same subject, give Turgesius the title of king, with the exception of Keating, who, in our own day, allowed him that honor on the authority of Cambrensis. The catalogue of Irish kings lately published by Ware, certainly does not mention Turgesius. Moreover, to this statement, so opposed to fact, Giraldus adds another, after his own fashion, opposed to himself. Here he states that Turgesius ruled Ireland "in peace," though he had stated, in another place, "that the peace was a troubled one, and its tranquillity was often interrupted," as if it were the same thing to raise commotions in a state and to govern it in peace. Ware, in his admirable work on the antiquities of Ireland, records the numerous battles, fought every year by the Irish against the Danes, and Giraldus himself writes "that both nations had many and various conflicts and terrible battles," from which it is evident that the Irish, at all times, resisted with all their might the establishment of the Danish dominion in Ireland. That dominion, if it ever existed, must have been very brief, since our historians and annalists give an uninterrupted succession of kings, without mentioning even Turgesius. They also recount the Danish invasions with which Ireland was harassed before 838, though that year, according to Giraldus, witnessed their first descent on the Irish shores. All our ancient writers agree that Niall Caille was king in Ireland in that year, and not Feidhlimidh, as Giraldus states. There was a Feidhlimidh, who ascended the throne of Caiseal in 818, and reigned

in ea dignitate viginti septem annos deinde perstitit. Et illi regnum Hiberniæ delatum fuisse nemo quoad scire potui præter Giraldum tradidit. Ei tamen titulum illum à Giraldo affictum fuisse non dixero, utpotè quem à quibusdam Momoniensibus retulisse sequentia Gillamadudi Hibernica carmina insinuant.

> " Ge airmhit Muimhnigh mine Feidhlim in airdrighe,
> Im dhuain in sabbriomalin, uair ni fhaighbhim os Erin."

Quæ carmina hunc sensum Latinè præ se ferunt.

> " Momonii Comes Felimeum regis Iernes
> Quamquam ornant titulo, tamen haud decoratur honore
> Hic nobis tanto; quando monumenta vetusta,
> Hunc non in regum Juvernæ classe locarunt."

Sed ut orationem meam ad Turgesium denuo revocem, Annales Hiberniæ fidem faciunt Nellum Caillium regem Hiberniæ regnandi finem, et Moelsachlinum initium an Dom. 844 fecisse. Ut nullus inter reges locus Turgesio pateat, qui peremptoris sui Moelsachlini decessor non fuerit.

Mire se Giraldus torquet,[10] ut non modo Turgesium sed etiam Gurmundum infestis armis Hiberniam suæ ditione subjecisse fidem faceret. In qua re Hibernos, et Anglos scriptores dissentientes nactus, è cæcutientis ingenii non è veritatis penu reconciliationis inter utrosque ineundæ argumenta deprompsit. Dicit enim Turgesium in Hiberniâ bello impetendâ, Gurmundi vices obiisse, illâ expeditione Gurmundi jussu susceptâ. Sed cum eum è regum numerum jam excluserim non est hic ea lis ad tribunal denuo producenda satis sit innuere, cùm ante multoties, tùm instituta de Gurmundo narratione suis se Giraldum dictis jugulasse; qui quam frustrà pro libidine reges alienos Hiberniæ administrandæ constituit, tam invidiose "pauca memoratu digna" ab Hiberniæ regibus acta fuisse negat. E quibus tamen plerique belli

[10] Topo. d. 3, c 38

27 years; but Giraldus is the only authority for asserting that he was monarch of Ireland. I do not accuse Giraldus, however, of inventing this story, as the following Irish lines from Gillamaduda show that he may have derived it from some Munster writers:

> "Though the mild men of Munster styled Feidhlimidh an arch-king,
> In my poem I place him not, for I find him not over all Eire."

Or, as it may be rendered from the Latin version:

> "Though Munster's gentle sons in Eire's royal line
> Rank Feidhlimidh their king, that praise they must resign:
> His fame our bards record, but never with the style
> Of head monarch over all the princes of our isle."

But returning to Turgesius, our Irish annals state that Niall Caille, king of Ireland, died, and that Maelseachlainn succeeded him in 844; and therefore there could be no place for Turgesius among our kings, as he was not the predecessor of Maelseachlainn, who slew him.

But Giraldus has recourse to amazing quibbles in order to prove that not only Turgesius, but Gurmundus, had defeated and subjugated the Irish. Finding a discrepancy on the matter between the English and Irish writers, he blundered upon a mode of reconciling their conflicting statements, but without a single fact to support him. Turgesius, he says, in that war against Ireland, was acting under Gurmund; the expedition being undertaken by order of Gurmund. But, as I have already shown that Gurmund was not king of Ireland, it is useless to renew the controversy here; it is enough to say that, in his history of Gurmund, as well as on many other occasions, Giraldus refutes himself; the man's attempts to impose imaginary kings on Ireland are as futile as his calumny "that the Irish kings had done few things worthy of record" was malignant. Of these kings, the majority were distin-

gloria clari; multi Reipub. administratione memorabiles, aliqui eruditione, ac literis exculti, nonnulli summa pietate, plures etiam sanctitate illustres extiterunt.

Non est consilii mei ex historiarum opere omnia huc facientia transferre, ne falcem in messem alienam injicere, opusculum hoc in molem immodicam efferre, aut nimia prolixitate lectori tædium creare viderer. Rerum itaque fastigia solummodo consectabor. Scriptorum omnium sententiæ Hibernos bellicosissimam essse gentem conspirant. Eorum igitur monarchæ quantum cæteros dignitate tantundem rei militaris scientiâ superare quis nec quicquam inficiabitur?[11] Cum præsertim ut ait Giraldus, plerique "vi et armis Monarchiam obtinuerint." Monarchis profecto illis qui Christianis institutis nondum imbuebantur, assidua pugnandi domi, forisque consuetudo bellandi callum obduxit, ut eorum multo plures in acie, quam intra privatos parietes animam efflaverint, ita ut illud memorabile Vespasiani dictum crebrò sermone usurpasse videantur. "Stantem imperatorem mori oportere." Majori enim gloriæ sibi esse ducebant, pugnâ quam morbo mortem oppetere, et malebant militiæ sanguinem ferre, quam domi vitam ægritudine profundere. More scilicet Parthorum, qui tam pugnaces, et intrepidi fuerunt, ut solos beatos indicaverint, qui fortiter in bello ceciderunt:

[11] Topop. d. 3, c. 45.

[a] Dr. Lingard has copied this assertion nearly as it stands, nor could there be any just grounds of complaint against him or other historians for so doing, if their manner of stating the fact had not implied an invidious comparison, unfavorable to Ireland, as if this irregularity in the royal succession had been peculiar to Ireland. Yet the principle of that succession was substantially the same in the old Irish monarchy as in all the contemporary monarchies of the middle ages; that is, the crown was both hereditary and elective; hereditary in the sense that the kings could not be selected except from one family; elective in the sense that the selection of that successor was nominally, at least, vested in the nation. To obviate, in some manner, the inconveniencies of elective succession Ireland had, moreover, a usage unknown to other elective monarchies. The successor to the throne or tanist was always named during the lifetime of the reigning monarch. This contrivance did not prevent, it is true, the bloody

guished in war; some were famed for learning and literary productions, others were men of great piety, and many were celebrated for their extraordinary sanctity.

It is not my intention to collect from our histories everything relating to this subject, lest I might be putting my sickle into another man's harvest, and by swelling my work to an immoderate size, weary my reader by excessive prolixity. A summary is all I intend to give. First, all authorities are unanimous in describing the Irish as a most warlike people. Is it not vain, then, to deny that their monarchs were as far superior to others in military science as they were in rank and authority? especially when Giraldus himself declares that "the majority of them seized the crown by violence and arms."[a] Before the conversion of the Irish, the Irish monarchs were so constantly engaged in war, both at home and abroad, that comparatively few of them died peacably at home. The greater number fell in battle, and appear to have acted on the celebrated maxim of Vespasianus "that an Emperor ought to die standing." It was more glorious, they believed, to die in battle than by sickness: to pour out their heart's blood on the enemy's lance, than to pine away at home from disease. Like the Parthians, who were so warlike and fearless, that they thought those alone happy who had fallen in war, and denounced those as effeminate and cowardly who ex-

contests for the throne, so common everywhere during these times. But if the old Irish monarchy be compared with others, it will be found not worse than its neighbours. It is unfair to contrast it with monarchies of later times; the proper mode of judging it is to compare it with any other royal line from the fifth century to the eleventh—that is, from the conversion of the island to the usurpation of Brian Boroimhe; and during that time the succession will be found to be almost as regular and fully as peaceable as in most contemporary states. From notes to volume ii. p. 100, it appears the crown was confined to three branches of the same family: that gradually the succession was becoming more restricted; and that the number of kings who died in peace, or in battle against foreign enemies, as well as of those who succeeded to the throne without violence, was far greater than this assertion of Giraldus and his copiers implies.

[299] excedentes | autem è vita in lectulis suis, convitiis insectabantur ut ignavos et degeneres.[12] Constantinus ille rex Hiberniæ nondum Christianismum amplexus anno salutis 165 è vivis ablatus. Cedcahach id est Centimachus, à victoria in centum præliis reportatâ cognominatus est. Nellus Noviobses Hibernice Noigallach nomen inde adeptus est, quod è novem ditionibus obsides retulerit, utpote ab Ultonia, Connacia, Momonia, Lagenia, Britonibus, Pictis, Dalreudinis, Saxonibus, et Morinis Galliæ.[13] Est penes me apographum è vetere membrano vitam S. Patricii tribus libris complexo meâ operâ exscriptum, quod quibus incursionibus Nellus Britanniam infestaverit, indicat his verbis: "Scoti de Hibernia sub rege suo Nello Noengialach multam diversas provincias Britanniæ contra Romanum Imperium, regnante Constantio filio Constantini devastabant, contendere incipientes Aquilonarem plagam Britanniæ. Et post tempus bellis et classibus Hibernienses expulerunt habitatores terræ illius habitaverunt ipsi ibi." Reges enim Hiberniæ per illa et præeuntia tempora crebrò Britanniam aggressos fuisse cum multa tum sequentia nos docent è vita S. Patricii desumpta.[14] "Scotensis exercitus classe de more conductâ, stipatâque multitudine navium cum frequenter transnavigasset in Britanniam, multos inde ducebat captivos: et hoc solite faciens:" &c.[15] Quod idem vita quarta repetit his verbis: "Classes Hiberniensium ad Britanniam causa prædandi transnavigare solebant, et quoscunque apprehendissent, ad Hiberniam transferebant."[16] Additque S. Patricius ipse plura millia secum ad Hiberniam in servitutem abducta fuisse.[17] Ut huc spectasse Beda videatur dicens: "Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum post non longum tempus reversuri." Et Claudianus dicens:

"Totam cum Scotus Ibernem
Movit, et infesta spumavit remige Thetis."[18]

Nellus ille quidem in patriis monumentis narratur, dum in Gallia Ligeris fluvii oras armis infestaret, Euchodii sui civis, et Lageniæ regis

[12] Episcopus Caie. de Rep. p. 218. [13] Trias Thaum. p. 447, nu. 56. [14] Trias Thaum. 3. vita 5. [15] Patri. c. 2, p. 12, 22. [16] Ibidem. c. 15, p. 37. [17] Usherus de prim. p. 828, l. 1, c. 14, 2. [18] Panegeri Stilico.

pire in their beds—such was the spirit of the Irish. Constantine, king of Ireland, before the establishment of Christianity, who died in 165, was surnamed Ceadcathach or "of the hundred fights" from the victories he had gained in 100 battles. Niall of the nine hostages, surnamed Naei-giallach, acquired that title from the hostages of nine nations that owned his sway, namely, Ulster, Connacht, Munster, Leinster, the Britons, Picts, Dalredians, Saxons, and the Morini of Gaul. I have in my possession, a life of St. Patrick, in three books, transcribed by myself from an old vellum MS. which gives the following account of the invasions of Britain by Niall: "During the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine, the Scots from Ireland, under this king Niall Naeigiallach, laid waste many different provinces of Britain in despite of the Roman power; the northern parts of the island, were first assailed, and after a time the Irish succeeded by their fleets and armies in expelling the inhabitants of that land, and occupying it themselves." We have many authorities for the invasion of Britain by the Irish in that and preceding times, especially the following extract from the life of St. Patrick: "The Scottish army gathering a fleet according to their custom, sailed over to Britain in an enormous number of ships, and carried away many captives thence, and this was a common custom of theirs," &c., &c.,—the fourth life gives the same statement—"The Irish fleets were in the habit of making descents on the shores of Britain and carrying off to Ireland all whom they could seize." St. Patrick himself states, that he was carried with many thousand others into captivity. It must be to these facts Beda alludes—"the insolent Irish plunderers returned home, but only to come back in a short time." And Claudianus also:

> "The Scots from all their Irish shores
> Disturb the ocean with their hostile oars."

This Niall, according to the accounts of our native annalists, was treacherously slain by his countryman, Eochadh, king of Leinster, while they were plundering the country on the banks of the river Suir. The

telo, ex insidiis conjecto perfossus interiisse. Monumenta etiam eadem tradunt, Dathiam Nelli successorem per Galliam copias ac terrorem latè circumferentem, non procul ab Alpibus positum de cœlo tactum periisse. Quas res à scriptoribus Gallicis silentio prætermissas fuisse minimè miror.[19] Ut quos in rebus etiam suis posteritati scripto transmittendis elingues fuisse nuperi scriptores Gallici conqueruntur. Quid memorem Herulos in litoralibus Insulis ad oras Aquilonares Germaniæ degentes Dathem,[20] et Aordon reges genere Hibernos habuisse, et Suriam matre ab Hiberniæ seu Scotiæ regibus oriunda genitam Biscaiæ an. Dom. 870 dominatum, Biscaiæ Principatum ad longam nepotum seriem transmisisse. Itaque reges Hiberniæ de finibus, et armorum gloria non solum creberrimis præliis domi decertarunt, sed etiam exteras nationes bello adorti, solum alienum bellicis tumultibus turbari quam suum maluerunt,[21] Scipionem imitati bellum in Africa moventem, ut Annibalem, et turbas ex Italia illò avocaret.

Sed bello postea domi à Danis impetiti, in eo malo à cervicibus amovendo egregiam operam navaverunt. Signis enim cum hoste quam sæpissime collatis nonnunquam victi, multo crebrius victores evaserunt. Classis Normannorum (inquit Eginhard ad an. Dom. 812) " Hiberniam Scotorum insulam aggressa turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est, parte non modica Normannorum interfecta." Quæ verba reperiuntur in vita Caroli magni à monacho Engolimensi scriptâ, et à Petro Pytheo in lucem emissâ, necnon etiam in continuatore Ammoini; et in Regino qui Danos dicit eos fuisse. Additque Albertus Krantzius in sua Norwegia ad annum 800 (812 dixisse debebat) regem Hiberniæ, post victoriam hanc relatam, impetrata per legatos à Carolo magno facultate per Galliam iter habendi gratiæ pro victoria referendæ causa adivisse.

[19] Horus Gallicus. l. 1, c. 1. [20] Welsangus lassin. de migratione gentium, l. 12. [21] Le monde in Biscaiæ.

[b] Authentic Irish history has not recorded the names either of Ardon or Dathin or Suria. The countries, in which these persons are said to have been, chime with the traditions of the two colonies, one from the north of Europe, and the other from Spain or the south of France, which came, it is said, to Ireland.

same authorities state, that Dathi, successor to Niall, after spreading devastation and terror far and wide through Gaul, was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps. I am not at all astonished that these facts are not recorded by Gallic writers; as modern French authors complain that they were very careless in transmitting their history to posterity. Need I mention that the Flemish,[b] who inhabited the island on the northern shores of Germany, were ruled by Dathen and Aordon, two kings of Irish race; and that Suria, king of Biscay, in 870, was the son of a woman who was descended from the kings of Ireland or Scotland. The kings of Ireland therefore fought many battles not only on their own soil for disputed territories or military glory, but also carried their arms into foreign lands, with the politic design of transferring the horrors of war into the enemy's country, like Scipio, who carried the army into Africa, to relieve Italy from Annibal and the disorders of war.[c]

But when the curse of the Danish invasion descended on them, they won immortal laurels in repelling that yoke from their neck. They fought innumerable battles against the invaders, and, though sometimes defeated, were generally victorious. "The fleet of the Northmen," says Eginhard, A.D. 812, "having made a descent on Ireland, the island of the Scots, was repulsed with disgrace, and after losing a great number of its forces, retreated homewards."[d] These words are found in a life of Charlemagne, written by a monk of Angouleme, and published by Peter Pytheus. They also occur in the continuation of Ammoin and in Reginus, who says they were Danes. Albert Krantz, in his history of Norway, at the year 800 (he should have said 812), states that after that victory the king of Ireland sent an embassy to Charlemagne for permission to pass through France, on his way to Rome, to return thanks for his success.

[c] There is not the slightest evidence that any of these Irish expeditions to foreign countries were suggested by this politic motive of changing the scene of war. The early expeditions to France and Britain, at the period of the fall of the Roman empire, were undertaken with the same motives as the invasion of the empire by the Germans and other barbarians.

[d] See page 167, vol. i., where our author has already mentioned this

Huc accedit quod Adolfus Cypræus in Annalibus episcoporum Slesnicensium in Dania, pag. 6, scripserit hæc verba: "Regnerus rex Daniæ 56 potentissimus, qui tamen ab excitata fortuna quæ ipsi in [300] subjugandis regnis Sueciæ, Russiæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Norwegiæ, et Hiberniæ plurimum favit, ad inclinatam et pene jacentem descivit. Namque ab Hella Hiberniæ rege captus in carcere expiravit sub annum 841." Hellam autem hunc (Ailillum potius dixero peregrini hominis inscitia rectam vocis prolationem vitiante) non regem Hiberniæ, sed nobilem aliquem grandioris exercitus ductorem fuisse oportet. Nullus enim illo nomine affectus post fidem Christianam ab Hibernis imbibitam præter Ailillum Molt, fato circa salutis annum 453 functum, Hiberniæ gubernaculis admotus est. His etiam adde, quod anno post Christum natum 948, Congalacho Hiberniæ rege cum Danis congrediente, sex millia Danorum præter captos et vulneratos in acie ceciderunt. Legi alibi septies mille Danos in prælio de Muinebrocain in Media desideratos fuisse,[22] ut hinc putem, præter læsos mille quoque in conflictu captos fuisse. Uberiori oratione pugnarum quas Hiberni cum Danis iniverant eventus prosequerer,[23] nisi accurata Warræi industria in hac re satis cumulatè præstanda meam operam antevertisset.

Cœterum post abactos Danos, et sopitas turbas ab iis excitatas, Hiberni ad bellum peregrè proficisci, et suppetias amicis subministrare non destiterant.[24] Nam triginta naves sociis ad Sabrinæ oras laborantibus submiserunt. Et "duo filii Heraldi regis cum multis vernaculis patris Dirmetum Hiberniæ regem pro obtinendo juvamine aggressi sunt. De cujus regno eodem suffragante parva temporis intercapedine, non minimam manum militum sibi contraxerunt. Deinde cum sexaginta sex navibus qua in regione maxime opportunum æstimaverunt totius Angliæ repetierunt.[25] Sed Briennus Ducis Britanniæ filius cum iis una die duobus præliis manum conseruit, cæsis vero mille, et septingentis bella-

[22] Ketingus. [23] In Antiq. Hibern. c. 24. [24] Baker in Histor. Angl. p. 241. [25] Gemitensis de ducibus Norman. lib. 6, c. 40.

fact. The Irish acted their part very creditably against the Danes; but the editor is not aware that they undertook at the time any foreign expeditions with the view of diverting the war from the Irish shores.

We may add, that Adolfus Cypræus, in his annals of the Bishops of Sleswick, in Denmark, states, in page 6 of that work, "Regner, 56th king of Denmark, was a most powerful monarch; but the extraordinary fortune which enabled him to conquer the kingdoms of Sweden, Russia, England, Scotland, Norway, and Ireland, at last deserted him, and consigned him to ruin. He was taken prisoner by Hella, king of Ireland, and died in prison, about the year 841." This Hella, or rather Ailill, (a mistake which might easily be made by a foreigner in the orthography of the name), was not king of Ireland, but some nobleman who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army. No king of that name sat on the Irish throne after the conversion of Ireland, except Ailill Molt, who died about the year 453. We may also add that in the year 948 Congalach, king of Ireland, encountered the Danes, and left 6,000 of them dead on the field of battle, exclusive of the wounded and prisoners. In another authority I read, that 7,000 Danes were slain in the battle of Muinebrecain, in Meath, whence I conclude that, besides the wounded, there must have been at least 1,000 prisoners. I would give a more detailed account of the results of the wars of the Irish against the Danes, if the accuracy and extensive erudition of Ware had not anticipated me by exhausting the subject.[e]

But after the expulsion of the Danes, and the suppression of the disorders which they had excited, the Irish continued to engage in foreign wars and send auxiliaries to their friends. When their allies were in danger, they sent thirty ships to the shores of the Severn, and when "the two sons of king Harold, with many of their countrymen, applied to Diarmaid, king of Ireland, to obtain assistance, the king consented, and in a short time they gathered around their standard a great number of soldiers. Embarking with a fleet of 66 ships, they steered to what they believed was the most favorable spot for landing in England. But Brienne, duke of Bretagne, fell in with them, and on the same day fought two battles, in which he slew 1700 of their men.

[e] Several other Irish kings distinguished themselves against the Danes. If the tract on the Wars of the Danes, which has been so long promised to the public, be worthy of the subject, it will be a very interesting episode in Irish history. From the coincidence of dates, Regner is, perhaps, the Turgesius of Irish history, who was killed in 843.

torum, reliqui è certamine fugientes navium præsidio necis excidium utcunque evaserunt, et ex charorum amissione permaximum Hiberniensibus luctum reportaverunt." Eadem Walsingamus habet in Ypodigmate Neustriæ, p. 437. Porrò Dermitium illum omnes Lageniæ, pauci Hiberniæ regem statuunt. Lageniæ quidem regendæ initium an. Dom. 1052, finem 1072 fecit. Res ab illo præclare gestæ famam ejus longe lateque divulgarunt. Nam pluribus expeditionibus in Momoniam habitis, Momonienses tumultuantes coercuit, et obsequium, obsidesque Terdelacho O'Brien Tadei filio vel invitos deferre coegit. Hunc enim utpote alumnum suum maluit Momoniensibus imperare, quam Murchertachum Donati filium, qui de regno Momoniæ cum Terdelacho contendebat. Medenses quoque et Connacienses Dermitius bello impetiit, et in Momonia regnum pro arbitrio vel dabat, vel demebat. Ut toti saltem Leithmoæ citra controversiam dominatus fuerit. Atqui hinc tantum sibi claritatis nomen comparavit, ut exteri homines domestica illa regnorum discrimina non discernentes, illum pro Hiberniæ rege habuerint. Nec aliquibus ejus et aliorum Hiberniæ regum rebus bello gestis supra memoratis, hic iis denuò narrandis est ulterius immorandum.

Nec reges Hiberniæ magis belli, quam pacis artibus inclaruerunt. Plures enim eorum legibus constituendis, et Reipub. ad earum normam administrandæ naviter incubuerunt. Ante paganismum abrogatum, rex Hiberniæ Fælimeus an. Dom. 119, mortuus cognomentum Rachtmhar, id est legifer nactus idcirco est, quod legibus ferendis se addixerit, et legem talionis primus tulerit, qua Hiberni ab aliis damno afficiendis deterriti sunt, nè simile ipsi detrimentum pati cogerentur, ne ob oculos alii effossos, aut manus pedesve amputatos, ipsi oculis, manibusve aut pedibus capti esse cogerentur. Sed Cormacus Hiberniæ quoque rex Virginei partus anno 266 extinctus, omnes Hiberniæ reges Christianæ fidei luce nondum perfusos, legibus condendis et populis earum observatione accuratè imbuendis, longo intervallo antecelluit. Illæ porro in

[f] In June, 1069, the two sons of Harold returned a second time from Ireland, and landed near Plymouth. The leaders escaped, but almost all their followers were cut off in two engagements fought on the same day. See Lingard, History of England, vol. i. p. 448. Fifth edition.

The remnant flying from the field took refuge in their ships, and contrived to make their escape, but spread general grief throughout Ireland on their return, when they told the fate of their companions." Walsingham[f] records the same fact in his Hypodigma of Neustria, p. 437. Now few writers make this Diarmaid king of Ireland, but all agree that he was king of Leinster. His reign lasted from 1052 to 1072. His great exploits had spread far and wide the glory of his name. He made several expeditions into Munster, crushed the commotions excited against him, and compelled the Munstermen to give submission and hostages to Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, son of Tadhg. Muirchéartach, son of Donnchadh was the competitor of Toirdhealbhach for the throne; but Diarmaid preferred the latter, who was his foster-son. The men of Meath and Connacht were also attacked by Diarmaid, and he conferred and took away the crown of Munster at his pleasure, so that he was undisputed master of Leath Mogha at least. His great renown led foreigners to believe that he was monarch of Ireland, because they were unacquainted with the divisions of the kingdom. But as I have already given some account of the military glory of this king, and of the monarchs of Irelsnd, I cannot return to that subject again.

But the kings of Ireland were as famous in the arts of peace as in war. Many of them were eminent as legislators, and vigorously exerted themselves in establishing good laws. Before the abolition of paganism, Feidhlimidh,[g] king of Ireland, who died A.D. 119, was surnamed Reachtmhar, that is, "the lawgiver," from the many laws enacted by him, especially the "lex talionis," by which the Irish were deterred from inflicting injury on others under penalty of suffering the same injury themselves, of having an eye scooped out, or a hand or a foot cut off, for knocking out another's man's eye, or cutting off his hand or foot. But Cormac,[h] king of Ireland, who died A.D. 266, was far the most illustrious of all the pagan kings of Ireland in establishing good laws, and strictly enforcing their observance among his people.

[g] See some account of Feidhlimidh in vol. i. p. 469. His mother is said to have been a foreigner of Finnland, according to O'Flaherty.

[h] See vol. i. p. 479, et seq., for Cormac, and the traditions of his influence on the primitive civilization of Ireland.

Hiberniâ nondum è paganismi tenebris eductâ sic viguerunt; ut cætera omnes in desuetudinem abierint. Imo illas divus Patricius sibi exhibitas calculo suo ità comprobavit, et confirmavit, ut eas non solum à superstitibus tum Hibernis sanctè coli, sed etiam ad posteritatem inviolatè [301] transmitti jusserit. |

Cormaco Culenani filio Ketingus adscribit quod eo Momoniæ rege, pax toti regno sic affulserit, ut custodiendis armentis bubulcum, aut gregibus tutandis opilionem adhibere supervacaneum fuerit; et Dani qui latrociniis et direptionibus angulum quemque insulæ infestum habebant, Hiberniæ finibus ultrò excesserint, nec unquam antè rursus illam quam finem vitæ Cormacus attigerit.

Idem etiam Ketingus memorat Brianum Borumhium Hiberniæ regem adeo accuratâ regni administratione, severâque disciplinâ usum fuisse, ut fœminam unam ab Aquilonari Hiberniæ plagâ ad Australem progressam, annulum aureum in propatulo gestantem nemo attingere, vel minima violatione afficere ausus fuerit.

Porro sicut plures Hiberniæ reges Reipub. ritè moderandæ animos adjunxerunt, sic alii multis se literis impensè ornaverunt. Ollamus Follaus ob id maximè rex Hiberniæ renuntiatus est, quod plurimâ rerum scientiâ cumulatus fuerit, Ollami cognomine illi Eochodii nomen antea referenti propterea indito, quod supremum literaturæ gradum attigerit. Vox enim Hibernica Ollamh eadem significatione usurpatur, qua doctoris nomine modo utimur. Ut Ollamh Folla perindè sit ac doctor Hiberniæ. Primam Temoriensium comitiorum institutionem illi exceptam referimus; ad quæ Hiberniæ ordines de rebus arduis capita consiliaque collaturi, pravas consuetudines abolituri, et novas leges Reipub. salubres conditurí frequentes confluebant. Præterea singulis regiunculis Hibernicè Triuchechead, Latinè à Cambrensi Cantredis ap-

[i] Yet it is certain that the vigor and glory of his reign did not compensate for the evil precedent of his usurpation: after his time all hope of establishing anything like a regular succession to the crown seems to have disappeared.

[k] For this traditionary personage, see vol. i. p. 441. He was of the Irian race, which, in the editor's opinion, occupied Ireland before either the sons of Eibhear or Eireamhon appeared.

[l] Fodhla is a bardic name of Ireland.

Before the conversion of Ireland to the light of the Christian faith these laws acquired such an ascendancy, that all others were supplanted, and became obsolete. St. Patrick himself, after inspecting them, honored them with his sanction, and ordained that they should be observed not only by the Irishmen of that day, but by future ages in all their integrity.

Keating relates of Cormac Mac Cuileanan, king of Munster, that during his reign the whole kingdom enjoyed so profound a peace, that no herd or shepherd was required to guard the cattle or sheep; and even the Danes themselves, who had previously infested and pillaged every corner of the island, retired of their own accord from the land of Ireland, and did not return until after Cormac's death.

The same Keating states that Brian Boroimhe, king of Ireland, governed with such a firm hand and vigorous administration, that a lady travelled through the island from north to south, with a gold ring publicly exposed, and that no person dared to attack her or to offer the slightest molestation.[l]

And if many kings of Ireland devoted their care to sound government, many others were noble patrons of literature. Ollamh Fodhla[k] was raised to the Irish throne principally on account of his extensive literary acquirements. His original name was Eochadh, but he was surnamed Ollamh, because he had attained the highest grade in literary fame. The Irish word Ollaṁ means what we now call doctor, and Ollamh Fodhla[l] is the same as "Doctor of Ireland." To him we owe the institution of the Assembly of Teamhair, where all orders of the Irish state met to deliberate on affairs of moment, the abolition of bad customs, and the enactment of new laws for the good of the commonweal. He was also the founder of those bailebiadhtachs, or towns of hospitality,[m] which were established under an officer, in every territorial division of Ireland, called a Ṫriuchcheḋ, or, as the word is Latinized by

[m] These establishments were undoubtedly of Christian origin: unless it is contended that the pagan Irish had advanced farther in civilization than the most polished nations of antiquity, none of which had any institutions such as the Irish bailebiadhtaghs are described to have been. See vol. ii. p. , note.

pellatis Dynastas villis hospitatores primus præfecit.[26] "Dicitur autem Cantaredus tam Hibernica quam Britannica voce, tanta terræ portio, quanta 100 villas continere solet." Circa centum annos ante Christum natum Ollamus regnare ac vivere desiit.

Summæ vero doctrinæ qua Cormacus Arturi filius (cujus supra memini) insigniebatur, monumenta etiamnum extant. Librum enim scripsit, quem principis institutionem inscripsit. In quo, cum filio Carbrio colloquium instituens, principibus, ac regni candidatis, et ipsis regibus optima sui pro dignitate gerendi, et Reipub. gubernandæ documenta tradit. Liber etiam Triadum, in quo præstantissimæ quæque terniones connectuntur, illius opus est. Ipsius etiam opera Teamorense psalterium elucubratum est, in quo familiarum Hiberniæ insigniorum propagatio, et ratio qua se quæque familia cognatione mutuò attingebat exponebatur. Fines provinciis majoribus, minoribus regionibus, et minimis ditiunculis circumscribebantur. Census quoque ac tributa regibus Hiberniæ à provinciis pendi solita, vectigalia etiam quæ provinciarum reges à clientibus, et redditus, quos à colonis hi percipere consueverunt perscribebantur. Illi etiam Senasan Cormaic, id est etymologicum Cormaci à pluribus adscribitur. Flannus Mac-Eganus Hibernicæ jurisprudentiæ peritissimus, et aliorum illâ excolendorum institutor insignissimus (me audiente) S. Cormacum Culenani filium hujus operis authorem potius fuisse quam Cormacum hunc Arthuri filium censuit.

Cormacus vero ille Culenani filius plurimis laudibus efferendus est quod pietati literas adjunxerit.[27] Nam præter dictionarium etymologicum modo memoratum, inter ejus lucubrationes psalterium Casselliense recensetur, opus multa rerum varietate distinctum. Eum autem literis addictissimum fuisse, vel id documento est, quod Momoniæ habenas moderatus juventuti literis excolendæ gymnasia aperiri, literatos libris edendis naviter incumbere, jurisprudentiam, et historiam,[28] cæterasque liberales artes per idoneos magistros vulgo edoceri curaverit.

[26] Hibern. Expug. l. 2, c. 18. [27] Warræus de script. Hibern. c. 6. [28] Jocelinus, c. 174.

[n] See Philip O'Sullivan's speculations on the Irish baronies and townlands. Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 11. Dublin, 1850. It is cited in the sequel of this chapter by our author.

Cambrensis, "a cantred." "A cantred, according to its Irish and British signification, means a district of land, including the usual dimensions of 100 villas."[n] Ollamh Fodhla died king of Ireland about 100 years before the birth of Christ.

There are still extant monuments of the great learning of Cormac, son of Art, of whom I have already spoken. He wrote a work, entitled "The Institution of a King," in the form of a dialogue with his son Cairbre, describing in detail the qualifications of princes, aspirants to the throne, and even of kings themselves, and teaching them how to do honor to themselves and service to the state. The book of the Triads, or the enumeration of all good things in threes, is also his composition. The Psalter of Teamhair, which gave the genealogy of all the principal families of Ireland, and of the unions between them, was also compiled under his inspection. He defined the limits of the larger provinces, and of the smaller principalities, and of the smallest territorial divisions. The revenues and tributes paid to the monarch of Ireland by the provincial kings, and the revennes and services paid to the provincial kings by their chief tenants, and the rent paid to the latter by their farmers, were also determined. The Sanasán Chormaic, or Cormac's Glossary, is also attributed to him by many authorities. [But] Flann Mac Aedhagain [Mac Egan], who was profoundly versed in Irish law, and the most eminent law professor of his day, stated, in my hearing, that St. Cormac Mac Cuileanan, and not Cormac, son of Art, was the author of that work.[o]

It was the chief glory of Cormac Mac Cuileanan that he combined in himself the most eminent sanctity and learning. Besides this Etymological Dictionary, he also composed the Psalter of Caiseal, a miscellany of most interesting matter. During his reign Munster exhibited striking evidence of his zeal for learning; schools were opened for the education of youth, learned men were diligently engaged in composing books, and public lectures were given by competent professors in jurisprudence, in history, and in the other liberal arts.

[o] And of the correctness of Mac Egan's opinion there appears to be no doubt at present. For the other works attributed to Cormac Mac Art, see vol. i. p. 481.

S. Cormacum hunc in literarum studiis provehendis, Brianus Boromhius Hiberniæ rex non segniter imitatus est. Illo enim Hibernis imperante, hominum animi literis excolebantur, et scholis post diuturnos Repub. tumultus pacatos apertis, omnes scientiæ propalam edocebantur, [302] sumptu | iis ad victum, et libros comparandos subministrato, qui inopiâ laborantes ad literas ediscendas animum adjungebant.

Sed regum Hiberniæ sive scientiam, sive ad literarum studia propaganda ardorem eorundem pietas, et sanctioris vitæ sectandæ studium non adæquit modo, sed etiam longe superavit. Cujus rei insigne documentum est, quòd in primo illo Christianæ religionis ardore,[29] decimo quoque utriusque sexus divini numinis cultui jam mancipato, decima quoque agrorum, et armentorum pars iisdem alendis destinaretur. Amplam hanc largitionem largiendi etiam studio superantes, cum quatuor equorum pastus iis erogandus, qui per ventura tempora ecclesiasticorum numero aggregarentur, non esset reliquus, si quam in conferendis agris Hiberni liberales erant, tam in iis recipiendis S. Patricius exorabilis esset. Ut non solum eorum facta magnam pietatem, sed etiam studia maximam sapuerint. Supervacaneum duco omnia omnium Hiberniæ regum piè facta huc adducere, aut quam innumera ipsi per se, aut alii eorum exemplo incitati templa ac monasteria condiderunt recensere. Non enim eorum historiam texo, sed brevem narrationem, ad invidiosi æmuli convitia compescenda instituo. Quare quædam tantum specimina pietatis ab eorum aliquibus edita exhibebo. Nellum illum Noviobsidem non solum Christianâ religione imbutum, summâ etiam virtute ornatum fuisse id evincit, quod cadaver ejus quam integritatem primo sepultum habuit, eandem humo post centum annos effossum retinuerit. Et sanctus Carnechus Tulenensis Antistes leprâ infectus, Nelli se Sarcophago immittens leprâ immunis evaserit.

[29] Jocelinus, c. 174.

[p] A system which was sometimes the cause of serious abuses, by the violence done to children in their choice of a state of life. But several councils of the church, though not prohibiting the offering of children to churches and monasteries, ordered that such offering should have no effect, until it had been voluntarily approved by the children themselves when they came of age.

Brian Beroimhe, king of Ireland, nobly imitated the example of St. Cormac, in the advancement and encouragement of learning. While he swayed the Irish sceptre, men were schooled in literature, colleges were founded after the suppression of the tumults which had so long distracted the state, all branches of learning were publicly taught, and those who could not support themselves during their studies were gratuitously supplied with sustenance and books.

The piety of the kings of Ireland, and their zealous desire of a holy life, not only equalled, but far surpassed their ardor for science and the diffusion of learning. A signal proof of their zeal, in the first fervor of the Christian faith, was the dedication of every tenth child, male and female, to the worship of God,[p] and of the tenths of their herds and lands to support them. But this liberal munificence was less than their wishes; for if St. Patrick had accepted all the grants of land offered to him, there would not remain to be secured by future ecclesiastics as much pasture land as would feed four horses. Thus it is not by their deeds alone, but also by their good intentions, that we must estimate their zeal. I think it entirely superfluous to record here all the pious deeds of the Irish kings, or to enumerate all the churches and monasteries founded either by them, or by others under the influence of their example. I am not writing a history, but only a brief sketch, to refute the calumnies of a jealous enemy. A few specimens, therefore, of the piety of Irish kings are sufficient for my purpose. That Niall of the Nine Hostages was not only a Christian, but highly eminent for Christian virtue, appears from the fact, that when his body was raised from the tomb one hundred years after his death, it was found as incorrupt as when it had first been deposited in the earth. And St. Cairneach, bishop of Tulen, who was a leper, was cleansed from his leprosy, by descending into Niall's monument.[q]

See a council of Mayence in 813 on this subject. L'Abbe Concilia, vol. vii. p. 1248. By the rules of the church this first offering was not an irrevocable engagement, to the obligations either of the ecclesiastical or monastic state, but a sort of noviciate, by which the child had the advantage of the best education the times afforded, without being bound, unless he wished, to embrace the religious state.

[q] That Niall was a Christian is ex-

Moelchobius Hiberniæ rex divi Columbæ operâ redivivus monachis se aggregavit, deindè Cloherensis episcopus effectus, ac tandem inter sanctos (ut aliqui scribunt) relatus est: esse autem rex Hiberniæ desiit an. Dom. 610.[30] Flabhertachus Hiberniæ rex post septennium in regno positum, regno se an. Dom. 729, abdicavit, et Armachæ diadema cucullo mutavit. Annis deindè triginta in severiori vivendi ratione actis, tandem an. Dom. 760, ad cœlos migravit.

Nelli Frassach, id est nimbosi, regis Hiberniæ pietatem Deus etiam ostentis agnovit:[31] "Cujus insignem principatum fecit, cum caritas annonæ maxima, non solum regnum, sed etiam regiam invadens, tum penuriæ remedium divinitus adhibitum. Nellus et episcopi septem, vitæ sanctitate præstantes, universorum laborem miserati, ad numinis præsidium confugiendum ducunt[32] Flexis genibus ad Deum preces ab imo corde fundunt. Ac Nellus quidem divinam misericordiam orat, ut si regnum propter peccata fame puniebat, vel universorum culpam in se unum expiet, vel omnibus condonet, alimenta quoque largiens. Neque vana fuit precatio.[33] Namque mox pluit argento. Veritate doni rex et lætior vigentes agit Deo gratias, et quod regnum non inopia argenti,[34] sed inedia premebatur confidenter auxilium petere pergit. Suavissimi mellis in terram plurimum decidit. Duplicato munere rex spem concipit firmiorem. Agit Deo summo grates. Sed quod ad tolerandam vitam mel non sufficiebat, preces animo continuat ardentiore, brevi tanta tritici copia ab æthere demittitur, ut per insulam terræ faciem operuerit. Ita Ibernia non modo ipsa tritici præsentis mali remedio abundavit,

[30] Trias Thaum. pa. 173, num. 28. [31] Ibidem. pa. 318, c. 50, p. 40, num. 50. [32] Ibidem. pa. 448. [33] An Hib. [34] Osullevanus in decade Patriciana, lib. 10, cap. 1.

ceedingly improbable. The argument above drawn from the incorrupted state of his body is trifling in the extreme, as no sufficient authority has been produced to show that his body was found in that state. The St. Cairneach of whom the legend in the text is told was not the Cairneach of Druimleathan, near Loch Feabhail (Foyle), but a Cornish Briton, who was celebrated at some place near Ceanannus (Kells), in Meath. Irish Nennius, Appendix, p. cxi.

[r] See vol. ii. p. 18, note, for this supposed resurrection of Maelcobha.

[s] Even such writers as Hallam can see advantage in the legends of the saints: "Even if we should often doubt particular facts, from slenderness of proof, they are at least such as

Maelcobha, king of Ireland, who was raised from the dead by St. Columba, was afterwards consecrated bishop of Clochar, and, according to some accounts, honored as a saint after his death. He ceased to be king of Ireland in 610.[r] Flaithbheartach, king of Ireland, resigned the throne after a reign of seven years, and exchanged the crown for the cowl in Ardmacha, A.D. 729. After a rigid observance of monastic discipline during thirty years, he passed to a better world in the year 760.

God was pleased to attest even by miracles the sanctity of Niall Frassach, king of Ireland. "His reign was remarkable not less for the unprecedented famine, which preyed as well on the palace as on the kingdom, than for the miraculous remedy applied to that famine by God. Niall and seven bishops, of eminent sanctity, moved by the universal misery, resolved to appeal for mercy to the throne of God. They kneel down, and pray most fervently. Niall implores the Divine mercy, that if the famine were sent on the country as the punishment of his sins, either all the vengeance should be visited on him alone, or that all should be pardoned, and receive sustenance from God. His prayer was heard. Immediately there fell a shower of silver. The king, encouraged by this evident mark of divine favor, returned thanks to God; but, as want of food, not of money, was the calamity of his kingdom, he continued to appeal confidently to the mercy of heaven. A great shower of the most delicious honey then fell on the earth. The king's hopes were confirmed by this repetition of God's favor. He gave thanks to the Most High God; but, as honey was not sufficient to support life, he continued to pray with greater fervor than before, and in a short time wheat fell in such quantities from the sky, that it covered the whole face of the island.[s] Ireland had thus not only an abundant supply for her own consumption, but was able to export to

the compilers of these legends thought praiseworthy, and such as the readers of them would be encouraged to imitate." "It was not the mere interest of the story, nor even the ideal morality, which constituted the principal charm of the legends; it was the constant idea of Providence supporting the faithful in those troublous times, and of saints interfering in favor of the innocent." State of Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 111, text and note, Tenth edition.

sed illud etiam potuit aliis regionibus suppeditare. Hinc Nellus Frassach id est nimbosus ab argenti, mellis, et tritici nimbis cœptus est cognominari."

Triplicem autem illum imbrem cœlo decidisse an. Dom. 764 liquet. Eo enim anno Hiberniam Tigernacus ait: "Defectione panis" (sunt ipsissima illius verba) laborasse, duobus scilicet antè annis quam Nellus regio sceptro nuntium remittens, in Hiam S. Columbæ insulam peregrè secederet, ut saluti animæ comparandæ securius vacaret: ubi vitam et pietatis exercitium ad octavum deinde annum, et salutis humanæ 773 protraxit.

Malachiam Moelruani filium Hiberniæ regem regno et vita anno Domini 860 functum,[35] in cœlum advolantem S. Corbreus episcopus Clonmacnosensis aspexit, Malachiæ manibus ei se visendos præbentibus, et indicantibus se purgatorii cruciatu torqueri: è quo innuit se eductum iri, si S Corpreus id à Deo precibus fusis impetrare contenderet. [303] Malachias | Corpreo postulationi annuente, et voti, et æternæ gloriæ compos factus est. Hujus tamen cœlo jam inserti famam pejori nota inurere Giraldus non dubitat. Ad quam oratione abstergendam, gradum hic tantisper sisto. Turgesius fœda libidine correptus filiæ Malachiæ amplexus tam ardenter ambibat, ut pudoris expers, patrem ad filiam pelliciendam lenonem adhibuerit.[36] Sed pater ut Giraldo placet, "Ad consuetas Hiberniæ genti artis iniquæ decipulas, non inefficaci molimine, statim recurrit, et virus sub pectore versans," filiam quindecem imberbibus adolescentibus habitu puellas ementitis comitatam, in Lochriæ insulam ad Turgesium totidem nobilibus ex pacto stipatum mittit, quos omnes in amplexus furibundè irruentes subornati ad cœdem juvenes confoderunt. Giraldus hanc narrationem verbosius scripsit, ego in pauca contraho. In ea vero Giraldum ad ingenium et "consuetas artis iniquæ decipulas" redire video: nempè facinus unius toti genti ascribentem. Maculam autem qua Malachiæ famam inficere molitur, non meis, sed Stanihursti verbis amoveo dicentis: "Nimis est in scribendo mordax Giraldus, cum facinus omnibus laudibus celebrandum parum consideratè reprehendat. Num iniquum esse existimabimus, barbarum sicarium ex omnibus vitiis conglutinatum, qui bellum non tam Hibernis, quam

[35] Colc. 6, Martii, p. 508. [36] Topog. d. 3, c. 40.

foreign countries. Henceforward Niall was surnamed Fꞃaꞅꞅach, or the 'showery,' from these showers of silver, honey, and wheat."

These three showers must have fallen in the year 746. It was in that year that, in the words of Tighearnach, there was "a want of bread" in Ireland. Two years before Niall resigned the royal diadem, and retired to Ia, the island of St. Columba, to provide more securely for the salvation of his soul. He spent eight years there in all the exercises of Christian piety, and died in 773.

When Maelseachlainn, king of Ireland, son of Maelruanaidh, died on the throne in 860, St. Corbre, bishop of Cluainmicnois, saw his soul ascending to heaven. Maelseachlainn had first appeared, and informed the bishop that he was suffering in purgatory, from which he said he could be liberated if the bishop earnestly prayed to God in his behalf. St. Corpre zealously complied with this petition, and Maelseachlainn was translated to the eternal joys of heaven. But the eternal happiness of this king could not shield him from a most calumnious charge of Cambrensis. Let us devote a little space to repel the accusation. Turgesius, under the influence of impure passion, with which he burned for the daughter of Maelseachlainn, was so dead to shame, that he proposed to the father to be an accomplice in the ruin of his child. The father, according to the account of Giraldus, "had recourse instantly to the treacherous machination so peculiarly Irish, and not without success, for hoarding up his sweltering venom," he sent in the train of his daughter fifteen beardless youths, dressed in ladies' clothes; he met Turgesius with the same number of chosen nobles in the Isle of Loch Riach. When the tyrant and his associates, maddened by their brutal passions, were preparing to commit the crime, the youths in the murderous plot massacred them. Such is briefly the substance of a fact, which Giraldus details at great length. Here, too, he evidently betrays "his usual treacherous art," by ascribing to a whole nation the act of a few. But Stanihurst suffices, without any aid from me, to vindicate the fame of Maelseachlainn from the stain which Giraldus would affix to it. "Giraldus is too censorious in his books for inconsiderately condemning a deed that cannot be too highly extolled. Must we pronounce it a crime to slay, armed or unarmed, asleep or awake, a barbarous cut-

Christianæ religioni indixit? qui omnia passim delubra funditus eradicavit? qui tot annos intolerandam tyrannidem occupavit? qui adolescenti virgini stuprum inferre decrevit? Imo qui ipsum patrem, adversante et repugnante natura, ad filiolæ pudicitiam expugnandam tanquam ganeonem ex lustrorum fuligine nuper emersum sollicitavit, aut armatum, aut inermem, aut dormientem, aut vigilantem è medio tollere? dolus an virtus quis in tali hoste requirat? tale quiddam perpetratum fuisse temporibus Alexandri Amyntæ regis Macedonum filii, author est Carion libro tertio." Hactenus ille. Cui in tyranno perimendo Bodinus assentitur dicens;[37] tyrannum illum esse, qui sibi per vim summum imperium arrogavit, ad eam dignitatem nullis populi suffragiis, nullo successionis titulo, non sorte, non justo bello, non singulari divini numinis jussu evectus est. Hujusmodi tyranno, inquit, per antiquas leges manus inferre licuit. Imo eorum percussoribus præmia legibus constituta sunt; nimirum vel nobilitatis, vel pugilium, vel equitum titulis insigniti fuerunt, vel statuis illorum erectis honorati, vel cæsi tyranni opibus ditati, tanquam patriæ, ceu, ut Candioti dicebant, matriæ veri liberatores. Ac proindè plurimi tyranni funesto fine vitam terminarunt. Cujus rei plura exempla Plutarchus in Arato, et Tymoleonte suppeditat. Certè veteres laudis ex hujusmodi cæde referendæ desiderio inflammati fuisse videntur, cum homines literarum etiam studiis immersi, et ipsæ fœminæ ad eam palmam reportandam manus admoverint:[38] ut in Aristotele videmus, qui Syconiæ tyrannum, et in Theba quæ maritum suum Alexandrum Phereanorum tyrannum vitâ spoliavit. Itaque Stanihurstus nominatim, Bodinus tacitè veros Turgesii mores expressit. Ut si quis unquam morte ob tyrannidem merito plectendus erat, eam ille pœnam effugere non debuerat.

Cum enim potestate inter suos eminuerit, nemo inficiabatur illum eorum malorum authorem esse quæ Hibernos Danis Hiberniæ insultantibus, passim tulisse Ketingus queritur. Nulla (inquit) per ditiones à Dano subactas provincia fuit, cui administrator; nullum oppidum, aut pagus, cui magistratus; nulla ecclesia, cui Rector aliquis è Danica gente non præficiebatur. Imo nulla domus erat aut tugurium in quo satelles aliquis Danicus non dominabatur. Ut si tenui familiæ una

[37] De Rep. l. 2, c. 5, Gallice edita. [38] Bodinus Ibidem.

throat, a compound of every vice, who warred not so much on the Irish as on the Christian religion? who levelled every where the sacred temples to the ground; who had wielded for so many years so intolerable a tyranny; who had resolved to violate a youthful virgin; nay, who solicited her own father, against every feeling and principle of nature, to become, like the imps in the murky dens of a brothel, the destroyer of his daughter's honor? when you have to deal with an enemy, what matters it between force and fraud? Something of the same kind, Carion states (Book 3,) was done in the time of Alexander, son of Amyntas, king of the Macedonians." Stanihurst's opinions on tyrannicide are confirmed by Bodinus, who defines a tyrant to be a man "who seizes the supreme power by violence, having no claim to that dignity, either from the suffrages of the people, or right of succession, or a just war, or any extraordinary interposition of Divine Providence." "By the ancient laws," he says, "it was allowed to kill such tyrants. Nay, the person who killed them was entitled by law to certain honors: either to nobility or knighthood, or to be a champion, or to have statues erected in his honor, or to be enriched from the wealth of the murdered tyrant, as the true liberators of their fatherland, or, as the Candiotes would say, their motherland." Hence many tyrants were cut off by a bloody death. Plutarchus, in his lives of Aratus and Timoleon, gives many examples. In truth, the ancients appear to have burned with ambition for the honor of such feats, when men devoted to literary pursuits, and even women, stretched out their arms for the palm, as in the case of Aristoteles, who slew the tyrant of Syconia; and of Theba, who slew her own husband, Alexander, the tyrant of the Phereans. Now, as Stanihurst expressly calls Turgesius a tyrant, and as Bodinus gives but a faithful though general portrait of him, no tyrant ever deserved death if he did not deserve it.

He was the chief man of his nation, and to him, according to Keating, must be attributed all the evils inflicted on the Irish by the Danes during the Danish invasion. "In all the territory conquered by the Danes," says Keating, "there was not a province that had not its governor; no town or village that had not its magistrate, nor a church that had not its rector of Danish race placed over it. Nay, there was not even a house or a hut in which some Danish satellite

duntaxat vacca pro omni peculio suppetebat, cujus lac unicum erat domesticorum obsonium; vaccæ lac nec ad vagientis pusionis famem sedandam adhibebatur, sed ad explendam satellitis ingluviem servabatur. Imo si satellitem indulgendi abdomini libido corriperet, illico vacca pauperculæ turbæ alimentum mactabatur, et in epulas nefario nebuloni apponebatur. Quod si prandium aliquo defectu laboraret, ita ut helluonis stomachum abunde non palatum satiaret, patremfamilias illico tanquam non soluti stipendii reum, in vincula raptum, ad suorum popu- [304] larium cœtum captivum | adducebat; vel graviori mulctâ, vel supplicio afficiendum. Quid ista commemoro? nec pullus gallinaceus per domum oberrabat quem satelles iste cum lubebat non arripiebat. Præterea Hiberni quotannis auri unciam in singula capita Danis pensitabant, quam quicunque, vel ob inopiam, vel alia quavis de causa persolvere morabantur, mox illi nasus radicitus amputabatur: quem censum vulgus etiamnum "vectigal nasus" appellat. Ipsi magnates Hiberni non recentibus indumentis corpora sua operiebant, sed exuviis Danorum. Et nobiles matronæ cyclades induebant, à Danis mulieribus diu ante gestatas, jamquè benè detritas. Quid multis? Hiberno nemini licuit pannum in vestem efformare, nisi eam alicui Dano prius gestandam traderet, quam ipse sibi eam indueret." Hactenus Ketingus.

Itaque Malachias regis officio ritè functus esse dicendus est, qui in sceleratum hominem per suæ ditionis fines tam furibundè debacchantem pro merito flagitiis supplicio animadverterit. Et cum natura hortante "pater non nimis potest pudicitiam suæ servare filiæ,[39] patris munus cumulatè Malachias explevit, qui tyranni stuprum filiæ ipsi dedecus inferre parantis impetum ferro compescuit. Ut Giraldus aliquo potius elogio præclarum hoc facinus, quam fraudulentiæ, inimicitiævè nomine afficere debuerit.

Sed non majorem Patri laudem hujuscè facinoris peractio quam filiæ peperit, quæ mœchum impudicissimum integritatem suam per summum nefas corrumpere molientem, ante castitatem amissam trucidavit. Matrona nobilis Hispana in cœlum laudibus effertur,[40] quod ab impurissimo

[39] Plaut. in Epid. [40] Delrio. disquisi. magi. l. 3, quæst. 2.

[t] The council of Constance condemned, as heretical, a proposition asserting that any subject or vassel could, without the sanction or order of any judge, kill his tyrannical lord.

was not master. If the poor family had but one cow for their support, though its milk was the only food of all the domestics, it would not be allowed to still the cries even of the famishing infant, but it should be delivered up to gorge the gluttony of the armed stranger." And if this tyrant was prompted by the bestial cravings of his appetite, the cow itself, the sole support of the family, should be killed, and served up to the nefarious scoundrel. If his table was not in perfect order, and did not gorge him to repletion, the man of the house was immediately seized, and bound with chains, and dragged before an assembly of the foreigners, where he was charged with not having paid his stipulated tribute, and was either condemned to a heavier fine, or put to death on the spot. But why dwell on these particulars, when even a dunghill fowl could not be safe in the house from the fangs of these harpies? The Irish, moreover, were bound to pay a capitation tax of one ounce of gold yearly to the Danes; and whoever, either from want or any other cause, delayed the payment, his nose was instantly cut off by the roots: so that the tax is even now commonly called the nose tax. The Irish lords themselves did not use new clothes, but were obliged to wear the cast-off clothes of the Danes. Noble ladies, too, were compelled to use the gowns which had been worn threadbare by Danish women. What need of more? No Irishman dare take a piece of cloth to make a coat for himself, if he did not first give it to a Dane to wear." So far Keating.

Maelseachlainn was doing no more than the solemn duty of a king in punishing, according to his deserts, a wicked wretch, who had profaned the kingdom by such bacchanalian atrocities. And as the voice of nature proclaims, "that the father cannot guard too jealously the purity of his daughter," Maelseachlainn did no more than a father's duty, in using the sword against the tyrant who had resolved to dishonor him and to ruin his beloved child. Why, instead of stigmatizing the deed as the act either of a rogue or of an enemy, Giraldus should rather have embalmed it with well deserved eulogy.[t]

But that noble deed does not reflect more honor on the father than on the daughter, who, rather than forfeit her honor, slew the loathsome libertine, who had resolved to sacrifice her to his criminal sensualism. A noble Spanish lady is extolled to the stars, because when unable to

scortatore jam jam comprimenda, cum viribus illum à flagitio avertere non potuit, astu avertit; pugione nimirum lateri ejus per imprudentiam appendente in inguinem adacto, illi vitam sibi dedecus ademit. Certè leges et jura facilè patiuntur, ut quis fortunas ac vitam eripere aggredienti manus inferat.[41] Pudicitiam etiam (quæ bonis et vita multo charior est) expugnare contendentis audaciam, vel illata nece,[42] si res exigat coercere per theologos, et profanos authores licet. Ut hujus causæ patrocinium à veterum exemplis arcessere supervacaneum sit, qui multis encomiis Trebonium illum cumulant, quod cum gregarius solummodo miles esset, centurionem suum Lasium Marii consulis è sorore nepotem ante confodere, quam ab eo turpitudinem pati ausus fuerit. Cujus facti nullam pœnam sed militarem coronam à Mario retulit.

Plurimi quoque in apertum castitatis labefactandæ discrimen adducti, viribus ad pudicitiæ insidiatorem vitâ spoliandum destituti mortem sibi consciverunt. Hippo Græca mulier à nautis capta, se ab iis constuprandam resciens, noctu se in aquas præcipitem dedit, maluitque labe vacua è vita decedere, quam vitam tanta turpitudine fœdatam ducere. Theotonicorum conjuges captivæ Marium victorem orarunt, ut ab eo virginibus vestalibus dono mitterentur, affirmantes æque se atque illas virilis concubitus expartes fore. Qua re non impetratâ, laqueo sibi nocte proxima spiritum eripuerunt. Sancta quoque Euphrasia, quæ cum virginitate martyrium conjunxit,[43] in lupanari prostituta inpurum procum illi comprimendæ destinatum compellans: optime juvenis, inquit, ex obscœnis amplexibus quos mecum inire decernis, brevis tibi voluptas, mihi perpetuum dedecus veniet: si te iis continere animum inducas, præstiti mihi beneficii præmium hoc Pharmacum (vasculum ob oculos ei proponens) adversus quoscunque ferri, telorumve ictus referes, jugulum eo tibi oblitum præbeo, fac periculum si gladio penetrare potes; moxque illa liquefactam ceram oleo perfusam jugulo, et juvenis virgine hortante gladium admovit, quo perfossa interiit; sibi alieno ferro vitam, quam scelere integritatem eripi malens. Lucretia castæ nomen assecuta, non quod castitatem sartam tectam servaverit, sed quod ab-

[41] D. Thom. 22, qu. 64. [42] Azor, tom. 3, l. 2, c, 14, Lessius de justi. l. 2, c. 9, dub. 12, Grotius de jure belli, l. c. 1, nu. 7. [43] Baron. an. 303.

resist by open force the design of a notorious debauchee who had almost dishonored her, she had recourse to stratagem: seizing the dagger, which he had imprudently left hanging at his side, she plunged it into his groin, and thus slew him and saved her own honor. By law and justice every man has full right to lay hands on a person who attacks his life or property. Chastity, too (a treasure far more dear than either property or life), can, according to theologians and to profane authors, be lawfully defended, if there be no other means, even by slaying the aggressor. It is unnecessary, therefore, to search ancient records for precedents in defence of this cause, when Trebonius is loaded with the highest encomiums, because, though only a common soldier, he slew his centurion Lasius, the maternal nephew of the consul Marius, rather than be defiled by him. So far from being punished for this act, he was honored by Marius with a military crown.

Many others, when exposed to imminent danger of losing their chastity, and having no means of slaying their profligate enemies, resolved to slay themselves. Hippo, a Greek woman, who was taken by sailors, and knew that she would be dishonored by them, threw herself into the sea in the night time, and preferred to die in innocence rather than drag out a wretched existence in dishonor. The captive wives of the Teutones begged of Marius that they should be given up to the Vestal virgins, and like them, should thenceforward lead a life of chastity. But when the request was refused, they hanged themselves on the following night. St. Euphrasia, too, who was both a virgin and martyr, being exposed in a brothel, addressed, in the following terms, the impure wretch who was about to dishonor her: "Honorable young man, the impurity you are going to commit will be a momentary pleasure to you, but to me an eternal disgrace; if you consent to desist, I will reward your kindness with this medicine (at the same time producing a bottle), which will be a preservative against all wounds of sword or other arms: see, I will rub my neck with it: try whether you can cut me with your sword." Then pouring out some melted wax, mingled with oil, she rubbed her throat with it: the young man, by her persuasion, drew his sword, pierced and slew her: thus she preferred dying by the sword of another, rather than be the victim of his infamous lust. Lucretia acquired the surname the "chaste," not because her chastity was preserved inviolate,

reptam, ferro sibi in pectus adacto egregiè vindicaverit. Cyana puella [305] stuprum à patre Cyemppo incognito passa, ubi authorem | stupri rescivit, sibi manus attulit, tantæ ignominiæ superstes esse dedignata.

His ritè perpensis, Malachiæ regis filia laudem potius è cæso Turgesio, quam infamiam feret. Ut illum "dolo puellarum" non minus falsò Giraldus dixerit, quam à vero aberraverit, cum ferro illum periisse assereret,[44] quem scriptorum omnium testimonio constat, Malachia rege jubente, lacui Rio immersum interiisse. Simplici tantum immersione hominem plectens, cum eo mitius agens quam per veterum leges licebat, qui quovis flagitio graviori contaminatos, ac præsertim tyrannos, proditores, et "parricidas insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque in flumen dejici."[45] Et mos postea invaluit, ut simia, serpens, gallus, et canis scelerato comites, aut potius carnifices adderentur, qui assiduis eum morsibus lacerantes, cruciatus non mediocriter augebant. Talia porrò Turgesii scelera fuerunt ut

> "Ejus supplicio non debuit una parari
> Simia, non serpens unus, non culeus unus."[46]

Nec Giraldus magis insulsè prius illud Malachiæ facinus de perfidia, quam posterius hoc quod subjicio de nequitia coarguit. In inscriptione capiti præfixa Malachiæ factum vocat "quæstionem dolosam," narrationem deinde prosequitur his verbis. "Quæsierat à Turgesio" Malachias "et in dolo (nequitia jam animo conceptâ) quonam tenore vel arte aves quædam in regnum nuper advectæ, terræ,[47] totique patriæ pestiferæ destrui possint, et deleri. Cumque responsum accepisset nidos eorum ubique destruendos, si jam forte nidificassent; de Castellis Norwegiensium hoc interpretantes, mortuo Turgesio, in eorum destructione per totam Hibernienses insulam unanimiter insurrexerunt." Quod si quam erant aves Diomedeæ in barbaro à cive dignoscendo acutæ, tam esset Giraldus in vitio à virtute secernendo perspicax, hunc Malachiæ astum non "nequitiæ" convitio notaret, sed prudentiæ potius titulo in-

[44] Dist. 3, c. 40, in titulo. [45] Cicero pro Rosc. Am. [46] Juvenalis Sati. 3.
[47] Top. d. 3, c. 42.

but because she slew herself to avenge its loss. When the young Cyana discovered that it was her father Cyempo who had dishonored her, she would not survive such ignominy, but indignantly slew herself.

Consider these facts attentively, and you must say that the death of Turgesius reflects honor, not infamy, on the daughter of Maelseachlainn. The assertion of Giraldus, that Turgesius was slain by the treachery of the young woman, is as false as his assertion that he died by the sword; the unanimous testimony of our annalists being that he was drowned by Maelseachlainn's orders in Loch Riach. Drowning was the only punishment inflicted on the man, a punishment not so severe as was allowed by the ancient laws, which prescribed "that all persons guilty of grievous crimes, and especially tyrants, traitors, and parricides, should be sewn up alive in a sack and thrown into a river." But the custom was introduced afterwards, of sewing up along with the criminal an ape, a serpent, a cock, and a dog, as his associates, or rather his torturers, to lacerate him with their bites, and horribly aggravate his torture. Now, the crimes of Turgesius were so great, that them

"One ape, one serpent, and one sack,
With tortures meet could never rack."

But if Giraldus was absurd in designating that first act of Maelseachlainn as a treachery, he is equally absurd in condemning the following as an act of crafty malice: heading the chapters as "a crafty question," he proceeds to say thus in his narrative, "Maelseachlainn had inquired of Turgesius, and with a crafty intent (for he had already planned the treachery) by what means or stratagem certain birds which had lately come into the kingdom could be destroyed and extirpated, as they were most pernicious to the whole land. But as the answer was, that all their nests, if they had built them, should be destroyed, the Irish applied the answer to the castles of the Norwegians, and after the death of Turgesius, arose unanimously throughout the whole island, and destroyed them." Now, if Giraldus was as perspicacious in distinguishing vice from virtue, as the Diomedean birds were in knowing a countryman from a barbarian by the skin, he would not have designated this cleverness of Maelseachlainn as crafty malice, but rather as consummate prudence.

signiret. Ut qui in illo imitatorem se regis in Evangelio præbuer delinquentem famulum in hæc verba objurgantis: "Serve nequam e ore tuo te judico." Maluit enim ille reum de pœnâ irrogandâ in co silium adhibere,[48] quam suam iram quæ majori supplicii acerbitatem eum exercere proculdubio suaderet. In qua re non minus ejus bo tatem, ac mansuetudinem suspicio, quam prudentiam admiror, qu reconditiori potius sciscitatione prædonem ad sententiam in se ferenda allexerit, quam nudâ, et obviâ percontatione furorem illi moverit. Ne enim trito vulgi sermone animi sui sensa sapientes promunt, sed erudit aliquo integumento oratione plerumque condunt, ceu potius condiunt. Hinc nostræ libertatis assertor Christus parabolas ad exhortandum nunquam non adhibuit; ut similitudo suasionibus quasi condimentum aspersa, non satietate modò audientes expleret, sed etiam voluptate perfunderet. In sciscitationum, et responsionum acumine, ingenii sagacitas sæpissimè micat; ubi in respondentem aculate retorquetur, quod minus cautè protulit. Sic interrogandi solertiâ Malachias è Turgesio pœnas expressit, quibus scelerum ei societate conjuncti plecterentur, et suo non Malachiæ gladio (ut ajunt) jugularentur. Itaque frustrà Giraldus Malachiam "artis inique decipulis," aut nequitiæ labe inquinatum esse contendit. Ut qui se colloquiis, ac contubernio prudentem, in malo populi sui cervicibus impendente amovendo regem egregium, in insidiis à filiæ suæ pudicitiâ avertendis patrem sollicitissimum gessit.

Sed ut ad regum pietatem oratione prosequendam, unde Cambrensis in Malachiam maledicentia nos avocavit redeamus: Brianum Borromhiun Hiberniæ regem, non solum Reipub. benè feliciterque administranda multa cognitio, ac immensum eruditionis promovendæ studium (ut supr paucis innui) sed plurima etiam pietas exornavit: ut cujus impuls ruinosæ ecclesiæ,[49] et vetustate collapsæ aut hominum temporumv injuriâ dirutæ instauratæ, novæ insuper à fundamentis excitatæ sunt Qui etiam ecclesiasticos quosque per turbas à Danis excitatas, ex eccle-

[48] Lucæ. 19. [49] Ketingus, lib. 2.

[u] For the doctrines of Catholic divines on the different cases in which homicide is justifiable, the reader is referred to the proper authorities. Our author specifies some cases which are not as certain as he seems to suppose.

In this, Maelseachlainn imitated the king in the Gospel, who reproached the fault of his servant in the following strain, "wicked servant, from your own mouth I condemn you." He preferred interrogating the guilty person himself on the mode of inflicting punishment, rather than follow the promptings of his own wrath, which would suggest, undoubtedly, a vengeance far more severe. But it is not goodness and mercy alone, that I see in this act; I admire the prudence, too, that elicits by a deep interrogation, a sentence of condemnation from the lips of the criminal himself, who, if the question had been plainly and nakedly proposed, would have answered it in a fury. Wise men do not reveal their sentiments in the common language of the people; they conceal or rather give point to their meaning, by enveloping it under some recondite form. Thus Christ, the author of our liberty, always used parables in his exhortations; that the moral being thus made palpable by the comparisons, might not only be imbibed copiously by the hearers, but imbibed with great zest. Intellectual sagacity is very often displayed in the keenness of an interrogation or retort, as when you turn against your antagonist some of his incautious admissions, and it was thus that this profound interrogation elicited from Turgesius a fatal sentence against his foreign accomplices in crime, and they were slain, not with king Maelseachlainn's, but (as they say) with their own sword. The charge of Giraldus, therefore, that Maelseachlainn was guilty of crafty malice, or of the "wiles of unjust craft," falls to the ground. On the contrary, in conversation and society, he was prudent, in removing from the heads of his people the evil that impended over them, he proved himself a great king; and in saving his beloved daughter from the designs against her honor, he was an affectionate father.[u]

But to return to my subject, the piety of the kings of Ireland, from which we have been led away by the calumnies of Cambrensis against Maelseachlainn: we find that Brian Boroimhe, king of Ireland, was not only a perfect master of all the arts of wise and happy government, and accordingly zealous for the advancement of literature (as I have in part proved), but also justly celebrated for his piety. Under his care ruined churches, which were either crumbling from age or had been destroyed by man, or the tumults of the times, were rebuilt, and new ones also raised from the foundation. The ecclesiastics, also, who were deprived

siis et redditibus deturbatos, ad pristina jura postlimino revocavit. Præterea omnes ingenii, virium, opum, ac potentiæ nervos ad religionem [306] Catholicam sartam | tectam conservandam, et à Danorum injuriis vendicandam intendit; nulla pugnæ pericula declinans, quibus illorum furorem compesceret, ac manus eorum à sacris rebus damno afficiendis coerceret. Momoniæ tantum adhuc rex Inniscathiam à Danis Limbricensibus insessam an. 975 armis expugnavit, profligatis, et illinc abactis Danicis copiis, eorumque ducibus Imario, ac ejus filiis Amlavo Dubhgenioque. Imo suscepto semel conatui Hiberniæ Danorum unguibus bello eripiendæ adeo mordicus continenter institit, ut prælia præliis annectere nunquam antea destiterit, quam in pugnâ ad patriam, et religionem tuendam initâ vitam denique posuerit.[50] Ut hinc eum Joannes Wilsonus in suum martyrologium, et pater Fitzsimon in Cathalogum sanctorum Hiberniæ retulerit, utroque Marianum Scotum imitato. Sane S. Bernardus sentire videtur milites in bello contra infideles suscepto animam profundentes, martyribus accensendos esse; cum milites ad bellum sacrum proficiscentes, ad martyrii spem, siin acie caderent erigat. Cui Genebrardus suffragatur similem Thalmudistorum sententiam suo calculo approbans. Si cui autem in acie occumbenti, dum fidem armis propugnat, martyrii laurea non denegetur? Quis eam Briano detrahet? quem impii percussores cum à pugna et armis discessum esset, animis tamen odio armatis, ex improviso aggressi obtruncarunt. Nec frustrà fortasse huic causæ firmamenti subsidium hinc accersam,[52] quòd qui dum ultroneum ministerium peste laborantibus exhiberent, è vita migrarunt, martyrum albo adscripti fuerint. Pari enim periculo hi et illi caput suum objecerunt, aliis pugnando, aliis ministrando, vitæ periculum adeuntibus.

Hujus deinde Briani filius Donatus Hiberniæ rex á nonnemine dictus, regno se abdicasse, et Romam religiosæ peregrinationis obeundæ causa profectus esse, ad divi Stephani monasterium secessisse, ibique arctiori vivendi rationi se addixisse, reliquamque vitæ partem transegisse, ac tandem pio exitu vitam clausisse narratur.

In anonymi cujusdam Hiberniæ Annalibus penes me extantibus Murchertachus O'Brien Hiberniæ rex, Briani Borumhii pronepos, "In

[50] 13 Matt. [51] Ad psal. 78. [52] Martyr. Rom. 28, febru. Theophilus Reinandus de martyrio per peste. Ketingus, lib. 2.

of their churches and revenues during the Danish invasion, he restored to their ancient rights. Moreover, he devoted all the resources of his intellect, his wealth, his influence and authority, to establish the Catholic faith in all its integrity, and to defend it against the assaults of the Danes—in curbing their desolating fury, he courted the perils of the battle field, and devoted himself to check their robber hands in their career of sacrilege. While as yet only king of Munster, he stormed the isle of Iniscathaigh in 975, which had been seized by the Danes of Limerick, and defeated their army, and expelled themselves and their leader Imar, and his sons, Amlaf and Dubhgen. And so perseveringly did he pursue his resolve of rescuing Ireland from the fangs of the Dane, that his life was but a march from one battle field to another, until he at last died in arms for his country and his creed. For this reason John Wilson has placed him on the calendar, and Father Fitzsimon, in the catalogue of Irish saints, following the authority of Marianus Scotus. In truth, St. Bernard appears to think that soldiers falling in battle against the infidels must be considered martyrs; because when encouraging the soldiers who were marching to the crusades, he proposes to them the crown of martyrdom, if they fall on the field. Genebrard is of the same opinion—as he approves an opinion of the Thalmudists to that effect. And if to a man who dies in the field in defence of his faith, none can deny the laurel of the martyr, who dare deny it to Brian? whom, impious assassins, after being driven from the field, but with hearts still burning with the fury of the fight, attacked by surprise and murdered. No slight confirmation of my opinion is derived from the fact, that those who fall victims to their zeal in ministering to persons struck with the plague rank in the calendar with martyrs. For is not the danger the same in both cases—one exposing his life to the pestilence, the other to the sword?

Of Donnchadh, the son of this Brian, and who by some is styled king of Ireland, it is stated that he abdicated the throne, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he retired to the monastery of St. Stephen. He spent the remainder of his days there in the observance of strict monastic discipline, and died in the odor of sanctity.

From some anonymous annals of Ireland now in my possession, I find that Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Ireland, and great grandson of

clericatu vitam feliciter finivisse" dicitur, nimirum regno nuntium remittens, religiosorum cœtui se aggregavit. Nec soli totius Hiberniæ, sed etiam provinciarum (ut nunc loquimur) reges imbibendæ pietati sedulò incubuerunt.

Angliam à Scotia et Wallia sejunctam "Hibernia magnitudine adæquat;"[53] sive mavis verbis id Cambrensis exprimi dicentis: "Tantæ Hibernia quantitatis esse potest, quantæ circumscriptionis Wallia et Scotia potior insulæ Britanniæ pars."[54] In Angliâ olim heptarchia, in Hibernia pentarchia instituta est: et in illa septem, in hac quinque reges minores quasdam ditiones certis limitibus circumscriptas administrabant, ita tamen ut singuli supremo monarchæ obnoxii fuerint. Nihilominus aliqui in rebus Hibernicis dejiciendis nunquam fatigati (domesticis omnibus scriptoribus, et aliis plerisque reclamantibus) hos non reges, sed regulos inscribunt; et Hibernorum vel odio, vel contemptu excæcati regis titulum illis, quorum ditiones angustioribus finibus coarctabantur conferunt; his spatiosiores regiones potestate complexis eripiunt. Cum nullum modo sit majus in Europa regnum quod priscis temporibus in plura minora regna discissum non fuerit, quorum dominos etiam nostræ memoriæ scriptores, cum eorum temporum res oratione prosequuntur, reges appellare non dubitant.

Porrò "in quinque portiones fere æquales antiquitus hæc regio divisa fuit,[55] has scilicet, Momoniam duplicem, Borealem, et Australem, Lageniam, Connaciam et Ultoniam." Accuratiorem Hiberniæ divisionem priscus quidam scriptor Fintanus Orfear dictus, carmine complexus est,[56] è quo, quæ huc facientia desumpserim, hic subjicio. Hiberniam universam in Triuchechead (quod voce latina Treuc â nescio unde haustâ

[53] Stanihurstus, l. 1, p. 16. [54] Top. d. 1, cap. 2. [55] Cambr. Top. d. 1, c. 6.
[56] Apud Oduveganum, fol. 174.

[t] If we can judge from the Book of Rights, the number of petty kings directly tributary to the provincial kings was about eighty-four in the eleventh or twelfth century. The seven great divisions mentioned in that work, namely, Munster, Connacht, Leinster, Midhe or Teamhair, Oirghialla, Uladh, and Aileach, have each about a dozen petty kings subject to their respective kings. There is no hint or indication that the equality of

Brian Boroimhe, "ended his life happily in the clerical state," that is, that he renounced the throne, and entered into some monastery. But the kings of the provinces (to use the modern word) were not less zealous in promoting piety than the monarchs of all Ireland.

"Ireland is in size equal to England, exclusive of Scotland and Wales;" or as Giraldus expresses it: "Ireland is about the same extent as the better part of Britain, not within the limits of Scotland and Wales." In England there was a heptarchy, but in Ireland a pentarchy, there being in the former, seven kings, and in the latter, five, governing certain defined subdivisions of the country, but all subject to the sceptre of one supreme monarch. Some persons, however, who are never content, except when depreciating everything Irish, call those princes petty kings, contrary to the usage of our annalists and others. In their hatred or contempt of Ireland, they give the title of king to persons whose territories were very confined, but deny it to the Irish whose dominions were so much more extensive. There is not one of the large European kingdoms of the present day, that was not formerly divided into several kingdoms, whose sovereigns were all styled kings by writers of our age.[t]

Besides, "this country was formerly divided into five equal parts, namely: two Munsters, north and south, Leinster, Connacht and Ulster." An ancient writer, named Fintan Orfear,[u] gave a metrical and much more accurate geography of Ireland, from which I will select what suits my present purpose. "All Ireland was divided," he says, "into Tpiuchacheaḋ (which O'Sullivan translates into "Treuca,"[v]

number of the petty kings under each province was arranged by any law, though it hardly could result merely from accident. See Book of Rights, pp. 43, 113, 119, 145, 157, 177, 205–217. The precise number of petty kings under each province cannot be fixed from references, nor indeed from any part of the book; but we are correct in saying that it was about a dozen.

[u] The editor has never met this document or survey of Fintan. O'Sullivan does not give the name of his authority for the number of Triuchacheads in Ireland; but it was probably the same Fintan.

[v] The word "towne" is adopted here in the translation, because it is the word used by probably the oldest English version, namely, that of Sir John Perrott, to which our author re-

O'Sullevanus exprimit) dispescuit. Treucam autem è triginta pagis constare Fintanus ait:[57] additque singulos pagos pascua quatuor bovum [307] armentis sic dissitis, ut se mutuo non pertingant, abunde | suppeditare: Ultoniam vero triginta quinque treucas; Mediam octodecem; Connaciam triginta; duplicem Momoniam septuaginta, Lageniam, quæ Dublinio ad Balachborumham extenditur, unam supra triginta complecti affirmat. Ut hinc illorum error evertatur, qui cantredum ejusdem fuisse significationis putaverunt.[58] Cum treucam triginta tantum pagos, cantredum autem à Cambrensi centum continere doceamur. Itaque Joannes Perrotus quondam Hiberniæ prorex, in indiculo epistolæ ad reginam Elizabetham ab ipso datæ annexo graviter allucinatur, quod in singulis Hiberniæ provinciis supra memoratis, tot inesse cantredas affirmaverit, quot in iis treucas Fintanus numeraverit: etiam in hoc à Fintano discrepans, quod ille in utraque Momonia sexaginta tantum cantredas, hic septuaginta treucas recenseat. Enumeratio autem Giraldi ab utroque longe abit, utrique Momoniæ cantredas tantum triginta tribuentis; singularem ut plurimum, sed erroneam de rebus Hibernicis opinionem sequi consueti. Et ut errori socordiam adjungerit, aliarum provinciarum cantredas edicere vel ignoravit vel neglexit. Ut vel ignavum se historicum ac chorographum, vel ignarum præstiterit, qui suscepti officii partes et indagare et exæqui prætermiserit.

[57] Hist. p. 8, cap. 5. [58] Hibern. Exp. l. 2, c. 18.

fers a little further on, and which we give here in full: "Also Ireland is divided into five portions after the olde division—viz., Munster, Leinster, Connaught, Meath, and Ulster; and in these five portions beene comprehended 144 cantreds or barronies. In Leinster 31; in Connacht 30; in Munster 60; in Ulster 35; in Meath 18. And there is in Ireland 6660 townes, that is to say, in Leinster 1920; in Connaught 1000; in Munster 2200; in Ulster 1000; in Meath 540. Every town containeth eight plowlands arable, besides pasture for 300 kine in every town, and none of them to be neare other. The sum of the arable plowlands is 53340, besides rivers, marshes, moors, pastures, and hills. Every plowland containeth sixty acres; every acre containeth in breadth three roods, or a pearch; and in length 40 pearches; and every pearch containeth 21 feet." The government of Ireland under the honorable, &c. Sir John Perrott. London, 1626.

ʷ The word appears to mean lite-

but where he found that Latin word I know not). A treuca consists, according to Fintan, of 30[w] "towns;" and each "town" is such as to supply abundant pasture for four herds of oxen, so that one herd shall not encroach on another.[x] In Ulster, were 35 treucas; in Meath, 18; in the two Munsters, 70; in Connacht, 30; and in Leinster, which extends from Dublin to Balachborumham, 31.[y] This computation proves that those are in error who state that the cantred and treuca are the same. The treuca contains 30 "towns" only, whereas, according to Cambrensis, the cantred contains one hundred. Sir John Perrott, therefore, formerly lord deputy of Ireland, fell into a grievous error in the appendix to his letter to queen Elizabeth, in which he states, that in each of the above-mentioned provinces there are as many cantreds[z] as there were treucas, according to Fintan; and in this, too, he differs from Fintan, that while the latter allows 70 treucas for the two Munsters, Perrott allows only 60 cantreds. But the computation of Giraldus is very different from both, he allows only 30 cantreds to the two Munsters; but how could Giraldus follow the common opinion on Irish matters? to prove his indolence as well as his blundering, he either did not know or would not tell the number of cantreds in the other provinces. An ignorant, or an indolent historian and topographer he must have been, who neglected to study and perform the duty of his profession.

rally thirty hundreds; it is not easy to know from O'Sullivan's text whether he intended the word treuca or trenca; but most probably it must have been the former, which would make a representation of the sound of the Irish word.

[x] The Irish Baile, of which there were thirty in the triuchachead, is sometimes translated into Latin by pagus, sometimes by villa.

[y] Perrott gives the number of oxen on each baile at 300, but requires, moreover, eight ploughlands of arable land, besides pasture.

[z] In Perrott's computation of the number of "townes" in each barony, it is evident that the "townes" could not have been of equal extent, but must have varied with the quality of the soil, &c., for there were nearly twice as many "townes" in Leinster as in Connacht, though the number of baronies, he says, was nearly the same in both provinces.

Quando autem nebulas hasce regnorum in Hibernia enumerationi offusas pro viribus dispuli; expedit ut aliquos ex hoc secundo regum ordine virtutibus insigniter excultos lectori ob oculos ponam. Nec aliud est comparatæ ab aliquo virtutis apertius argumentum, quam ut eum vir exploratæ sanctitatis cœlos adeuntem viderit. Cum vero S. Columba ea sanctitate floruerit, ut Notkerus "nulli eum post Apostolos, et mirabilem Martinum, in prophetiæ doctrina, et miraculorum ostentatione, et Angelicâ visitatione videri secundum" affirmare non dubitet;[59] hic autem tantus ac talis vir cum Ailillum Anbhanna Connaciæ regem an. Dom. 544 extinctum in cœlum,[60] expiatoriis purgatorii flammis non aditis advolantem Angelo monstrante conspexerit. Quis eundem Ailillum pluribus virtutibus ornatum fuisse inficiabitur. Nec silentio prætereunda est pietas Aidi Echdachi filii Connaciæ regis, qui Enachduniam S. Brendano elargitus est.[61] Memorabili quoque pietate Cormacus Dermicii filius Lageniæ, seu potius Australium Lageniensium rex præditus erat, qui regium fastigium, et opes ultro derelinquens, Benchorensibus monachis, S. Congelli disciplinis imbuendum se aggregavit, circa ann. Dom. 567.[62] Ut hinc eum Fastis sanctorum Hiberniæ ad septimum Maii adscriptum fuisse Colganus existimet. Alter quoque Lageniæ rex Aidus niger sicut dignitate, sic sanctitate plurima emicuit ut qui à regio se culmine ad monasticam vitam Kildariæ amplectendum sponte demisit.[63] Ab hac tamen humilitate ad Abbatiam, et episcopatum Kildariensem, virtutum ejus fulgore viam ad illas dignitates sternente postea elatus; deinde an. Dom. 638 vita excedens in cœlos et sanctorum numerum relatus est.

Kellachus Regalli filius Connaciæ[64] rex aulicorum sibi famulantium catervis se subducens, monachorum consortio adjunxit, quorum institutis obsequium deferre, quam longi clientium ordinis obsequiis frui maluit.

[59] 50 Id. Jun. [60] Odonel in vita S. Columbæ Trias Th. p. 559. [61] Annales Inisfalen an. 576. [62] 7 Januar. [63] Colganus 4 Janu. [64] Idem 28 Martii.

[a] Perrott probably used the word cantred in a sense different from that in which Giraldus used it; intending it as synonymous with the Irish term barony,

[b] This death is recorded A.D. 544 by the Four Masters, and A.D. 549 by the Annals of Ulster.

Having now, to the best of my abilities, dispelled this confusion in the enumeration of the kingdoms of Ireland, it is right that I should introduce to my reader some of those kings of the second order who were eminent for virtue. Now there can be no stronger proof of a man's sanctity, than that his soul was seen ascending to heaven, and by a man of undoubted sanctity. But St. Columba was so celebrated for his sanctity, that Notker did not hesitate to pronounce him "inferior to no man (saving the Apostles and the admirable St. Martin), either in his prophetic teachings, or the splendor of his miracles, or his visible communion with the angels." Now this saint, so great, so illustrious, saw the soul of Ailill Anbhana, king of Connacht, who died in 544, ascending to heaven without passing through the expiatory flames of purgatory. It was an angel that showed the vision: and does it not prove to demonstration that Ailill must have been eminent in all virtues?"[a] Nor can I omit the piety of Aidh, son of Echdach, king of Connacht, who granted Eanachdun to St. Breanainn.[b] Cormac, king of Leinster, or rather of South Leinster, and son of Diarmaid, was so eminent for his piety, that he voluntarily resigned the throne and all his wealth, and became a monk in the monastery of Bean-chor, under the care of St. Congal, about the year 567.[c] On this evidence, Colgan is of opinion that it is he who is marked on the Calendar of the Irish saints at the seventh of May. Aidh, the black, another king of Leinster, was as eminent for sanctity as for his secular rank. He renounced the glory of the throne, and embraced voluntarily the monastic life in Kildare. But the great splendor of his virtues soon forced him from obscurity. He was elected abbot and bishop of Kildare, to which dignities his virtues called him. He died in 638, and passed to his crown in heaven, among the choirs of the saints.[d]

Kellach, king of Connacht, and son of Regal, retiring from the train of his worshipping courtiers, entered into a community of monks, obedience to whose rule was more delightful to him than the obsequious-

[b] Aidh is mentioned incidentally by the Four Masters A.D. 554. His son Curnan is famous in the lives of St. Columba; see Lanigan ii. p. 145.

[c] He was king of Ui Kinnseallaigh; see Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 62, 228.

[d] The death of Aidh Dubh is recorded by the Four Masters 638; and

Quæ res illi ex ergastulo corporis ad. Dom. 703, evolanti sicut majorem securitatem, sic etiam gloriam sempiternam comparavit. Hunc apud Lochkinnian coli existimo quod in Annalibus dicatur Kellachus de Lochkinne. Quæ Fiachnaus Aidi Ronii filius Ultoniæ rex pie egerit, ante attigi. Quare illa nunc missa facio, supervacaneum esse ducens, iteratâ eorum commemoratione lectori tædium creare. Is autem à pontibus condendis cognomentum "Indrochet" natus an. Dom. 739 floruit. Artgalius Cathaldi filius Connaciæ rex, honore, onereque regni posito, Monachorum ordinem iniens Hiam concessit,[65] ubi octavo peregrinationis, et Christi nati an. 786, caducam coronam et vitam, æterna corona mutavit.

Felimeus Crinthoni filius Momoniæ, ut supra docui, non Hiberniæ, (ut Cambrensis credidit) rex, post Leithcunniam præliis, et prædis [308] crebro | quassatam, delictorum et regiæ dignitatis fastidio captus, ad rigidioris vitæ rationem ineundam animum adjecit. Quare splendorem regum Anachoretarum squalore mutavit, tam secundo successu, ut animam an. Dom. 845 emittens, cœlitibus adnumeratus,[66] pro sancto nunc colatur, qui vivus Anachoretæ, et optimi per illud tempus scriptoris titulum retulerat.

Finsnachtius Luibhmus Tumultachi filius Connaciæ rex Anachoretæ vitam postea sectatus, anno Partus Virginei 846, è vita migravit, qui sicut in exuendâ regiâ dignitate, ac novâ vitæ institutione capessendâ. Felimei egregius imitator extiterat, sic uno tantum anno ille superstes,[67] vestigiis ejus in cœlum abeuntis institisse videtur.

[65] Trias Th. p. 501. [66] Idem. p. 146, nu. 54, Annal. [67] Annal.

also by the Annals of Ulster, and of Cluainmicnois at the same year. Dr. Lanigan thinks it more probable that he was only of the blood royal of Leinster, not king. There are certainly some difficulties in supposing him king, but not so great as to outweigh the positive testimony of the ancient authorities. See Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 33.

[f] Mentioned several times by the Four Masters, A.D. 739, 753, 779, 785. He was king of Ulidia, not Ulster.

[g] The obituary in the Four Mas-

ness of a long levee of dependants. But as his choice gave him greater security on earth, it secured for him everlasting rest in heaven at his death in 703. It is he, I think, who is honored at Loch Kimè, because in the annals he is styled Ceallach of Loch Kinè. I omit the pious actions of Fiachna, king of Ulster, son of Aedh Roin, because I have already touched on them, and it might only tire my reader to recapitulate them. He flourished in 739, and acquired the surname Indrochet, from the number of bridges built by him.[f] Artgal, king of Connacht, and son of Cathal, resigning the honors and obligations of the sceptre, embraced the monastic institute in Ia, where, in the eighth year of his monastic sojourn on this earth, and the year 786 of our Lord, he passed from this life, exchanging his royalty on earth for an eternal crown.[g]

Felim, son of Crimhthann, and king of Munster (as I have proved), not of Ireland, as Giraldus imagined, after having embroiled all Leath Cuinn by his repeated battles and devastations, became disgusted with his crimes, and with the throne, and resolved to devote himself to a more austere mode of life. Accordingly, he exchanged the splendor of the palace for the squalid garb of the anchorite, and with such glorious success, that after his death, in 845, he was enrolled among the saints, and is now honored as such. To the character of a pious anchorite he added that of a very eminent writer, according to the standard of his age.[h]

Finnshneachta Luibnighe, son of Tomaltach, and king of Connacht, embraced the monastic state, and died in the year 845. As he nobly imitated the example of Felim in renouncing the diadem, and devoting himself to a new life, so he survived him only one year, and passed, we hope, after him, to the choir of the blessed.[i]

ters says "he died in his pilgrimage."

[h] Described even in the Ulster Annals as "optimus scriba et anchorita;" but the authorities for his being honored as a saint are not satisfactory. The Four Masters state that he died of "an internal wound inflicted through the miracle of God and St. Ciaran."

[i] So called from Luibneach, a place on the borders of the ancient Meath and Munster; see O'Donovan's Four Masters; note, ad annum, 846.

Dunlingus Muredachi filius,[68] Ruadbrachi nepos, quindecem annos Lageniæ regno potitus, tandem Anno Domini 867 Kildariensis Abbas obiit. Donallus Aidi Finliathi regis Hiberniæ filius, post vitam pie actam, "Obiit in clericatu" anno Dom. 911.

Rothericus Oconchabhar Connaciæ rex Terdelachi magni regis Hiberniæ pater, vigesimo sexto postquam Oflabhertachus illi oculos effodit anno, Clonmacnosiæ an. Dom. 1118 in "Clericatu vitam feliciter finivit."[69] Nimirum Canonicorum regularium ordini nomen dedit.

Domnallus Murchertachi regis Hiberniæ filius quondam Dubliniensium, et Lageniæ rex,[70] clericatus vinculis Lismoriæ ultro astrictus, mortem obiit an. Dom. 1135.

Cathaldi à rubro Carpo Connaciæ regis memoria hic non prætereunda est, quem "patriæ,[71] legumque vindicem acerrimum, inimicorum terrorem, fautorem cleri, protectorem pauperum, atque supra omnes sui ævi et regni virtutum prærogativa præclarum" Gaspar Tongelinus appellat, et post uxorem vita functam, cœlibem vitam duxisse, annoque salutis 1224, assumpto prius Cisterciensium habitu, vita excessisse, ac in monasterio Collis victoriæ à se condito sepulturæ traditum fuisse affirmat. "Ille magnum ovium albarum gregem supra se cursare per quietem vidit.[72] Referenti somnum regi adfuit probus atque pius Monachus ex ordine divi Bernardi, qui confirmavit visione ostendi, templum fuisse regio munere dicandum in quo supra corpus regis sepultum monachi divi Bernardi ambulantes, pro ejus anima preces ad Deum funderent. Religiosi conjectoris interpretationem subtilem pia magnificaque regis munificentia ratam fecit, qui brevi monasteria duodecem sumptuosa exigens censibus opulentissimis donavit. Singulorum autem tributa comitis, sive Marchionis dignitati, familiæque sustinendæ

[68] Annal. Catalogus regum Lagen. [69] Annal. Annonimy. [70] Annal. [71] Lib., 8, notitiæ Abbatiarum ordinis Cistersiensis, p. 28. [72] Patriciana decad. Osullev l. 10, p. 2, c. 141.

[k] Not styled abbot of Kildare by the Four Masters, who record his death at the year mentioned in the text.

[l] See a pathetic lament for him in the Four Masters. A.D. 911.

[m] For the blunders of Ledwich and others on these canons regular in

Dunlaing, son of Muireadhach, and grandson of Ruadbrach, after having reigned fifteen years over Leinster, at length died abbot of Kildare in 867.[k] Domhnall, son of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, after a most holy life, died in the clerical state in 911.[l]

Ruaidhri O'Conchobhar, king of Connacht, and father of Toirdhealbhach the Great, king of Ireland, "died happily in the clerical state" at Cluainmicnois, A.D. 1118, twenty-six years after O'Flaithbheartaigh had deprived him of sight. He joined the order of Canons Regular.[m]

Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, king of Ireland, and at first king of the Dublinians and of Leinster, embraced voluntarily the clerical state in Lismor, where he died in 1135.[n]

Cathal of the Red Hand, king of Connacht, must not be passed over in silence. Gaspar Tongelinus styles him "the intrepid defender of his country and her laws, the terror of his enemies, the patron of the clergy, the protector of the poor, and distinguished above all his countrymen and contemporaries for his virtues." After the death of his wife, he resolved to lead a life of celibacy, and having embraced the Christian habit, he died and was buried in the monastery of "Collis Victoriæ," which had been founded by himself. He saw in a dream a great flock of white sheep walking over him. A virtuous and prudent monk of the order of St. Bernard was present when the king was telling this dream, and proved to him that the interpretation of the dream was, that a church would be founded with royal munificence, in which the king's body would be deposited, and where the monks of St. Bernard, walking over his tomb, would offer up prayers to God for the repose of his soul: The pious and splendid munificence of the king verified the subtle interpretation of this religious interpreter; he erected, in a short time, twelve great monasteries and endowed them with large properties. The revenues of each of those monasteries are at present sufficient to support the dignity and family of an earl or marquis, according to the report of

Ireland, see Lanigan, vol. i. p. 187. In the obituary neither the Four Masters, nor the Annals of Ulster, or of Cluainmicnois, state that Toirdhealbhach was a canon regular.

[n] This obituary is given in nearly the same terms by the Four Masters, A.D. 1135.

hodie paria esse Abbas Builliæ, ab hoc Cathaldo conditæ, Bernardus Oculenanus retulit."

Verum non hos tantummodo Annalium nostrorum scriptores, sed alios etiam minoris potentiæ magnates regum titulis insigniverunt, quos tamen historici nuperi dominos tantum appellant, latinorum scriptorum morem forte spectantes, qui eadem significatione regem, et dominum pluries protulerunt. Utramque vocem hoc sensu Martialis usurpat ait enim :

"Cum te non nossem regem dominumque vocabam ;[73]
Cum bene te novi jam mihi Priscus eris."

Communibus vocibus et eundem sensum referentibus ignotum compellans. Eodem tendit aliud ejus ad Olum Epigramma :[74]

"Quod te nomine jam tuo saluto
Quem regem, et dominum prius vocabam
Reges et dominos habere debet
Qui se non habet, atque concupiscit
Quod reges dominique concupiscunt,
Servum si potes Ole non habere,
Et regem potes Ole non habere."

Ut planè liqueat sicut dominum, sic etiam regem nihil hic denotare, quam eum, cui servus paret, sicut et in sequenti :

"Nil facis: et serum est alium mihi quærere regem,[75]
Potentiorem scilicet patronum, cui post hac inserviam "

Ejusdem notæ hoc etiam carmen est :

[309] "Sollicitus donas, dominumque regemque salutas." |

[73] Lib. 1, Epig. 113. Lib. 2, Epigram. [75] Lib. 4, Epig. 40.

Bernard O'Cuileannain, abbot of Buill, which monastery was one of Cathal's foundations.[o]

But besides those provincial kings, our annalists have also given the title of kings to other potentates of inferior authority, but who, by later historians, are simply designated as chieftains, perhaps from imitating the style of the Latin writers, who often use the words "lord" and "king" in the same sense. Martialis uses both words in the same sense in the following lines:

> "I called thee, when unknown, a lord and king,
> But Priscus, now, I call thee no such thing."

Thus using the two as common nouns in the same sense, for a person not known to him. And the same occurs in his epigram to Olus:

> "If by thy name, I now salute thee,
> Whom king and lord I called before,
> Know! kings and lords will rule him surely,
> Who himself rules not, but more—
> Like kings and lords craves ever more.
> Olus, if you need no slave,
> Fear not—a king you ne'er need have."

From this it is evident that the word "king," like "lord," denotes here a power whom a servant obeys, just as in the following example:

> "Long deceived by my king, and his promises hollow,
> And a patron more potent, too late now to follow."

The following is to the same effect:

> "When asked you give, and hail your lord and king."

[o] For many interesting particulars relating to the varied fortunes of Cathal of the Red Hand, the reader is referred to O'Donovan's Four Masters.

Nimirum obvios quosque hujusmodi salutationibus excipiebat.[76] Quo etiam sequens versus refertur:

"Qui me respiciat dominum regemque vocabo."

Quippe servus Domino[77] in ipsum oculos convertenti officiosam hanc Domini ac regis compellationem defert. Neque hinc sequens carmen abludit:

"Quæ te si jubeat rex dominusque neges."[78]

Nec enim Roma Martiali superstite, magna regum copia abundabat, quæ pulso Tarquino superbo, regium jugum excussit, et sicut dominationem regiam, sic denominationem in pristino sensu abrogavit. Ut Davisius, et post eum Seldenus (hic in Titulis honoris, ille in Discursu de Hibernia) ad imminuendam regum Hiberniæ dignitatem protulisse videantur hoc Martialis carmen:[79] "Qui rex est regem maxime non habeat." Indicare volens quosvis Hiberniæ reges, etiam Monarchas, reguli tantum, non regis nomine insigniendos esse, quod regibus Angliæ aliqua ratione obnoxii fuerint. Cum sensus Martialis iste sit, ut moneat eum, qui servi alicujus dominus est, cujusvis domini servum esse non debere. Ut rectè Laurentius Ramirez de Prado ad hoc epigramma dixerit:[89] "Notissimam esse reges appellatos fuisse potentiores amicos." Non itaque regis aut nomen, aut gradus Hiberniæ regibus adimitur, quod stata tributa regibus Angliæ persolverint, et nullum iis præterea obsequium Davisio ipso testante detulerint: cum pensitatio vectigalis de suprema regum potestate nihil authore Bodino detrahat.

[76] Ibidem, Epig. 84. [77] Lib. 10, Epig. 10. [78] Lib. 12, Epig. 61. [79] Lib. 1, Epig. 18. [80] In Hisponnimatibus ad Martialem.

[p] It is, indeed, true that at the time of the English invasion there were very few kings in Europe that did not acknowledge some other king as their superior in some way or other; but the bond of subjection was not so heavy as that of the English king over Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, last king of Ireland. The reader may have a very good idea of these sub-chiefs, and of

In fact, such was the usual salutation addressed to every person he met. And the following means the same thing:

"Who favors me, him king and lord I call."

For when the servant catches the master's eye looking at him, he addresses him at once obsequiously as lord and king. The next lines are not unlike the preceding:

"Refuse if thy king and lord should order."

Rome, before the death of Martialis, had not had a great number of kings, for after the expulsion of Tarquinus the proud, she abolished kingly government, and with the royal line, she lost also, the ancient acceptation of the word "king." Hence Davis, and after him Selden (the latter in his Titles of Honor, the former in his Discourse on Ireland), appear to have introduced the following verse of Martialis: "whoever is a king must, above all things, have no king," in order to depreciate the dignity of the kings of Ireland. They insist that all Irish kings, even the chief monarchs, should be styled, not kings, but petty kings, because they were in some way subject to the king of England. But Martialis's meaning is: "that whoever is master of any slave ought not to be the slave of any master." Laurence Ramirez de Prado, in his annotation on this epigram, has observed truly: "that it is well known, very powerful friends were formerly called kings." The Irish princes, therefore, must not be deprived of the name or rank of kings, on the grounds that they paid tribute to the king of England, the only point, according to Davis, in which they acknowledged English sovereignty. Bodinus lays down as certain, that the payment of tribute detracts in no wise from the supreme kingly power.[p]

their relation to their immediate lords (taisoich), from the Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, and the Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach, edited by O'Donovan for the Irish Archæological Society.

Sicut autem recentiores nostri scriptores hisce[81] minorum gentium regibus, sive regulis dominorum nomen impertierunt, sic peregrini scriptores eorum potestatem pro suæ quisque gentis ritu metientes, alii comites, alii principes illos appellarunt. Beda narrat Colmannum "invenisse locum in Hibernia aptum monasterio construendo, qui lingua Scotorum Magio nominatur,[82] et emisse partem ejus non grandem à comite, ad cujus possessionem pertinebat," &c. S. Bernardus ait: "S. Malachiam in campo sedisse cum comite Ulidiæ aliqua tractantem, &c." Qui S. Laurentii Dubliniensis archiepiscopi vitam scripsit,[83] "Comitis" Kildariæ mentionem facit. Illos etiam sæpius principes Giraldus et nostrâ memoriâ O'Sullevanus appellat. Ego statuendi discriminis gratia regulos vocabo, quorum potestas vel hinc perspici potest, quod dynastæ quos Hibernice Taosach dicimus, multis illis ordine inferiores treucæ, ceu ditioni ad quadragies, et octies mille boves pascendos accommodatæ præfuerint. Porro ex his regulis plurimi summæ probitatis, pietatis, imo et sanctimoniæ specimen pluries ediderunt. Eochodius Oirgialliæ in Ultonia regulus cum nondum Christianæ fidei luce perfusus animam exhalaret, ad vitam, religionem Christianam, bonamque frugem à S. Patricio revocatus, postquam quæ beatorum gaudia, damnatorumque tormenta viderat, ad circumfusos melioris vitæ studio inflammandos,[84] accuratius enarrasset, cum baptismate jam suscepto, vitæ vel diutius protrahendæ, vel illico finiendæ optio illi fieret, maluit in cœlos, ad locum sibi paratum è vestigio migrare, quam in terra minimam moram trahere, cujus exquisitissimæ voluptates instar fumi prætervolant.[85] Simile beneficium Muredacho pagano Huamethiæ Orientalis Ultoniæ regionis regulo S. Patricius præstitit. Et regionis ejusdem regulus Moeldunius Gormgalii[86] filius clericatu inito mortem oppetiit an. Dom. 824.

Damhinum Damhingarti filium Orgialliæ regulum, anno post Virginis Partum 560, vita functum: Et Feradachum Duachi filium Ossiriæ regulum; vigesimo secundo post anno extinctum,[87] sanctus Columba in

[81] De Rep. l, 5, c. 9. [82] Lib. 4, c. 4. [83] Hibern. Exp. l. 2, c. 14, 14, 18, 34. [84] Jocelinus, c. 30. [85] Idem. c. 82. [86] Annales. [87] Trias Th. p. 299 et 450, n. 55.

[q] Oirghialla was even in St. Patrick's time a large territory—see its dimensions in the Book of Rights. The life of this Eochadh is not very clear. See Lanigan, vol. i. p. 254.

[r] This latter obit. is given by the

But as our own modern writers have designated these minor kings or petty kings, chieftains or lords, so foreign writers, following the standard of their own country regarding political powers, have designated our kings as earls or princes. Beda relates "that Colmann found in Ireland a commodious site for a monastery, which was called, in the language of the Scots, Magio, and that he purchased a small part of it from the earl to whom it belonged," &c. St. Bernard says, "that St. Maelseachlainn sat down in the field with the earl of Ulster, treating on some subject," &c. The author of the life of St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, makes mention of the *earl* of Kildare. Giraldus and also in our own days, O'Sullivan, very often style them princes. But, for distinction sake, I will style them petty kings, and their power may be sufficiently intimated from the fact that the dynasts, who are called in Irish Taoiseach, and who were far below them in power, had territories, or treucæ, sufficient to feed herds of 40,000 or 80,000 oxen. Now, among those petty kings there was a very great number who gave repeated proofs of their eminent virtue and piety, and even sanctity. Eochadh, petty king of Oirghialla, in Ulster, being on the point of death before his conversion to Christianity, was restored to life, converted, and confirmed by St. Patrick.[q] Having seen what were the joys of the blessed and the torments of the damned, he earnestly inculcated the necessity of a more holy life on all around him, and when after receiving baptism he had his choice either of dying immediately or of living longer, he preferred going to heaven to the place predestined for him, to remaining even for a moment on this earth, whose most exquisite delights pass away like smoke. St. Patrick conferred the same favor on Muireadhach, a pagan petty king of Ui Meith, a district of eastern Ulster; and another petty king of the same district, Maelduin, son of Gormghal, ended his life in the ecclesiastical state, in the year 824.[r]

Damhin, son of Damhaingart, and petty king of Oirghialla, who died in 560, and Fearadhach, son of Duach, petty king of Osraidhe, who died in 582,[s] were seen by St. Columba ascending direct to heaven without

Four Masters, A.D. 824. There were two districts called Ui Meith, both in Eastern Ulster—see Book of Rights, p. 148, 149, &c.

[s] The obit. of Damhin is in the Four Masters, A.D. 560, but his name is

cœlum abeuntes, et ad ignem purgatorii non deflectentes vidit. Quos non vulgari, sed singulari quadam sanctimonia ornatos fuisse oportuit, cum ne minimus quidam nævus à flammis expiatoriis abstergendus eos inquinaverit.

Ille decantatissimus Hiberniæ rex Brianus Borumhius tritavi patrem habuit Theodoricum, vulgo Terdelach Dalgassiorum regulum, vel potius | (si me conjectura non fallit) Borealis Momoniæ regem, qui anno à Christi natalibus 690,[88] aut circiter, postquam omnes suæ ditionis insulas peregrinis incolendas concesserat, honorum titulis, et interituræ pompæ nuntium remittens, Lismoriam concessit, et monachorum illic cœtui se adjunxit; ubi vili ministerio lapidum ferro poliendorum, et viæ sternendæ operam, et sudorem impendere maluit, quam voluptatibus in aula sua circumfluere, Deo labores ejus ita gratos habente, ut cuidam Theodorici sudore se abluenti sanitatem impertierit.

[310]

Moelbrasellus Carnoighi filius Moghdornæ regulus,[89] honores, et opes deserens, in religiosorum quibus se pridem aggregavit consortio diu commoratus, ferro Danorum anno Domini 847 interiit.

Moeldunius Aidi Ornii regis Hiberniæ filius Oilighiæ regulus,[90] post diuturnam inter religiosos quorum ordinem iniit permansionem anno partus Virginei 865, è vita migravit.

Moelbridius Spelmi filius Conalliæ regulus, anno post Christum natum 867, et Donallus Aidi filius Kenelleogariæ regulus,[91] anno Dom. 882, religiosis associati obierunt.

Donatus Cellachi filius Ossiriæ regulus, et Donati Flanni filii regis Hiberniæ socer, vir erat summa pietate præditus, is enim assiduam precibus ad Deum fundendis operam dare animi sordes confessione sæpius

[88] Colganus 22 Janu. [89] Annal. [90] Annal. [91] Ibidem.

given as Daimhin Damhairgait—i.e. Daimhin the little silver white ox—according to O'Donovan. He was ancestor of all the Mac Mathgamhnas of Monaghan. The obituary of Fearndhach (Furched) of Osraidhe, "slain by his own people," is also given by the Four Masters, A.D. 582. They do not attribute any superior sanctity to either of these princes.

[t] See Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 145. And for the limits of Dalchais, the territory of Toirdhealbhach, see Book of Rights, p. .

[u] The obituary is given by the Four Masters, A.D. 847: for Moghdorn see

passing through the flames of purgatory. No ordinary virtue, nothing but the most eminent sanctity, could have secured this favor, as they were free from even the slightest stain which would require the expiatory fire.

The great great grandfather of that most celebrated of Irish monarchs, Brian Boroimhe, was "Theodoric," commonly called Toirdhealbhach, petty king of the Dalcassians, or (if I be not mistaken) king of Thomond. After having granted all the islands of his dominions to be inhabited by pilgrims, he renounced all his titles of honor and the fleeting pomps of the world; and about the year 690 retired to Lismor, and embraced the monastic state: there he preferred the humble office of chiselling stones and levelling the roads, to the luxurious magnificence of his court; but God manifested his love of this humility; for, a sick man recovered his health by washing himself in the sweat of Theodoric.[t]

Maelbreasail, petty king of Mughdhorna, and son of Cearnach, renounced his wealth and dignity; and after spending some years in a monastery as a religious man, was murdered by the Danes in the year 847.[u]

Maelduin, petty king of Aileach, son of Aedh Oirdnidhe, king of Ireland, after having lived many years in the monastic state, died in 865.[v]

Maelbrighde, petty king of Conaille, son of Spealan, and Domhnall, petty king of Kineallaeghaire, son of Aedh, died in the monastic state; the former in 867, the latter in 882.[w]

Donnchadh, petty king of Osraidhe, son of Ceallach, and father-in-law of Donnchadh Flann, son of the king of Ireland, was a man of singular piety. He devoted much of his time to prayer to Almighty God, frequently purged away the stains of his soul by confession, and strengthened

Book of Rights.

[v] Four Masters, A.D. 865.

[w] The deaths of both are recorded in the Four Masters at the years mentioned here. The former was prince of a territory in Louth; the latter of a district at present included in the baronies of Upper and Lower Navan, in the county of Meath.

eluere, sacrâ synaxi crebro se munire consuevit. Apostolorum privilegiis, in primæ notæ per Ossiriam ecclesiis, stipem egenis largiorem conferri, inter amicos etiam plures parentibus orbos, aut alios pauperes enutriri; in singulis totius Ossiriæ domibus tres utres comparari curavit, in quorum unum decimam edulii sui partem singuli recondebant; alter stipem pauperibus assignatam, vulgò Mihal asservabat, postremo (quod crematha dici potest) micæ ac reliquiæ, matrefamilias potissimum solicitante committebantur. Genero autem suo, qui regnum an. Dom. 918 iniit, 941 finiit, ad Hiberniæ clavum sedente, ultimum Donatus spiritum emisit. Scriptores nostri Ossiriæ regulos peculiari quodam honore, nec ullis præterea regulorum ditionibus conferri solito prosequuntur: Cum enim regum in pentarchia, qui Monarchis Hiberniæ synchroni fuerunt seriem contexunt, regulorum Ossiriæ album, non secus ac Momoniæ, Connaciæ, Lageniæ, aut Ultoniæ regum conficiunt non finium spatio fortasse illorum dignitatem, sed regulorum præstantiâ metientes:[92] instar Eumenis, qui cum uni tantum castello dominaretur, ab Antigono pacta secum ineunte, secundas ferre noluit, quod nullum se manu ferrum gestante majorem agnoverit.

Moelmorus Huadomhnail regulus de Huagnisolach an. Dom. 1122,[93] post initum clericatum, et Vadus O'Conchanain regulus de Huandiarmeda, an. Dom. 1167, clericatu etiam jam devinctus interierunt.

Conchauri O'Kelly cognomento à præliis Mannachæ in Connacia reguli pietas, multa scriptorum prædicatione celebratur. Nam ille à Conchauro Moenmuigho O'Conchabhar Rotherici filio,[94] Macteggis

[92] Plutarch. id Eume. [93] Continuator Tigernaci. [94] Oduneganus, folio 39.

[x] His death is recorded by the Four Masters at the year 974. He is also mentioned by them in 945.

[y] Without wishing in any manner to detract from any honor which our author confers on ever noble Osraidhe, we may, perhaps, conjecture that the chronicle recorded its kings, partly because its annals were better preserved, and partly because it enjoyed a precarious provincial existence, being at one time claimed by Leinster, and at another by Munster, but apparently without a wish to be merged in either, and often at war with both. I know not what are the precise "privileges of the apostles" obtained for the Osraidhe churches.

himself in virtue by frequent communion. By his zeal all the principal churches in Osraidhe were enabled to dispense, by the privileges of the Apostles, very liberal charity to the poor; great numbers of his friends also took orphans and other poor, under their protection; every house in Osraidhe was obliged, by his orders, to have three vessels, in one of which each inmate deposited a tenth of his food; in another was kept the portion of the poor, commonly called mırr mıcıl [portio Michaelis]; and in the third (which may be called crematha) were kept the crumbs and fragments, which were specially under the care of the mistress of the house. Donnchadh died during the reign of his son-in-law, which lasted from 918 to 942.[x]

The kings of Osraidhe are honored by our annalists with a peculiar distinction, not given to the princes of other minor territories. In giving the synchronism of the kings of the Pentarchy, with the supreme monarchs of Ireland, they give the succession of the kings of Osraidhe, as well as of Leinster, Connacht, Munster and Ulster, on the principle, perhaps not of territorial extent, but of the superior virtue of the princes; like Eumenes who, though he was lord of only one castle, would not give precedence to Antigonus, when they were about making a treaty, because as long as he was able to wield a sword he would acknowledge no superior.[y]

Maelmordha Ua Domhnaill, petty king of Ui Ceinniselach, and Uada O'Concheannainn, petty king of Ui Diarmada, both embraced the ecclesiastical state. The former died in 1122; the latter in 1167.[z]

Conchobhar O'Keallaigh, surnamed "of the battles," king of Ui Maine in Connacht, is celebrated in the highest terms by our writers for his piety. In the year 1180, he was defeated and slain in battle[a] at

[z] The death of the latter, who had been lord of a territory in the north-east of the county of Galway, is recorded by the Four Masters, A.D. 1167.

[a] Conor O'Kelly's death is recorded in the Four Masters, A.D. 1180, though without any of the particulars mentioned here. For a map of the territory of O'Kelly, with its seven churches, and sub-chieftancies, and also a full account of the family, see Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, published by the Irish Archæological Society.

aliisque Connaciæ optimatibus bello impetitus, cum signa cum illis an. Dom. 1180, ad Srugealam sive Rubagealain, in Ibhlomania conferret, in acie cadens obtruncatus est, hostibus loricâ contra pactas conditiones tectis illo nullâ loricâ pacti observandi gratiâ munito ad prælium progrediente. Non mediocri piorum clericorum, monachorum, et mulierum numero, vestitum, quotidianum victum ille vivus suppeditavit. Qui licet loco maxime dissiti, et numero trecenti sexaginta quinque fuerint; famâ tamen interitus ejus longe, lateque illico pervagatâ excitati, ad Mæcenatem suum postridiè quam cæsus est visendum undique advolarunt, non modico excruciati dolore, virum assiduis piorum operum exercitiis addictissimum, tam immaturâ morte sublatum fuisse, qui præter memoratam modo multitudinem suis impensis quotidie sustentatam, in Moenmaighâ duodecim templa suis sumptibus non solum [311] construxit, sed etiam agris tributo immunibus | ad Mystas templis inservientes alendos accommodatis, missalibus, aliisque libris, ac ornamentis cumulatè instruxit; majorem Clonfertensem sancti Brendani ecclesiam, et Clonmacnosense sancti Kerani templum condidit, pluribus agris, libris ecclesiasticis, calicibus, pallis sericis ad sacerdotalia munia obeunda, aliisque muneribus plurimis in utramque ecclesiam, ad salutem animæ suæ comparandam collocatis; qui fortunas ter decimavit, decimam partem ecclesiæ, nonam pauperibus, octavam clericis, aliisque domum suam frequentantibus elargitus. Calamitosum itaque ducebant talem, ac tantum virum, qui corporis alimentum pluribus sacerdotibus abundè præbuit, vel unius sacerdotis ministerio sacramenta morientem non percepisse. Quarè post varios ultrò citroque questus, cervici corpus assuunt, deindè precibus ad Deum fundendis sedulò incumbunt ab eo ut animam Conchauri corpori denuo infundat, enixè flagitantes, quò sacramentis Catholico more munitus, mortem obiret. Nec mora, voti compotes facti sunt. Et Conchaurus redivivus delictis confessione

[b] A defensive armor not commonly used in Ireland before the English invasion.

[c] This was one of the seven principal churches of the O'Kelly territory.

[d] Rebuilt probably, for there had been a church of St. Kiaran there before his time, called Eaglais Beag. For royal monks and pilgrims, some of whom are not mentioned by our author, see Four Masters at the years 704, 719, 777, 784, 786, 792, 800, &c.

Iruguala, or Rubagealan, in Ibhloman, by Conchobhar Maenmaigh O'Conchobhair, son of Ruaidhri, and the Mac Tadhg, and other Connacht princes, who came to battle clad in coats of mail,[b] contrary to a stipulated agreement, of fighting without armour, which was faithfully observed by Conchobhar himself. During his life he supplied with clothes and daily food a great number of pious clerics, and monks and women; who, though they lived in places very far asunder, and were three hundred and sixty-five in number, all flocked together from all quarters to see their Mæcenas the day after his death, so rapidly had the sad news been circulated far and near. Great was their grief that day on beholding him who had devoted himself so zealously to good works, thus cut down in the flower of his age. Besides supporting that large number every day at his own expense, he not only built twelve temples, at his own cost, in Maenmaigh, but provided them with missals and other books and ornaments, and as much land, tribute free, as would support the clergy who were to minister in them. He built the great church of St. Breanainn in Cluainfearta,[c] and St. Kiaran's church at Cluainmicnois,[d] and presented to both churches, for the good of his soul, extensive lands, and a large assortment of ecclesiastical books, chalices, silk palls for the sacerdotal functions, and many other gifts of various kinds. On three different occasions he distributed all his property: to the church one tenth, to the poor another, to the clergy a third, and to others who frequented his palace. Most truly afflicting it was that so great and so good a man, who had given their daily bread to so many priests during his life, had not even one near him to administer the sacraments at his death. After having freely indulged their grief, they sowed the head to the body, and then joined zealously in prayer to God, imploring him earnestly that the soul might return to the body of Conchobhar, that he might receive the sacraments, and die as a Catholic. Their prayer was instantly heard. Conchobhar was restored to life; but after confessing his sins,

In 874 the rights of seven churches of Ui Maine had been made over to Cluainmicnois. Four Masters. The Annals of Ulster, A.D. 821-2, style Clonmacnoise, "a principatus." For copious references to that great establishment, see O'Donovan's Four Masters, Index, tit. Cluain-mic-nois.

expiatis, et sacra synaxi ritè perceptâ, maluit extemplò vitam ponere, quam diutius protrahere. Addiditque adversi prælii à se facti causam fuisse, quod fratris sui delicto promeritam pœnam non irrogaverit; quam tamen non condonavit sed distulit. Nam querelæ de fratre ad ipsum delatæ aures sat attentas præbere non potuit, utpote quas pridie quam pugnatum fuit cognovit; tum cum cogitationes omnes in pugnæ postridie committendæ apparatu fixæ penitus hæsissent. Nec enim injuria quis dixerit eum sævire in bonos qui parcit malis. Et sacræ literæ "auferes,"[95] inquiunt, "malum de medio tui, non parcet oculus tuus ut miserearis, sed animam pro anima, oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente, manum pro manu, pedem pro pede exige." Huc etiam spectant prophetæ et Achab verba: "Hæc dicit Dominus: quia dimisisti virum dignum morte de manu tua, erit anima tua pro anima illius." Ut hinc S. Ludovicus Galliæ rex dixerit "Princeps qui crimen punire potest, et non punit, non minus coram Deo reus est, quam si ipse perpetrasset." Qui non vetat peccare cum potest jubet, nil interest sceleri an faveas an facias. Quid multis? post Conchaurum honorifico funere, ut par erat elatum, pulvis loci quem moriens texit, morbo laborantibus diu post admotus sanitatem impertiit.

Quod si brevitatis me cancellis non inclusissem, de regum, ac regulorum Hiberniæ rerum gestarum, ac pietatis præstantiâ orationem latius excurrere paterer. Sed cum Giraldo dicenti in regum Hiberniæ rebus gestis, "pauca insignia, ac memoratu digna se reperisse,"[96] os obstruxisse mihi videar, in hoc studio non ultra progrediar. Sed ad alias quibus eosdem afficit injurias reprimendas gradum faciam. "Prædicti reges," inquit, "non alicujus coronationis solemnitate, non inunctionis sacramento, non etiam jure hæreditario, vel aliqua successionis proprietate, sed vi et armis tantum, totius insulæ monarchiam obtinuerunt." Eadem penè verba, sed non eundem penitus ordinem Davisius adhibuit: ait enim: "Isti reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hæreditario,

[95] 3 Regum. cap. 20. [96] Top. d. 3, cap. 45.

[d] O'Flaherty discusses these points in considerable detail, and more satisfactorily than our author. Ogygia, p. 48.

and receiving the holy communion, he preferred dying immediately to protracting his days any longer on earth. He added also, that his defeat in battle was caused by his not having inflicted due punishment on the crime of his brother: though he did not pardon, but only deferred the punishment. He had not leisure to listen to the accusation against his brother, as it was made the very day before the battle, when, of course, all his attention was engrossed by the preparations for the coming conflict. So true is it, that leniency to the wicked is cruelty to the just: "You shall take away the evil," says the Scripture, "from the midst of thee; thine eye shall not spare that you may pity, but demand a soul for a soul, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot." The same truth is conveyed in the words of the Prophet to Achab; "Thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man worthy of death, thy life shall be for his life." Hence St. Louis, king of France, declared, "that the prince who could punish crime, and did not punish it, is not less guilty before God than if himself had committed it." He that does not prohibit sin when he can, orders it; to favor crime is the same as to commit it. But enough on this subject. Conchobhar was interred with all the funeral honors due to his great rank, and for long years afterwards the dust of the spot on which he was slain cured persons laboring under various diseases.

Were it not inconsistent with the brevity which I have prescribed for myself, I could give a much more detailed demonstration of the extraordinary piety and heroic deeds of the monarchs and provincial kings of Ireland. But the facts already adduced overthrow, I think, the assertion of Giraldus "that in the history of Irish kings there were but few remarkable facts which deserve to be recorded," and that dispenses me from proceeding farther. I shall take up other injurious imputations which he levels against our kings. "These kings," he says, "enter on the supreme government of the whole island not by any solemn coronation, nor sacramental anointing, nor even by hereditary right, or any right of succession, but by force and arms alone." Davis uses almost the very same words, but not precisely in the same order. "These kings," he says, "were not instituted with any solemn rite of coronation, nor holy sign of anointing, nor by hereditary right, nor by

vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi et armis quilibet suum regnum obtinuit." Laciniam etiam de suo satis ineptam assuens, nempe: "Nullam Hibernis justam conquerendi causam fuisse, si fortior rex superveniens imperium in illos sibi per vim arripuerit." Siquidem à veritate quam maximè abhorret, eos omnes qui Hiberniæ regno potiti sunt illud sibi armis vendicasse, cum plurimi citra pugnam avitam hæreditatem adierint. Candidatorum delectu habito non solum rex renuntiatus, sed successor etiam designatus est. Ut non nisi ad reges inaugurandos, et successores designandos ejusmodi conventus optimatum fierent. Quod si quis audaciâ quam causâ melior iis se virtutibus destitutum cernens qua procerum assensum ad regiam illi dignitatem deferendam allicere deberent ad armorum et violentiæ subsidia confugiebat. Usu enim non raró venit, ut filii præ nimiâ dominandi libidine parentes imperio deturbent: sic successores designati tempestiva quadam ante destinatum tempus imperandi aviditate correpti, ad [312] culmen | regium, vel decessoris nece viam sibi quandoque se sternunt. Nemo tamen unquam eam in Hibernia regni sibi comparandi rationem inivit, qui non originem è sanguine regio duxit, et aliquam præterea juris umbram facinori obtendit. Sic in Anglia Guillelmus Rufus fratri suo majori natu Roberto; Henricus primus, fratri quoque suo Roberto; Stephanus Mathildi; Joannes Arthuro; Henricus quartus, Richardo secundo: Edwardus quartus Henrico sexto; Richardus tertius Edwardo quinto regnum dolo malo, et armis præripuerunt. Horum plerisque decessores non solum regno per nefas, sed etiam vitâ spoliantibus. Ut Henricum septimum in horum numerum non referam, cui ad tyrannum regno privandum, non modo secundo armorum successus, sed etiam justitia favit. Non itaque fastigium regium in Hibernia tam prostitutum fuit, ut nullo alio juris firmamento quam viribus munito ascensus ad illud patuerit. Nec enim sicut infirmioribus avibus de præda contendentibus prædam milvus abripit, sic in Hibernia post fidem Catholicam

[e] It is commonly supposed, even by English writers, that the family of the Capets of France had the most ancient pedigree of any *sovereign* line in Europe (Hallam's Europe, vol. ii., p. 17, note Ed. 10): that supposition must be at least exceedingly doubtful, to any person reading our author supra,

any succession of property, but every one seizes his kingdom by force and arms." To this he appends a very absurd inference of his own, namely, "that the Irish had no just cause of complaint at another king stronger than themselves coming in, and seizing the crown by force," for it is a flagrant falsehood that all who enjoyed the Irish crown won it by the sword, many of them having succeeded to it as their paternal inheritance, without any contest. Selection was made from the candidates, and not only the king was inaugurated, but his successor was also appointed. The inauguration of the king and the appointment of his successor were the sole purpose of those assemblies of the nobles. But when a person, who was stronger in audacious might than in the justice of his cause, felt that he had no claims from his virtues on the votes of the nobles to the crown, he had recourse to violence and the support of arms. It often happens that inordinate lust of power drives sons into rebellion against their fathers, and in the same way successors elect, under the impulse of a desire to reign before the allotted time, have sometimes stepped to the throne over the body of their murdered predecessor. But of all that succeeded by such means to the throne of Ireland, there was not one who was not of the blood royal, and who could not plead, moreover, some plausible grounds for his crime. Thus in England, the crown was taken either by arms or treachery from Robert, by his younger brother, William Rufus; from the same Robert by Henry I.; from Mathilda by Stephen; from Arthur by John; from Richard II. by Henry IV.; from Henry VI. by Edward IV.; from Edward V. by Richard III.; and many were not only deposed but murdered by their successors. I have not named Henry VII. among those, because he was superior to his competitor, not only in the prosperous glory of his arms, but also in the justice of his cause. The crown of Ireland was never so degraded as to be acquired by force alone, without any other legal right. From the introduction of Christianity into the island,[e] there was not a single king

pp. 55, 59, 61, 63, unless it be contended, perhaps, that the Irish kings there mentioned were not a *sovereign* line. There can be little doubt, that from the middle of the 5th century at least, the pedigrees of these Irish kings are as authentic as those of the Capetian line.

ab incolis capessitam, nullus unquam tanta fuit rapacitate, ut solis armis fretus, regni possessori regnum per vim eripere aggressus fuerit. Sed ista Davisius è "libro Dubliniensis ecclesiæ Salvatori" dicatæ deprompsit. Ut mirum non unius, sed duorum testimonio calumniis istis fides conciliaretur. Verum sicut in fabulis asinus leonis pelle tectus, auribus per pellis rimas extantibus agnitus est: sic vel verborum horum strues, calumnias illas è Cambrensis incude prodiisse prodit. Ita ut diversa illa vocum collatio à posteriori adhibita, fucum potius faciat, quam priori testimonio robur ullum addat. Quivis igitur facilè perspicit, ista scriptis à Cambrensi tradita, et ex his in librum Dubliniensem relata fuisse, ut primam eorum evulgationem Giraldo acceptam referre debeamus. Qui tamen graviter allucinatus fuisse videtur, quod coronas à regibus Hiberniæ gestatas fuisse neget: quandoquidem diadema regum Hiberniæ tempora redimire in inaugurationibus consuetum, à Donato Briani Borumhii filio Romam delatum fuisse à scriptoribus tradatur. Chronicon etiam Aquicinctinum dicit: Henricum secundum "regnum Hiberniæ subjugaturum, et regium diadema capiti suo impositurum," etc. A nostro hic instituto, id non alienum esse mihi videtur quod à Cassaneo profertur dicente: "Rex Hiberniæ habet regem aureum tenentem lilium, in majestate sedentem, in campo nigro." Quid enim aliud est "Regem in majestate sedere" quam regio solio insedere?[97] ut nihil aliud paludamento, et corona insignitum insignium pictura præter cerimoniarum in inaugurationibus adhibitarum imaginem referat? Quarè cum in similitudine corona visatur, non est dubitandum quin

[97] In Catalogo gloriæ mundi. i. parte cons. 38, concl. 17.

[f] The editor does not know any native authority for this assertion of Cassaneus with regard to the "golden lily" and the "sable field:" nor is it probable that any such can be found, as O'Flaherty has not produced it when discussing this subject, on which he expressly cites these words of Cassaneus. Ogygia, p. 45. But there are ancient authorities for the use of the "corona," or "diadem," of some kind or other, by ancient Irish kings. It was, in more modern times, called coroin or ainn—but anciently the latter alone. In the plural, aiinda, it means relics of the saints; such as pastoral staffs, bells, sacred books, and other such relics used in the ad-

that trusted merely to the power of his arms for expelling violently the royal occupant of the throne. The hawk snatching the prey from the weaker birds contending for it was not their type. But I will be told, Davis quotes from the book of Christ's Church, Dublin, and thus, bless the mark! it is not one but two authorities we have to authenticate those calumnies. But as the ass in the fable, though covered with the lion's skin, was discovered by the ears protruding through the rents, so the very construction of these passages bears the unequivocal stamp of the calumnious manufacture of Cambrensis. The mere change of collocation, made by Davis, is but a vain pretence, and gives no corroboration to the testimony of the other. It is obvious that the statements were first made by Cambrensis; they were then copied into this Dublin book; and thus Cambrensis must be accounted the original author of their publication. Now he has fallen into a most egregious error, by denying that crowns were ever worn by the Irish kings; whereas our writers state expressly that the diadem which encircled the brows of our Irish kings at their coronation was carried to Rome by Donnchadh, son of Brian Boroimhe. In the Chronicle of Aquicinctium, also, we read of "Henry II. subduing the kingdom of Ireland, and going to place the royal diadem on his head," &c. &c. There is a passage in Cassaneus also which, in my opinion, bears on this subject. "The king of Ireland," he says, "has a king holding a golden lily, and sitting in majesty, on a field sable." for what meaning can "sitting in majesty" have but a person clothed in robe and crown, and sitting on a royal throne.[f] Besides these, the painters introduce no other emblem into their piece except the ceremonies used in the inauguration; and as the crown appears in the representation,

ministration of oaths. Ogygia, p. 46. O'Flaherty supposes that the meaning of the word in the plural was metaphorical—but does not explain on what the metaphor was founded. Did the resemblance on which it was founded consist in this, that the king's diadem and relics were both used in oaths; or was there in the diadem some principal relic, from which the diadem itself took its name? The editor cannot say; but, in either case, it is manifest that whatever rites the Irish may have used in inauguration, they regarded the regal power as something sacred, or they never would associate the diadem with the relics of the saints.

prototypon corona non caruerit. Legi alicubi, ubi Edwardus Brusius rex Hiberniæ à nonnullis Hibernis renuntiatus est corona redimitum fuisse, quod indicium est, moris apud Hibernos olim fuisse renuntiatis regibus coronas imponere. Licet coronæ usus apud Hibernos admodum antiquus esse non potuerit,[98] cum Aurelianus Imperator an. Dom. 269, cæsus "primus apud Romanos diadema capiti innexuerit."

Ut autem de Hiberniæ regum unctione quod sentio edicam. Joannes Seldenus narrationem satis prolixam de regum unctione instituit; aitque usum illius apud Hebræos sacrâ paginâ testante frequentissimum.[99] Christianos reges multò tardius quam Catholicam fidem amplexos fuisse. Nimirum inunctionis ejusmodi consuetudinem in Orientis imperio, vel à Justiniano vel ab ejus successore Justino inchoatam circa salutis annum 565, quo ille imperandi finem, hic initium fecit. In Occidente unâ cum ipsius Imperii exordio, eum inungendi ritum Carolus magnus sub an. Dom. 805, adhibuit, et è Franciæ regibus Pipinus eo primus usus est, anno post Virginis Partum 750, plurimis enim productis argumentis, evincere contendit oleum illud S. Remigio cœlitus emissum, non ad Clodoveum dignitate regia, sed baptismate initiandum; nec ut rex sed ut Christianus esset adhibitum fuisse. E. regibus Angliæ Aluredum, qui anno salutis 852 regnum [313] | inivit, primum hac inunctione perfusum fuisse dicit. Ita tamen ut confirmationis oleo potius à Leone quarto, quam oleo regum inaugurationibus adhiberi solito eum oblitum fuisse putet, quod Aluredus tum ex ephebis nondum excesserit, patre ac pluribus fratribus natu majoribus adhuc superstitibus. Nec ad aliter sentiendum Malmsburiensis assertione attrahitur dicentis:

[98] Aurel. Victor. [99] Theatrum honoris Anglice.

[s] O'Flaherty admits that he had not been able to find any native authority for the anointing of Irish kings. "Nullum domesticum monumentum quod sciam, extare de regia nostrorum unctione ingenué fateor." Ogygia, p. 47. But the inauguration was not the less a religious ceremony, as Dr. O'Donovan conclusively proves from numerous ancient authorities. Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach, p. 426. To some it seems improbable that the kings were obliged at their inauguration to swear to defend the Catholic

it is evident that a crown must have appeared in the prototype. I read somewhere that Edward Bruce, when proclaimed king of Ireland by the natives, received a royal diadem, which proves that the custom of wearing crowns at their coronation must have been observed by the kings of Ireland. The use of the crown, however, cannot have been very ancient among the Irish, because the first that wore a diadem on his head, even among the Romans, was the emperor Aurelianus, who was slain A.D. 269.

But now I shall give my opinion on the anointing of the kings of Ireland.[g] John Selden has given a rather tedious dissertation on the anointing of kings, and he says that from the evidence of sacred Scripture, it must have been very common among the Hebrews. But it was not adopted by Christian princes until long after they had embraced the Catholic faith. In the Eastern Empire this custom of anointing was introduced either by Justinianus, or by his successor Justinus, about the year 565, in which the former died, and the latter ascended the throne. But in the West, the custom is coeval with the foundation of the empire, Charlemagne having adopted it in the year 805. Pepin, Selden contends, was the first French king that was anointed about the year 750; for he produces many arguments to prove that the oil sent down from heaven to St. Remi was not for the coronation but the baptism of Clovis, and that it was used not to make him a king, but a Christian. Alured, who began his reign in 852, was, he thinks, the first Anglo-Saxon king who was anointed at his coronation. But that oil which was sent by Leo IV. was, he infers, the oil used in confirmation, and not that used in the coronation of kings, because Alured was yet very young, and his father and some elder brothers were still living at the time. William of Malmesbury, it is true, states "that Offa

faith. But that oath was part of the constitutional law of all European states from at least the ninth century, see Gosselin's "Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages," *passim*; and O'Sullivan asserts that it was also required in Ireland, Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium, folio 33, an assertion confirmed by the very ancient authority of the Book of Rights, p. 111, which asserts that "the oppressing of saints and the renouncement of baptism" excludes a prince from the throne, and deprives him of it when obtained.

"Offa circa annum Domini 790 dulci vitam consumpsit otio, et Egfertum filium, ante mortem suam in regem inunctum successorem dimisit."[100] Non dubitat enim Seldenus quin Malmsburiensis morem hunc regum inaugurationi suo tempore familiarem ad anteriora tempora retulerit.

Non modicè miror Seldenum adductum fuisse ut Galfrido Monmothensi crederet è Gilda (si diis placet) asserenti "unctos fuisse reges" Britanniæ, "non per Deum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores extarent, ut paulò post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus." Cùm in Gildæ querimonia quidpiam ejusmodi non exstet. Galfridi certè opus Cambrensis "fabulosam historiam" et eadem significatione mythistoriam Famianus Strada, quisquilias Aubertus Miræus appellat,[1] et indignum cui fides habeatur Harpsfeldius asserit. Quod etiam Neubrigensis, et Camdenus studiosè impugnant. Hinc quoque narrationis hujuscè veritas multùm infirmatur, quod episcopi ad inunctionis ministerium semper adhibiti sicarii ac "percussores" esse vetentur. Cum præsertim nulli unquam episcopi Britanniæ regibus manus intulisse à scriptoribus tradantur. Præstitisset igitur ut ad quem sensum similes aliorum authorum locutiones Seldenus traxerat, hanc etiam orationem ad eundem flecteret. Nimirum illi pro ævi sui consuetudine cum quempiam renuntiatum fuisse regem significare vellent, inunctum dixerunt, utraque voce pro synonimis habita. Pari ratione Galfridus pro eo ac dicere debuit quosdam fuisse reges Britanniæ salutatos, dixit unctos.

Annon præstantissimæ quæque consuetudines initium, imo et perfectionem in continenti ante sumunt, quam in insulas nostras trajiciunt? Annon etiam absurdum foret existimare, quod ille ungendi usus longè ante regibus Britanniæ familiaris, quam aut Orientis, Occidentisve Imperatoribus, aut regibus Galliæ frequentatus fuerit? Sane id commodi ex ungendi more Britannis tum usitato, cum Gildas anno Dom. 512 vivere desiit, Hibernia haurire posset, quod hinc elici possit par esse ut Hiberniæ reges eodem unctionis ornamento insignirentur. Tanta enim Hiberniæ populo cum Britannis similitudo morum intercessit, ut in cujusque consuetudinis ab his admissæ consortium illi mox advolave-

[100] De gestis regum, l. 1, c. 3. [1] Descr. Cambriæ, c. 7. in prolus. Acad. in notus ad Sigeb. 12, seculo, cap. 47, in proœmio, p. 7.

wasted away his life in luxurious indolence about the year 790, and left after him his son Egbert, whom he saw before his death anointed king." But Selden maintains, notwithstanding, that William merely ascribes to preceding ages a custom generally received in his own times.

I was not a little amazed that Selden, on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who cites Gildas—bless the mark!—was led to believe "that the kings of Britain were anointed, but not by God; for the most cruel were always elected, and the persons who anointed them would immediately after assassinate them, not after a just trial, but if a more cruel successor could be found." Now there is nothing of this kind in the complaint of Gildas. Cambrensis, moreover, denounces Geoffrey's work as "a fabulous history." It is stigmatized as a mythic fable by Famian Strada; as mere trash by Aubert Miræus; and as utterly unworthy of credit by Harpsfeld. William of Newbury and Camden both impugn it zealously. The falsehood of this particular statement is clearly intimated by the fact that bishops, by whom the unction was always administered, are specially forbidden to be assassins or strikers; nor do we read in history of any bishop having ever murdered any king of Britain. This passage, therefore, ought to have been interpreted in the sense given by Selden himself to many others, namely, that the writers, when recording the coronation of any king, follow the usage of their day, and make "elected" and "anointed" synonymous. In this case Geoffry, when intending to state that some persons were proclaimed kings of Britain, says they were anointed.

Are not all good customs established and even perfected on the continent before they are imported into our island? Is it not absurd to suppose that this custom of being anointed was familiar to the kings of Britain before it was used by the emperors of the East or West, or the kings of France? But this supposed custom of the British kings, before the year 512, in which Gildas died, can be cited in favor of Ireland, inasmuch as the kings of Ireland must, very probably, have used the same mode of anointing. So great was the similarity of British and Irish customs, that whatever was established in Britain was speedily adopted by Ireland. Tacitus also states, that "in soil, cli-

rint;[a] Tacito testante: Hiberniæ "solum, cœlumque et ingenia, cultusque hominum, haud multum à Britannia differre." Sed aditum hinc obstructum ad inunctionis honorem regibus Hiberniæ vendicandum aliqua Romani provincialis exemplaria referant. Licet enim alia, præter Imperatorem, quatuor tantum reges scilicet Hierosolimæ, Franciæ, et Angliæ, et Siciliæ inungi solitos esse memorent: alia tamen (eodem Seldeno referente) regibus inungendis Hiberniæ reges inserunt; et liber de numero cardinalium, archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Romæ 1533, impressus ait: "Inungi reges Castellæ, Aragoniæ, Iberniæ, Scotiæ, Poloniæ, Hungariæ," etc. fol. 49. Quamquam iste reges Hiberniæ ex hoc gradu in quo liber eos collocat, ideò dejicere velle videatur, quod Angliæ regibus obnoxii fuerint, vel eorum honoris obscurandi studio, pro more ab ejusdem farinæ hominibus usurpato; aut ignoratione quòd de suprema tributariorum potestate nihil tributi persolutione decedat. Itaque reges Hiberniæ ad tributa tantum regibus Angliæ obstricti, sicut nec usitato ullo priscæ dignitatis symbolo, sic nec inungendi honore privati sunt. Ut saltem antè reges Angliæ ullam in Hiberniam potestatem nactos, Hiberniæ regum inaugurationem inungendi ritu honestatum fuisse Seldenus ipse fateri videatur cum non inficietur.

Sed ab his Giraldi assertionibus enervatis, ad alias calumnias in Hiberniæ reges ab illo effusas infirmandas progrediamur. Illos regnum [314] "hæreditario | jure" unquam adeptos negat. Verum regum filios regiam patrum dignitatem sæpius adiisse annales nostri referunt. In regio solio Erimoni patri subierunt Munnius, Lugnius, et Lagnius: Irialo, Ethrialus: Sedno Arthuri filio Fiachus Finscochus: Muninonio Aldergoddus: Olamho Follao Finnachtus: Roithachto Eilimus: Euno Rufo Lugachus Jardonnus: Olillo Candido Eochodius: Conlao Cruadchelgio Oilillus: et Terdelacho Tadæi filio Briani Borumhii nepoti Murchertachus. Ut videas neque lege neque consuetudine filios paternæ dignitatis etiam regiæ possessione ineundâ exclusos fuisse; ac proindè falsò dici neminem unquam "hæreditario jure Monarchiam obtinuisse."

[a] In vita Agricol.

mate, character, and customs of its inhabitants, Ireland differed very little from Britain." But, though we be precluded from gaining by that argument the honor of having Irish kings anointed, some editions of the Roman Provincial can be brought to support us; some of them, it is true, mention none to be anointed except the emperor, and the four kings of Jerusalem, France, England, and Sicily; but others (according to the same Selden) class the kings of Ireland among those who were to be anointed; and a work published at Rome in 1533, on the number of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, states, p. 49, "that the kings of Castile, Arragon, Ireland, Scotland, Poland, and Hungary, used to be anointed," &c. Selden, however, would deprive the kings of Ireland of the rank allowed to them by this book, either because they were subject to the kings of England, or because he, like so many others of his vulgar stamp, were enemies to the honor of Ireland, or, perhaps, because he did not know that the payment of tribute is not at all inconsistent with the supreme power of him who pays it. The kings of Ireland not being subject to the kings of England by other bond than the payment of tribute, were not deprived of any of the usual symbols of their ancient dignity, nor of this right of being anointed. At all events, Selden himself, by not denying it, appears to admit that the kings of Ireland were anointed before the kings of England acquired any power in Ireland.

Having thus disposed of those assertions of Giraldus, we pass on to refute his other calumnies against the kings of Ireland. He denies that they ever acquired the throne by hereditary right. Now, our annals record very frequently, the peaceable accession of the son to his father's throne. Eireamhon was succeeded on the throne by his sons Muimhne, Luighne, and Laighne: Eithrial succeeded to Irial, Fiacha Finscothach to Sedna, son of Airti; Faildeargdiod to Muineamhon, Finnachta to Ollamh Fodhla, Elim to Roitheachtaigh, Lughaidh Iardonn to Enna Dearg, Eochadh to Oilill Finn, Oilill to Connla Cruaidh-chealgach, and Muircheartach to Toirdhealbhach, son of Tadhg, grandson of Brian Boroimhe. Thus, there was evidently neither law nor custom to exclude sons from succeeding to the royal throne of their father; and it was consequently false to say "that no person ever acquired the kingdom by hereditary right."

Neque magis vero consonum est "successionis proprietate" nullum in Hibernia regiam dignitatem adeptum fuisse. Illis enim penes quos eligendi regis arbitrium erat, libera potestas non erat undecunque oriundum in regis solio pro libidine collocandi. Nam ad tam sublime munus uni alicui è certis quibusdam familiis deferendum astringebantur, nec ex alia stirpe quispiam aut inter candidatos referebatur, aut ad regnum aspirabat. Regum seriem post Hiberniæ sceptrum à Mylesii filiis capessitum, si lubet percurre; nec ullum qui non è Mylesii filiis originem duxerit, Hiberniæ solium insedisse deprehendes, præter Carbrium Cancheltum obscuro loco natum, qui Hibernia fidei luce nondum illustratâ, proceribus regiis insidiosâ cæde sublatis, regnum, et tyrannidem per nefas occupavit. Mortuò enim regi, vel frater, patruus, filius, vel aliquis propinquâ eum cognatione attingens substituebatur. Non igitur video, qua ratione Davisius fidem suam liberare possit, qui nulla Hibernos "successionis proprietate," sed Tanistriæ (ut ipse loquitur) lege, quæ fratri extincto non filium, sed alium è propinquis ætate, rerum usu, et administrationis peritiâ maturiorem substituit usos esse asserit.

Is igitur Hibernos in delectu regum habendo, nullam successionis rationem habuisse tam falsò narrat, quam inique Tanistriam damnandam esse sentit, quæ pro ac eorum temporum mores ferebant, Reipub. minus exitialis erat. Gubernaculo enim Hiberniæ domesticis, et externis bellis assiduè tum concussæ rex ex ephebis nondum egressus non erat admovendus, cui ad Hiberniam moderandam judicium, ad tuendam vires non suppetebant. Præterea res est lippis, et tonsoribus nota leges Reipub. temporibus semper accommodandas esse. Ut propterea illâ tempestate, non Hibernis tantum ea consuetudo, sed etiam plurimis aliis nationibus familiaris fuit.[3] "Apud Numidas olim fratres liberis ultimi possessoris præferebantur. Idem in Arabia felice usurpatum olim fuisse ex Strabone colligo. De Taurica Chersoneso idem recentiores prodidere. Mos enim" (inquit Bodinus) "apud Dacos, Suevos, et Hungaros inolevit, ut ex pluribus liberis arbitratu suo quemvis cooptent."[4] Apud Abissinos autem "mortuo rege, non proximus agnatus, sed qui magis idoneus inter gentiles regis optimatibus et custodibus arcis, in qua illi

[3] Grotius de jure belli, l. 2, c. 7, n. 27. [4] Methodo, cap. 6.

It is equally false to say, that there was no fixed rule to regulate the succession of the royal line in Ireland. Those who had the right to elect the king were not at liberty to select indiscriminately the members of all families for the diadem. So great an honor was restricted to certain families, which alone had the privilege of canvassing the electors and aspiring to the crown. Take up the catalogue of kings who swayed the Irish sceptre from the days of Milesius, and you will find that all were descended from his sons, except Cairbre Caitcheann who, though of ignoble birth, succeeded, before the conversion of the Irish to Christianity, in cutting off all the nobles by treachery, and established, by his crimes, his tyrannical government. When the king died, his brother, or uncle, or son, or some other near relative, was elected in his room. I cannot see, then, how Davis can substantiate his assertion, that the Irish had no fixed rule of succession, but only (as he says) the law of Tanistry, which did not allow the inheritance to the son after the father's death, but to some other relative better qualified by years and experience for the affairs of government.

It is false, then, that the Irish had no fixed rule of succession in the choice of their kings; and it is equally unjust to condemn Tanistry, which, in the peculiar frame of society in those days, was not so injurious to the public good. At a time when Ireland was in constant commotion, either by foreign or domestic wars, a beardless youth would not be fit to be promoted, as wanting the prudence to govern and the power to protect the kingdom. Laws, moreover, as all the world knows, must be accommodated to the circumstances of the Republic; and hence, in those days, that custom prevailed not only in Ireland, but in many other nations. "Among the Numidians, the brothers were formerly preferred to the children of the last possessor. The same custom, I infer from Strabo, must have formerly prevailed in Arabia Felix. Modern writers give the same account of the Tauric Chersonesus." Among the Dacians, Suevi, and Hungarians, "there is a custom," according to Bodinus, "of electing whomsoever they please of the children of their lord;" and in Abyssinia, on the king's death, it is not his nearest relative that is elected, but whatever relative appears best qualified for the office, in the opinion of the great lords of the kingdom and guardians of the palace, where the relatives are all educated together."

simul educantur videtur, renuntiari consuevit."[5] Quinetiam hodiè in Muscovia summum imperium non extincti regis filio, sed fratri defertur.[6] Sic Basilius magnus Muscoviæ rex fratri liberos etiam habenti successit. Nec ille ritus à Vandalis (ut Procopius ait) tantum usitatus erat; sed etiam Anglis, per quos Joanni regi regnum nepoti suo Arthuro præripere licuit. Quorum etiam comitia, Henricum Lancastriæ ducem an. Dom. 1399, ad fastigium regium, Richardo primogeniti filio indè deturbato evexerunt. Simili etiam de causa Robertus minimus natu frater, regnum Neapolitanum summi pontificis sententia retulit, rege Hungariæ fratris natu majoris filio posthabito. Imo inter privatos (ait Bodinus) nullus erat in successionibus, lineæ directæ per Septentrionales regiones locus. Quam etiam consuetudinem Flandria, Arthesia, Picardia, et Normannia quondam amplexa est: ut mos non sit in Hibernis culpandus, cujus usus nullam dedecoris labem tot nationibus inussit. Imò Hiberni non mediocrem prudentiæ famam hinc assecuti esse videntur, [315] quod | successore regi superstiti designato, omnem aditum contentionibus de regno post regem mortuum adipiscendo exoriendis præcluserint. Siquidem ubi rege, regnum et vitam ponente, spes imperii ad plures, exitus ad unum spectat, singulis summum sibi rerum adsciscere nitentibus, Respub. factionum studiis, et armis miserè convellitur, et labefactatur.[7]

Angliæ quoque comitia reginam Elizabetham an. Dom. 1566[8] mense Octobri enixè rogarunt ut negotiorum publicorum initium à successore constituendo duceret, ne post illam è vivis sublatam, anceps hujus rei disceptatio tumultibus Rempub. discerperet. Proindè ad subsidia conferenda, vel ullas alias causas decidendas se ante descensuros negarunt, quam de certo illi successore substituendo decerneretur. Quam rem licet illa molestè tulerit, et illius tam acri prosecutione tumulum sibi vivæ aperiri conquesta fuerit, tamen in eo negotio, ad prudentum concilia sese accommodaturam pollicita est.

[5] Ibidem. [6] Bodinus de Repub. lib. 6, c. 5, l. 3, de bello Vandali. [7] Bod. de Repub. l. 6, c. 5. [8] Ibidem.

[h] Richard Cobden published not long since a letter in the *Times*, as-

In Muscovy, at the present day, on the death of its duke, his dignity devolves on his brother, not his son. Thus Basil the Great succeeded his brother, who had left issue. Nor was this custom confined to the Vandals, as Procopius asserts; by virtue of it the English allowed John to take the crown from his nephew Arthur.[h] The English parliament also, in 1399, deprived Richard, who was son of the eldest son, and raised Henry, duke of Lancaster, to the throne. In like manner, Robert, the youngest brother, received the crown of Naples from the pope, to the exclusion of the king of Hungary, the son of an elder brother. In private families, according to Bodinus, a succession in the direct line was not admitted among the northern nations. The same example was formerly followed by Flanders, Artois, Picardy, and Normandy; so that it is absurd to blame the Irish for a custom which has brought no discredit on so many other nations. On the contrary, it appears to redound not a little to the wise prudence of the Irish, that by appointing a successor during the king's lifetime, they precluded the danger of any contests for the throne after the king's death. For wherever the death of a king opens the prospect of a prize to many, which can be enjoyed only by one, every man will endeavour to win the crown for himself, and the republic must be lacerated miserably, and weakened by factious parties and their bloody feuds.

The parliament of England, in the month of October, 1566, petitioned Elizabeth in the most pressing terms to commence the public business by appointing a successor to the crown, lest after her death, any dissension on that subject might plunge the country into civil war. They even refused to vote the public money, or consider any other public question, until she had first fixed the question of succession. She was greatly offended at this proceeding, and complained that by their obstinacy they were about to bury her alive; yet she was obliged to promise that she would take and follow the advice of prudent counsellors on the matter.

signing to England a pre-eminent proficiency in deposing and murdering her kings.

Nec quis successione tantum patribus subiri, alios quoscunque decessoribus electione suffici statuens mihi jurgium moveat, quod hanc succedendi rationem successionis potius voce, quam electionis denotaverim. Id enim ego satis habeo, si nemo Hibernos successionem electione temperasse non inficiatur. Quos nudâ etiam electione citra probrum uti posse nullus diffitebitur. Utpotè quam Germani proceres in Imperatore, Poloni in rege creando adhibent. Imò hanc multa laude optimus discernendi artifex Aristoteles prosequitur dicens: "Perniciosum, ac planè barbarum esse reges à stirpe duci, Lacedemonios Carthaginensibus inferiores existimamus, quia hi reges eligerent, illi ab Hercule ducerent." Cum itaque vel utramque, vel saltem alterutram renuntiandi regis rationem Hibernis familiarem fuisse constet, æquè palam est à Cambrensi falso affirmari,[9] quod vi et armis "tantum Hiberniæ Monarchia obtenta fuerit."

Imo ipse sibi mendacium impingit, dum Kenellconelliæ reges seu potius regulos, non armis, sed inauguratione regnum inire affirmat. Nec enim in Hiberniæ regibus universim perstringendis acquiescere potuit, nisi etiam ad inferiores notæ regulos carpendos deflecteret ut quod spurcitiæ documentum in illis deprehendere non potuit, in his exhibere contenderet. Sed quam infelici successu in priori conatu functus est, tam inani eventu posteriorem ejus operam exceptum iri confido. Quâ igitur ratione apud Kenelconellenses inauguratio instituatur ille narrat in hæc verba: "Est in Boreali ac ulteriori Ultoniæ parte apud Kenelconil gens quædam quæ barbaro nimis et abominabili ritu sic sibi regem creare solet.[10] Collecto in unum universo populo terræ illius, in medium producitur jumentum candidum ad quod sublimandos ille non in principem sed in belluam, non in regem, sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter se quoque bestiam profitetur et statim jumento interfecto, et frustratim in aqua decocto, in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur, cui insidens, de carnibus illis sibi allatis, circumstante populo suo, et ves-

[9] D. 3, c. 45. [10] Top. d. 3, cap. 25.

[1] See in the Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach, an account of the real mode of inauguration used by the Irish.

Should it be objected to me that "succession" strictly means the succession of son to father, and that all other modes of transfer are properly "election;" and consequently that I ought to have denominated the Irish custom election, and not succession; I answer, I insist on no more than that the Irish, who unquestionably could have adopted the elective system, without the slightest discredit, did modify the elective principle by the principle of succession. Thus the princes of the German empire elect their emperor, and the Poles elect their king, and the elective system is praised in the following glowing terms by Aristoteles, so famed for his sagacity: "It is exceedingly pernicious, and downright barbarism, to admit a hereditary line of kings. The Lacedemonians are, in our judgment, inferior to the Carthaginians, because the latter elect their kings; the former trace theirs from Hercules." Now both, or at least either of these modes of royal succession having been in force in Ireland, it is evident that Cambrensis stated a falsehood, when he said "that the crown of Ireland was never obtained except by violence and arms."

But he stands self-convicted of this falsehood. He declares that the kings, or rather chieftains of Kineal-Conaill acquired their power not by arms, but by inauguration. He could not content himself with sweeping denunciations against Irish kings in general, without descending to criticize the blemishes of the minor potentates, in whom he hoped to detect some of those abominations from which the others were free. But as his assault against the chief kings was eminently unsuccessful, this second attempt, I hope, shall be proved to be equally fruitless. The following is his account of the inauguration usual among the people of Kineal-Conaill.[1] "In Kineal-Conaill, the most remote and northern district of Ulster, there is a certain tribe which use a most barbarous and abominable rite in the inauguration of their kings. All the people of the country being assembled together, a white ox is produced; and the person who is to be made not a prince, but a brute, not a king, but an outlaw, advances like a beast to the animal in presence of all the people, and shamefully and foolishly professes that he too is a beast. The animal is then killed, cut up in pieces, and boiled, and a bath of the broth is prepared. The candidate sits in the bath and eats some of the meat which is laid before him; the people in the meantime stand-

cente, comedit ipse. De jure quoque quo lavatur, non vase äliquo, non manu, sed ore tantum circumquaque haurit, et bibit. Quibus ita rite non rectè completis, regnum illius, et Dominum eis confirmatum." Vides ut in hujus tam fœdi ritus delineatione omnes eloquentiæ suæ, non historicæ, sed oratoriæ thesauros non segniter effundit. Sicut enim oratores quem laudibus exornandum susceperunt, elogiis ultrà veri metas attollunt; sic Giraldus limites veri transiliens, omnes eloquentiæ cavinæ machinas adhibet, ut istarum sordium infamia legentium animis altius infigatur. Nam "historiæ severitas" (inquit) "nec veritati parcere novit, nec verecundiæ." Nimirum homo (si diis placet)[11] fidissimus verecundiæ potius quam fidei jacturam facere maluit. Ut ille quem sæpius infidum deprehendimus, inverecundum etiam se hic agnoscat. Qui proindè illam Ciceronis objurgationem declinare non potest dicentis, "Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, eum bene, et graviter oportet esse impudentem."[12] Itaque cujus impudentiam vidimus, jactantiam etiam ejusdem videamus, "Rem hanc inhonestam [316] venusta verborum vermilitate" (ut ipse | loquitur) "depromere" pollicentis. Promissam quidem orationis "vermilitatem," sive venustatem in superiori spurcæ inaugurationis delineatione jam exeruit.[13] Ut ex hac Giraldi ostentatione illam Stanihursti censuram prodiisse censeam dicentis: "Giraldum scriptorem meo sanè judicio non ferreum, suo plane aureum fuisse."

Sed qua veritate prolatæ inaugurationis narratio fulciatur dispiciamus. Domestici certè scriptores eam disertis verbis funditus evertunt. Hac enim quam subjicio ratione Tirconelliæ regulos initiatos fuisse tradunt, Quando quis Odonelli titulo insigniendus erat,[14] Tirconelliæ proceres, et aliorum ordinum homines ad statum collem confluebant. Tum è proceribus unus assurgens, peractis reverentiæ consuetæ officiis, candidam virgam, et omnino rectam, distortionisque omnis expertem quam manu gestabat, denuntiato regulo porrigens: accipe (ait) auspicatum dignitatis insigne; hujus virgæ candorem, rectitudinemque moribus

[11] Ibidem. [12] Epistola. [13] Page 189. [14] Ketingus in præfat.

[k] Our translation does not, perhaps, fully express the filth of this passage.

ing around him, and also partaking of the banquet. They use neither a vessel nor even their hands in drinking the broth in which their king is bathed, but cluster around the vat, and lap it up with their lips. All things being thus duly, but not decently completed, the man is a king and liege lord of the country."[k] See how he lavishes all the resources not merely of his historical but of his rhetorical capabilities in the delineation of this very loathsome ceremony. When the orator undertakes to praise a man, he pushes his eulogium beyond the strict limits of truth; but when Giraldus goes beyond the bounds of truth, it is to ply all the cumbrous mechanism of his eloquence to imprint indelibly on the minds of his hearers the infamy of those enormities. "The stern pen of history (he says) cannot spare either truth or modesty." This paragon of faithful historians, if you please, sacrifices his modesty to his truthfulness. Unfaithful we have often proved him to be: we now have his own confession that he is shameless. How can he possibly defend himself against that sentence of Cicero, who says, "whoever once passes the bounds of modesty needs to be intrepid and deliberate in his impudence." So much for his impudence—come we now to his vainglorious boasting, "that he would veil that loathsome narrative under an elegant exquisiteness (as he calls it) of diction." You have a specimen of that promised exquisiteness or elegance of diction in the preceding description of that foul rite. It was this ostentation of Giraldus, no doubt, that elicited the following criticism: "Giraldus, in my judgment, was not an iron writer; in his own he was all gold."

But we proceed now to inquire into the truth of this inauguration. It is contradicted by the express evidence of our native annalists, who give the following description of the ceremonies used in the inauguration of the princes of Tir-Conaill. Whenever the prince elect was about to be proclaimed, the O'Domhnaill, the lords of Tir-Conaill, and all other orders of the state assembled on the appointed hill.[1] One of the lords arose, and holding in his hands a white wand, perfectly straight, and without the slightest bend, he presented it to the chieftain elect with the following words: "Receive the emblematic type of thy dig-

[1] At Kilmacrenan; the white wand was presented by the O'Firghil—the office being hereditary in that family.

referre memento, ut nulla maledicendi libido factorum candorem notâ ullâ maculare, aut studium in amicos animum à justitiæ rectitudine cuique præstandâ flectere possit. Imperium igitur tibi debitum bonis avibus ini, et hujus Reipub. fasces securesque securè capesse. Nunc igitur in eo controversiæ cardo vertitur, uninè neganti, an pluribus affirmantibus illi rem auditione tantum, his aspectu comperientibus fides adhibenda sit? dispiciendum etiam si à domesticis scriptoribus veriora, quam ab uno advenâ producantur, et ab iis qui pro suo munere res gestas scriptis tradunt, quam peregrino falcem in alienam messem immittenti tabulis, et monumentis publicis, quam privati cujusvis narrationi, quæ non magis temerè agyrtæ alicui excidit, quam avidè à scriptore invido excepta, et posteritati commissa est. Certè scriptores patrii non studio, sed officii sui adimplendi causâ scriptis ista consignarunt, Giraldus res Hibernicas magis ex libidine, quam ex vero celebrat, obscuratque.

Quis credat Divum Patricium,[15] qui ditionem hanc accuratè perlustrans, illius incolas in fidei documentis apprimè instruxit, terræ principem Conallum Gulbanum virtute sic informavit, ut laicum habitu, monachum vita egerit commissurum ut reliquorum scelerum surculis penitus evulsis, hanc unam spurcitiam tanquam pristinæ superstitionis fæcem, non in obscuris aliquibus hominibus, sed in ipsis patriæ luminibus inhærere pateretur? Quod si S. Patricii vel notitiam, vel sollicitudinem tam obvia, et in tam clarâ luce collocata fœditas (quod credibile non est) subterfugeret; cognitionem profecto et reprehensionem plurimorum sanctorum in Tirconallia longo post temporum decursu commorantium declinare non potuit.[16] Amplius quam quinquaginta sancti ex uno Conallo Gulbano prodiisse memorantur, quorum plurimi sedes in Tirconallia fixerunt, et cænobia plusquam viginti condiderunt Duæ præterea sedes episcopales Rapothensis, et Dorensis in eadem ditione constitutæ sunt; in quibus quot episcopi et monachi morabantur, tot in iis tanquam in speculis erant vigiles longè latèque prospicientes

[15] Joc. c. 138. [16] Trias Thaum. p. 479, et sequen. Id. p. 493, &c.

[m] This wand, O'Sullivan states, was blessed by the clergy, and given to the chieftain in their presence.

nity; now let the unsullied whiteness and straightness of this wand be thy model, in all thy acts: so that no calumnious tongue can expose the slightest stain in the purity of thy life, nor any favored friend ever seduce thee from dealing out even-handed justice to all. May good fortune accompany thee on assuming thy appointed dignity; receive and guard the insignia of the chief government of this state."[m] Our controversy is therefore reduced to this one point, whether we shall believe one man who denies—denies on mere hearsay—or many persons, who assert what they have witnessed with their own eyes? We have to decide whether native annalists are more trustworthy than one foreigner; whether men, whose professional duty it was to record passing events, are not to be preferred to a foreigner who intrudes his sickle into another man's harvest; whether public records and archives are not better than the stories of an individual—stories carelessly circulated by some simpleton, and greedily caught up and transmitted to posterity by a malignant enemy. The object of our native writers in recording these facts was the discharge of professional duty, not mere love of their country; but the object of Giraldus in publishing and defaming matters relating to Ireland evidently was not love of truth, but prejudice or passion.

Who can believe that St. Patrick, who traversed every corner of this territory, and instructed its inhabitants in the Christian faith, with such success that its lord Conall Gulban, who under the robes of a laic, bore the heart of a monk, would have acted so absurdly as, after having plucked up all their other vices by the roots, to leave this one foul relic of the old superstition to contaminate, not some obscure individuals, but the great lights of the state? or, if so public, so notorious an enormity could have escaped the notice or the zeal of St. Patrick (a thing not credible), most certainly it could not escape the notice and the reprobation of very many saints who dwelt in after ages in Tir-Conaill. Among the descendants of Conall Gulban alone there were not less than one hundred saints, most of whom lived and died in Tir-Conaill, where they founded more than twenty monasteries. In that territory, moreover, there were two episcopal sees, Derry and Raphoe—watch-towers whence their episcopal and cloistered inmates commanded a view far and wide of their charge. So palpable an enormity could not escape their

collocati, quos adeò perspicua macula tam diuturno temporis curriculo latere non potuit. Nec enim in latebris, sed in propatulo, nec inter plebeiorum ultimos, sed in optimatum cœtu sordes istæ frequentabantur. Ut tam perspicacium virorum cognitionem, et purioris vitæ sectatorum animadversionem effugere non potuerint.

Pluribus è Dorensium Raphothensiumque episcoporum, abbatumque serie non solum summa consuetudo ac familiaritas cum Tirconalliæ regulis, sed etiam cognationis contiguitas intercessit. Ita ut si principum reverentia præsules ab iis objurgandis deterrebat; certè præsulum ergà cognatos studium ad eos è feritate tantâ eruendos attraheret. Putabimus nè SS. Columbam, Baithenum, Lasrenum, Fergnaum, Suibhneum, Adamnannum, aliosque viros sanctissimos, in his partibus natos, et pietatis informationem nactos, et impertitos acerrimos vitiorum proculcatores, hos sentes, et tribulos increpationis falce non demessuisse? [317] Quos si potestas | istius mali abigendi defecisset, certe SS. Moelbridius et Malachias Hiberniæ primates hinc oriundi ritum adeò perversum latius serpere non paterentur. Nec ipsi principes crebra in alios liberalitate, in Deum pietate insignes, qui se multis humanissimos pluries exhibuerunt, principatus initium ab inhumanitate tam execrabili ducerent. Qui si hanc impudentiam non ultrò ponerent, eam supremi reges Hiberniæ severis legibus proculdubio coercerent.

Nullibi certè tam fœda,[17] alibi ludicrâ initiatione aliqui principatum auspicantur. "In Carinthia quoties novus princeps Reipub. gubernationem init, solemnitatem nusquam alibi auditam observant. In patentibus pratis erectus lapis marmoreus est, quem cum dux creandus est, rusticus quidam, cui per stirpis suæ successionem hæreditario id officium debetur ascendit, ad dextram bovem habens satam nigri coloris, ad levam equa illi sistitur strigosa macieque insigni, frequens circa populus, agrestiumque turba ingens. Dux indè futurus ex adverso movet purpuratorum multitudine septus: precedunt principatus signa, omnesque in toto comitatu egregie culti præter futurum ducem. Is agresti habitu, pileo tectus, calceos, et pastoralem baculum gerens pastorem agit, magis

[17] Joannes Auban de Moribus genti. l. 3. cap. 18.

pastoral eye during so long a time; the foul rite was enacted (it is said) not secretly, but in open day, not among the dregs of the people, but in a convention of the nobles of the land. Could such a rite escape the censure of prelates, who were not less distinguished for their intelligence than their zeal for purity of morals?

Many of those bishops and abbots of Derry and Raphoe were not only intimate friends and associates of the princes of Tir-Conaill, but, moreover, connected with them by blood. If reverence for their prince deterred the bishops from reproving him, would not, at least, the affection of blood induce them to save their relations from such loathsome barbarism? Can you believe that SS. Columba, Baeithin, Laisrean, Feargna, Suibhne, Adamnan, and other saints of the highest order, who were born in this territory, and acquired and dispensed there the principles of religion, and were the most stern opponents of vice, would not have hewed down with the edge of their indignant invective such briars and brambles? or, if they had not influence enough to eradicate the evil, certainly SS. O'Maelbrighde and Maelmaedhog primates of Ireland and natives of this place, would not have tolerated the existence of so wicked a custom. Those princes who have left so many monuments of their munificence to man, and signal piety to God, and open-hearted and lavish kindness to all, could never have inaugurated themselves by a rite so execrably degrading to human nature. Even were they unwilling to abandon the shameless practice, the monarchs of Ireland would soon have suppressed it by severe enactments.

No country in the world uses so disgusting an inauguration; though some are not less ridiculous. "When a new prince is about to assume the reins of government in Carinthia, a singular ceremony is observed, unknown in any other state. A marble stone is erected in a wide meadow. When the inauguration is to take place, a peasant, to whom the office belongs by hereditary right, stands up on the stone, having on his right hand a black cow in young, and on his left a lank and half starved mare. The people are all around, and an immense concourse of peasants. The candidate, surrounded by a band clothed in purple, advances towards the stone; the insignia of his office are borne before him, and the whole train of the procession, except himself, is gorgeously dressed. He comes in peasant's dress, with a cap on his head, shoes

quam principem. Hunc venientem intuitus qui lapidem obtinet, Illirica voce, quis est hic exclamat, qui tam superbe incedit? respondet circumfusa multitudo principem regionis adventare. Tum ille, justus ne judex? Salutem patriæ quærens?. liberæ conditionis? Dignusne honore est? Christianæ pietatis cultor, ac defénsor? clamatur: est quidem,. et erit. Rursus idem, quæro quo me jure hac à sede dimovebit? respondet Ducalis aulæ magister, sexaginta denariis hic à te locus emitur, jumenta hæc tua erunt, ad bovem et equam manum intendens, vestimenta quæ Dux exuet habebis; erisque tu cum domo tuâ tota liber à tributo. Quibus dictis rusticus malam percutit, alapâ leviter incussâ, jubetque æquum judicem esse, præmioque abducto loco cedit. Tum lapidem Dux occupat, nudum gladium vibrans ad omnem se partem vertit, populum affatur, polliceturque se æquum judicem futurum. Ferunt et aquam agresti pileo oblatam potare, in futuræ sobrietatis argumentum, etc., imperium Austriæ principes obtinent, et Archiducem appellant."

Nec mirum est in principum[18] inferioris ordinis inauguratione ludicros gestus adhiberi; quando Imperator ipse Romanus post coronam auream à pontifice receptam in montis Martii bis mille passus Româ dissiti vertice manu elata se gyrat dicens: "Omnia quæ videmus nostra sunt, etc."

[18] Provinc. Romanum.

on his feet, and a shepherd's crook in his hand, and looks more like a shepherd than a prince. As soon as he appears in sight, the man on the stone cries out in the Illyrian tongue, 'who is he that cometh on so proudly?' 'The lord of the land is coming,' answer the surrounding multitudes. 'Is he a just judge?' he asks; 'seeks he the good of his country? is he a free man? and worthy of the dignity? does he practise and promote Christian piety?' 'He does and he will,' answers the crowd. The man then resumes, 'pray tell me by what right can he deprive me of this seat?' The master of the ducal palace answers: 'the place is purchased from you for sixty denarii: these cattle,' he says, pointing to the cow and mare, 'shall be yours; you shall have the clothes which the duke puts off, and you and your whole family shall be free from tribute.' After this dialogue, the peasant slightly slaps the candidate's cheek, orders him to be a just judge, and after receiving the money, retires from his position. The duke then ascends the marble; brandishes his sword as he turns round and round; addresses the people, and promises that he will be a just judge. They say, too, that he drinks water which is presented to him in a peasant's cap, as a pledge of his future sobriety, &c. It is the princes of Austria that are thus installed: they are styled the archdukes."

But it is not surprising that ridiculous gestures should be used in the inauguration of inferior potentates, when even the Roman emperor himself, after receiving a crown of gold from the pope, turns round in a circle on the summit of the hill of Mars, about two miles distant from Rome, and raising up his hand cries out, "all things that we see are ours," &c., &c.

CAPUT XXXI.

QUOD GIRALDUS OMNES ECCLESIASTICORUM ORDINES, ECCLESIAM MILITANTEM, ET IPSOS CŒLITES HIBERNOS CONVITIIS INDIGNE VIOLAVERIT.

[317]. Cleri Hiberni laudes.—Giraldi calumniæ in clerum profligatæ. [318]. Malorum societas ad malum trahit.—Ebrii non sunt casti. [319]. Ebrietatis effectus, ecclesiasticorum vitia non sunt evulganda.—Pœna sacerdotum incontinentum.—Clerus Britannicus infecit clerum Hibernicum. [323]. Angline Hibernos, an Hiberni Anglos vitiis infecerunt?—Albino potiusquam Giraldo credendum.—Giraldi dicta in ipsum torquentur. [321]. Cleri Hiberniæ probi ante adventum Anglorum, malos mores ab illis imbiberunt.—Peregrinorum mores plerumque incolæ imbibunt.—Giraldus monachos Hiberniæ laudat. [322]. Giraldus episcopos conviciis lacerat.—Giraldus negat unum episcopum Hibernum officio vitæ functum.—Giraldus sibi contrarius.—Quam solicitus fuit de grege instituendo S. Laurentius. [323]. Suos in pericula incidisse ægre tulit.—benignus in pauperes.—Magnos labores subiit ad subveniendum patriæ. [324]. Diligentia S. Malachiæ in vitiis evellendis et virtutibus plantandis.—S. Malachiæ prædicatio ad populum.—S. Malachias se periculis exposuit.—Labores ejus pro patria obiti.—Alii præstantes episcopi.—S. Christianus episcopus.—S. Edanus episcopus. [325]. Gilbertus legatus.—Nehemias episcopus.—Corcagiensis episcopus.—Christianus postea Lismorensis et legatus apostolicus.—S. Celsus Primas.—Archiepis. Armacanam et Casselen. [326]. Calumniæ de episcopis post tempus S. Patricii.—Tercentum episcopi a S. Patricio consecrati.—Episcopi sancti, ergo officio suo functi sunt.—Officium episcopi.—Hiberni sancti litteris imbuebantur—S. Forchernus.—S. Finnanus.—S. Keranus Saigrensis.—S. Kieranus Clonensis.—S. Columba Tirdaglassensis.—S. Molassus. [327]. S. Columba.—S. Finbarrus.—Schola S. Finnani.—S. Ibari Scholæ.—S. Fiach Sleptensis discipulos habebat.—S. Nemidius docuit.—S. Mocthæus.—S. Brendan.—S. Congellus.—S. Aidus.—Academia de Ross a Fachnano instituta.—S. Sinchellus docuit.—Episcoporum scientia, et sanctitas.—Quandiu sanctitas in Hibernia floruit.—S. Patricii visio. [328]. Giraldus refragatur Angelo et S. Patricio.—Qui fuerunt inter Armachanos antistites sancti. [329]. Primates obierunt Hiberniam.—Domnaldus primas Armachanus plura præclara egit.—S. Celsus.—Gelasius primas peragravit Hiberniam.—S. Fursa.—S. Meldanus.—Qui ad corrigendum miracula, iidem verba ad illud officium adhibuisse censendi sunt.—Giraldus falso dixit inter episcopos Hiberniæ nullos fuisse martyres.—Episcopi martyres.—S. Eucharius.—S. Sodomnanus.—S. Seargus.—S. Cormacus.—Septem episcopi martyres.—S. Livinus.—S. Romualdus. [330]. S. Colmannus.—S. Kilianus.—S. Foillanus.—S. Marinus.—S. Tanco.—S. Isengerus.—Kartilla.—Harruchus.—S. Erlulphus —S. Johannes.—Giraldus falso dixit antistites Hiberniæ majorem sui quam gregis sollicitudinem habuisse.—E quatuor archiepiscoporum moribus episcoporum mores expenduntur.—Gregorius Dubliniensis archiepiscopus. [332]. S. Laurentius Dubliniensis archiepiscopus.—Recusavit Glindalacensem episcopatum.—Invitus Dubliniensis archiepiscopus factus.—Fugit inanem gloriam.—Quam largus in eleemosynis.—Charitas ejus erga Dublinenses.—Jejunium S. Laurentii—Donatus Cassiliensis.—Mauritius Cassiliensis.—Matthæus Cassilensis.—Edanus Tuamensis.—Catholicus Tuamensis.—Aliorum episcoporum vita mendacii Giraldum arguit.—Solicitudo Malachiæ de una ove amissa.—S. Malachias reluctans fit Archiepiscopus.—S. Malachiæ humilitas.—Imitatur apostolos.—Superat alios ejusdem dignitatis.—Nehemias episcopus.—Episcopus Brefnensis.—Ogormghalius episcopus.—Archiepiscopus Connaciæ—Aladensis episcopus.—Episcopus Clonmacnosensis.—Episcopus Eliæ.—Episcopus Achadensis. [335]. Episcopus Clonfertensis.—

CHAPTER XXXI.

ATROCIOUS CALUMNIES OF GIRALDUS AGAINST THE WHOLE ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, AND THE CHURCH MILITANT IN IRELAND, AND EVEN AGAINST THE IRISH SAINTS.

[317]. Panegyric on the Irish clergy.—Calumnies of Giraldus against, refuted. [318]. Bad company leads to ruin.—Drunkards are not chaste. [319] Effects of drunkenness; the vices of ecclesiastics ought not to be published.—Punishment of incontinent priests.—Irish clergy corrupted by the British clergy. [320]. Whether the Irish were corrupted by the English or the English by the Irish? Are we to believe Giraldus or Albinus? The arguments of Giraldus retorted against himself. [321]. The Irish clergy staunch before the English invasion; natives generally copy the vices of strangers coming amongst them.—Giraldus praises the Irish monks. [322]. He calumniates the Irish bishops; denies that even one Irish bishop had faithfully discharged his duty; he contradicts himself.—Zeal of St. Lorcan in governing his flock; [323] His grief when they were in dangers; his charity to the poor; his great labors in relieving his country. [324]. Diligence of St. Maelmaedhog in extirpating vice and planting virtue.—His preaching to the people; exposes himself to every danger; his labors for his country.—Other excellent bishops.—S. Christian a bishop.—S. Edan, bishop. [325]. Gilbert, legate.—Nehemias, a bishop of Cork; Christian bishop of Lismor and apostolic legate.—St. Celsus, primate.—Archbishop of Ardmacha.—Archbishop of Caiseal. [326]. Calumny on the bishops after St. Patrick's time.—Three hundred bishops consecrated by St. Patrick.—Some bishops were saints, therefore they discharged their duty.—Duty of a bishop.—Irish saints eminent for learning.—St. Fortchern.—St. Finnean.—St. Kiaran, of Saighir.—St. Kiaran, of Cluainmicnois.—St. Columba, of Tirdaghlas.—St. Molaisi. [327]. St. Columba.—St. Finnbharr.—School of St. Finnean.—School of St. Ibhar.—Disciples of St. Fiach of Sleibhte.—St. Nemedius a doctor.—St. Mochta.—St. Breanainn.—St. Conghal.—St. Aedh.—A college founded in Ross by St. Fachtna —St. Sincheall a doctor.—Learning and sanctity of bishops.—How long holiness flourished in Ireland.—Vision of St. Patrick. [328] Giraldus contradicts St. Patrick and an archbishop of Ardmacha saints. [329]. The primates visited all Ireland.—Memorable deeds of Domhnall, primate of Ireland.—St. Ceallach.—Gilla Mac Liag, primate, visited all Ireland.—St. Fursa.—S. Meldan; they who worked miracles for the reformation of the people would certainly use preaching also.—False assertion of Giraldus, that no Irish bishop was a martyr.—Bishops martyrs.—St. Livin.—St. Romuald. [331]. St. Colman.—St. Killian.—St. Foillan.—St. Marinus.—St. Tanco.—St. Isenger.—Kartilla.—Haruch.—St. Erlulph.—St. John.—False assertion of Giraldus, that the Irish bishops took more care of themselves than of their flock.—Character of the bishops inferred from that of four archbishops.—Gregorius, archbishop of Dublin. [332]. St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin: he refused the bishopric of Gleanndalocha; made archbishop of Dublin against his will.—His hatred of vain glory; his munificent charities; his love for Dublin; his fasting.—Donnchadh, archbishop of Caiseal.—Maurice and Matthew, archbishops of Caiseal.—Edan and Catholicus, archbishops of Tuam.—Calumny of Giraldus refuted by the lives of other bishops also.—Solicitude of St. Maelmaedhog for even one lost sheep —He was made archbishop against his will; his humility; he imitated the apostles; surpassed other archbishops in holiness.—Nehemias, bishop.—A bishop of Breifne.—Ogormghaile, bishop.—An archbishop of Connacht,—A bishop of Killala, of Cluainmicnois, of

Episcopus Corcagiensis.—Episcopus Rapotensis et Derensis.—Episcopus Clonensis.—Episcopus Coronensis.—Episcopus Dunensis.—Flabertach episcopus.—Carnificibus Hibernia caruit ad martyres necandos. [336]. Hiberni non crudeles.—Hibernici martyres.—S. Odronus protomartyr Hiberniæ.—S. Guignerus.—777 Martyres.—S. Eliphius.—S. Gunifortius.—Duæ sorores ejus. [337]. SS. Maura, Brigida et Hispadus.—S. Dallanus.—S. Dympna.—S. Gerebernus.—Maelpatricius, Monganus, Donnanus, et quinquaginta monachi.—S. Cronanus.—S. Monon.—SS. Foilanus, Boetius, Gobeneus, et Columbanus.—SS. Indractus et Drusa cum novem sociis.—SS. Kilianus, Colmannus, Totnanus, Colonatus, Gallo, Arnuildus et alii septem.—S. Conallus et 900 Benchorenses monachi.—S. Blaithmac.—Temmenus.—Coemanus.—Aidus et Keternach.—Nuadatus.—S. Donnanus.—S. Maimbodus.—Moelbrassalius.—S. Ieron. [338]. S. Indractus.—Eusebius.—Fargallus.—Johannes Erigena.—Abel et mille ducenti martyres.—Airmedachus.—Subhnius.—Colmannus.—Conchaurus.—Tannaidus.—Terdelachus.—Giraldus episcopos falso criminatur.—SS. Malachias et Laurentius exemplar fuerunt perfecti episcopi. [339]. Giraldus in omnes ordines invectus.—Episcopi non unam tantum officii sui partem, sed alteram etiam impleverunt.—Scholæ in Ibernia.—Officium episcoporum.—Episcopi sunt angeli.—Episcopi non contemplationi sed etiam hominum instructioni debent incumbere. [340]. Dimidiata muneris adimpletione non acquiescit.—S. Aidanus. [341]. SS. Finanus, Colmannus, Cedd, Hiense monasterium.—S. Malachias —S. Patricius. [342]. Bernacæ in Hibernia tempore jejunii manducari solitæ.—Gignendæ bernacæ ratio.—Arbores falso dictæ bernacas genuisse.—Bernacæ e navibus putrefactis procreatæ.—Episcopi Connaciæ et Ultoniæ non aliarum provinciarum bernacas comedisse videntur. [343]. Episcopi et religiosi non videntur bernacas manducasse tempore jejunii.—Jejunium monachorum Hiberniæ, fœminarum, cleri.—Aliorum religiosorum.—Jejunium S. Patricii.—S. Columbæ.—S. Fintani.—S. Aidi.—S. Finniani.—S. Kiarani Saigerensis.—S. Kiarani Clonensis.—S. Maidoci.—S. Ceddæ.—S. Adamnani.—S. Egberti.—S. Aidani.—Potus Lindisfarnensis cænobii. [344]. Consuetudo potuit facere usum Bernacæ licitum jejunii tempore, vis consuetudinis, quædam regiones et ordines laridum et sanguinem diebus jejunii comedunt.—Quid piscium et carnium vocibus intelligitur.—Carthusianorum jejunandi mos.—Stanihurstus Giraldo adversatur. [345]. Giraldus falso asserit nullos fuisse in Hibernia archiepiscopos, ante annum Domini 1152. [346]. Alii in Hibernia archiepiscopi.—Quando pallium primum in Hibernia introductum.—Giraldi convicium in ecclesiam militantem.—[347]. Giraldus secum pugnat.—Sanctos Hiberniæ laudat.—Aliquot Hiberniæ sancti a Giraldo nominati.—S. Coemgenus.—Quidam abbates et episcopi simul fuerunt.—S. Coemgeni miraculum.—SS. episcopi a Giraldo nominati.—Giraldus vult sanctos a se non ab ecclesia canonizari. [348]. Hiberniæ sancti miracula fecerunt.—Veneratio sanctis ab ecclesia cultis a Giraldo denegata hæresim sapit.—Giraldus in ipsos cœlites invehitur.—Per minus flagitium venitur ad majus. [349]. Indigetes Hiberni non sunt vindicativi.—Giraldus scripturæ adversatur.—Ejus error in ultione indigetibus Hiberniæ attribuenda.—Non sanctorum vindicta, sed justitia Dei de templorum profanatoribus pœnas exigit.—Plures ecclesiarum violatores pœnis affecti gravibus.—Divitiæ ecclesiis abreptæ, rodunt fortunas privatas. [350]. Malus eorum exitus qui bona ecclesiastica rapuerunt.—Maximi exitus.—Deus perinde punit violatores, templorum sibi et sanctis sacrorum.—Plures qui templa sanctis sacra profanarunt gravissime puniti. [351]. Minuta animalcula perdunt sacrilegos.—Sacrilegium Analati malam mortem attulit.—Guillelmi conquestoris filius et nepos mala morte perierunt ob ipsius sacrilegium.—Copronymi blasphemia in beatam Virginem vendicata.—Bardas imperator.—Sabinianus hæresiarcha.—Sancti non fuerunt, ultionis suæ, sed justitiæ divinæ ministri.

QUAMQUAM hactenus in omne profani ordinis genus convitiorum plaustra Giraldus aggesserit: nondum tamen maledicentiæ suæ fontes sic exhausit, quin illi adhuc probrorum copia suppetat, quæ in omnis ordinis clerum, in omnem ecclesiam militantem,[1] et in ipsos cœlites evomat.

[1] Top. d. 3, lib. 27.

Eile, of Achadh-Chonaire. [335]. A bishop of Cluainfearta, of Corcach, of Rath-bhoth and Doire, of Cluamha, of Cluanmicnois, of Dun.—O'Flaitbheartaigh. bishop.—No cutthroats in Ireland to make martyrs. [336] The Irish not cruel.—Irish martyrs.—St. Odran first Irish martyr.—St. Guigner and 777 martyrs.—St. Eliphius.—St. Gunifort; his two sisters. [337]. SS. Maura, Brighid and Hispada.—SS. Dallan, Dympna, Gereberenus, Moelpatrick, Mongan, Donnan, and fifty monks.—SS. Cronan, Monon, Foillan, Boethe, Gobeneus, and Columbanus—SS. Indracht, Drusa, and his nine companions—SS. Kilian, Colman, Totnan, Colonat, Gallo, Arnuild, and seven others.—St. Conall and 900 monks of Beann-chair.—St. Blathmac.—Temmen.—Coeman—Aedh.—Kethearnach.—Nuadeat.—St. Donnan.—St. Maimbod.—Maelbreasail.—St. Ieron. [338]. St. Indracht.—Eusebius.—Fearghal.—Johannes Erigena.—Abel and twelve hundred martyrs—Airmeadhach.—Suibhne.—Colman.—Conchobhar—Tannaide.—Toirdhealbhach.—Absurd charges of Giraldus against the bishops.—SS. Maelmaedhog and Lorcan were the models of perfect bishops.—[339]. Invectives of Giraldus against all classes of the Irish.—The bishops discharged not one only, but all duties of that office.—Colleges in Ireland—The duty of bishops.—Bishops are angels.—They are bound only not to contemplation but also to active life.—[340]. The discharge of one part of duty alone, not sufficient.—St. Aidan. [341]. SS. Finnean, Colman, Cedd, monastery of Iona.—St. Maelmaedhog.—St Patrick. [342]. Barnacles eaten in Ireland on fast days.—Barnacles how produced?—Falsely said they grow on trees; they are produced from the rotten timbers of ships.—The bishops of Connacht and Ulster alone seem to have used barnacles. [343]. Neither bishops nor monks used them on fast days.—The fasting of Irish monks, women, clergy.—Of other religious.—Fasting of St. Patrick, of St. Columba, of St. Fintan, of St. Aedh, of St. Finnean, of St. Kiaran, of Saighir, of St. Kiaran of Cluainmicnois, of St. Maedhog, of St. Chad, of St. Adamnan, of St. Egbert, of St. Aidean.—The drink used in Lindisfarne monastery. [344]. Custom could make the use of barnacles lawful on fast days,—effects of custom.—Lard and blood allowed on fast days in some countries and orders.—What is meant by fish and flesh.—The Carthusian mode of fasting.—Stanihurst opposed to Giraldus. [345]. Giraldus falsely asserts that there were no archbishops in Ireland before the year 1152. [346]. Other archbishops in Ireland before that time.—When was the pallium introduced into Ireland.—Calumny of Giraldus against the church militant. [347]. Giraldus contradicts himself.—He praises the Irish saints.—Some Irish saints whom he mentions specially.—St. Caemh-ghin.—Some persons bishops and abbots at the same time.—Miracles of St. Caemh-ghin.—Some bishops saints mentioned by Giraldus.—He seems to claim for himself and deny to the church the canonization of saints. [348]. Miracles wrought by Irish saints.—His denying veneration to saints canonized by the church savors of heresy.—His blasphemies against the saints themselves.—Lesser crimes dispose for greater. [349]. The Irish not vindictive.—Giraldus contradicts the scripture.—His error in asserting that the Irish saints were vindictive.—It is not the revenge of saints, but the justice of God, that inflicts punishment on the profaners of temples.—Terrible punishments on many violators of churches.—Wealth robbed from the church corrodes the private property of the spoiler. [350]. Frightful deaths of persons who plundered church property,—The death of Maximus.—God punishes alike the violators of his own temples and of the saints.—Many instances of frightful punishment on those who profaned the temples of the saints. [351]. The meanest creatures sometimes used to torture the sacrilegious.—Death of Anlaith in punishment of his sacrilege.—The son and grandson of William the Conqueror came to frightful deaths in punishment of his sacrilege.—The blasphemy of Copronymus against the blessed Virgin punished.—The emperor Bardas.—The heresiarch Sabinianus.—The saints were ministers, not of their own revenge, but of God's justice.

AFTER having discharged a torrent of invective against all orders of the laity in Ireland, Giraldus has yet an inexhaustible supply of vituperation from the teeming source of calumny, to disgorge on all orders of the clergy, on the whole church militant, and even on the saints them-

Cuidam sui operis capiti titulum præfixit: "De clero Hiberniæ in multis laudabili." In contextu Hibernici cleri assiduam jejunandi, prædicandique consuetudinem, et accuratam castitatis observantiam laudibus in cœlum evehit. Sed ex dolosis hiscè laudum cineribus calumniarum scintillæ tandem erumpunt. Ait enim "inter tot millia vix unum invenies qui post jugem tam jejuniorum, quam orationum instantiam, vino, variisque potionibus diurnos labores, enormius quam deceret, noctu non redimat." In falsarum accusationum strue indicia plerumque deprehenduntur, quæ authoris mendacia produnt, et molimina evertunt. Quando Giraldum convitiandi præsidium in diei luce defecit, in tenebris perfugium quærit, ut saltem in iis calumniandi ansam venetur. Et quos in publicis consessibus arguere non potuit, arcanas eorum culpas in privatis recessibus consectatur, misera se obtrectandi libidine torqueri ostendens, qui in obvium reprehendendi documentum non incidens, ad [318] remotiores criminandi causas rimandas se anxiè convertit. Et | quos luce palam expugnare non potuit, nocturnis pugnis, andabatarum more adoriri constituit. Similis prorsus Judæis, qui Salvatorem nostrum furto ab apostolis è tumulo sublatum esse contendentes,[2] quia vigiles testes producere non poterant dormientes adhibuerunt. Sic ille cum luculento testimonio susceptam criminationem fulcire non potuit, obscuro usus est.[3] Sanè familiarem aliquem cauponem è suis "comprovincialibus," quorum fide narrationes suas plerumque niti profitetur, vel fidum famulum, aut commessatorem insignem proculdubiò nactus est, quorum judicio quot congii in ejusmodi helluationibus hausti fuerint compererat. Nec aliâ ratione abditos illos congressus, et remotis arbitris institutos rescire potuit, qui ad cubilia etiam scrutanda exploratores adhibuisse videtur, è quibus maledicendi sementem elicere nititur, nec quietem nocturnam viris honestis convitio liberam esse permittens, eos infrâ pecora dejiciens, utpotè quos tempore quo capiunt animalia cuncta soporem; non somno sed abdomini indulgere conqueritur. Non est credibile aut Hiberniam vitium expertem importati vini, aut ecclesias-

[2] Matth. 28. [3] Præfat. dist. 2.

selves. He has one chapter of his work with the following title, "Many excellent qualities of the Irish clergy." In the course of that chapter he extols to the stars the constant fasting and zealous preaching of the Irish clergy, and their scrupulous observance of chastity. But these eulogies were only as the deceptive embers from beneath which the flame of calumny bursts forth. Thus he says, "among so many thousands you will not find one who, after all his vigorous observance of fasts and prayers, will not make up at night for the labors of the day, by drinking wine and other liquors beyond all bounds of decorum." In the superstructure of a false accusation there is generally something to betray the falsehood of the concoctor and to demolish the fabric. When Giraldus finds that he cannot safely discharge his bolt in the light of day, he cowers beneath the shades of the night, to find some opportunity of venting his malice. The men whose conduct in the public assembly was unassailable by calumny are watched by the eaves-dropper, in their private homes; their secret faults are scanned by a man whose wretched spirit of calumny goads him on to hunt out any possible accusation, however secret, since he can find no public grounds for reprehension. When he dares not assail them in open day, he, like a hoodwinked fencer, resolves to try a nocturnal attack. It was thus that the Jews when they asserted that the body of our Savior was stolen from the tomb of the apostles, produced sleeping witnesses to the fact, in defect of better; so Giraldus, not being able to establish his accusation by any imposing authority, has recourse to obscure witnesses. It must have been "one of his countrymen," those from whose lips he professes to have taken most of his narrative, a suttler, or some faithless servant, or notorious bacchanal, who could tell precisely the number of goblets drained in those deep potations. He had no other means of knowing what passed in those domestic circles, which enjoyed the secresy of private life; he must have suborned spies to watch even the bed-chambers, and hunt out some pretence for calumny. Virtuous men cannot enjoy their night's rest secure from his malignity: they are exhibited as worse than beasts; as glutting their ravenous appetites at a time when all other animals were buried in refreshing sleep. Surely, as there were no vineyards in Ireland, the quantity of

ticos rei familiaris tanta copiâ circumfluxisse, ut vini vel illi ad numerosi cleri inexplebilem sitim extinguendam, vel his ad vinum comparandum opum satis fuerit.

Sed et minus credibile videtur è clero duntaxat millesimum quemque huic visco non inhæsisse. Fingamus itaque Hiberniæ clerum è decem mille capitibus universim constitisse, ut ad minimum decem labe illa immunes esse importunus ille censor facile patiatur. Quorum fortassis integritatem his verbis approbat. "Sunt" inquit "inter hos clericos" Hiberniæ "optimi, et sine fermento sincerissimi." Illi autem ipsi decem in ebriosorum societate continuò versati, quomodo se contagioni subducere potuerint ?[b] non video nisi sacræ paginæ veritatem detrahamus, dicenti: "Cum perverso perverteris." Vetus diverbium est

"Noscitur ex sociis qui non cognoscitur ex se."

Nonne "qui cum sapientibus graditur sapiens erit ? et amicus stultorum similis efficitur ?" Quis ab improborum cœtu uni virtutem infusam unquam fuisse vidit ?[5] imo potius unius perversi hominis contubernium ad delicti consortium plures attrahit: Etenim,

"Grex totus in agris
Unius scabie perit, et prurigine porci."

Ut paradoxon Giraldus condere videatur, qui quem virum improborum

[4] Psal. 17. [5] Prov. 13.

[a] Giraldus had stated in another place, that large quantities of the wines of Poitou had been imported into Ireland in exchange for hides, skins, &c. &c., and our author triumphantly cited that assertion, as a set off against the fact, that the vine did not grow in Ireland. Moreover, Giraldus does not say that wine was the only liquor used by the clergy. The Four Masters, A.D. 1107, record the loss of sixty puncheons of beer and mead, by the burning of Ceann-coradh.

[b] This number appears too great:

imported wine could not be so great,[a] nor the wealth of the ecclesiastics so superabundant, that the former could supply, or the latter afford to purchase wine enough to extinguish this ravenous thirst of a very numerous body of ecclesiastics.

But it appears incredible that only one in a thousand was exempt from this vice. Let us suppose, then, that the Irish clergy altogether consisted of 10,000;[b] and our lynx-eyed censor must admit amongst them at least ten persons who were not topers. We may apply to the virtue of those ten his own complimentary remark: "Among the Irish clergy there are some admirable men, without one particle of vice." But these ten men, where did they live? they lived constantly in the society of drunkards, and yet were able to preserve themselves from contagion. I do not see how that can be reconciled with the truth of Scripture, "thou wilt be perverted with the perverse." Is there not a hacknied proverb—

"Your company your character reveals."

Will not he that walketh with the wise be wise, and doth not the friend of fools become like unto them? Who ever heard of even one man acquiring virtue from the society of fools? Is it not too fatally true that the society of one bad man involves all his companions in his profligacy?

"The herd that roams in health its pastures gay,
One tainted hog infects with foul decay."

Giraldus, therefore, propounds a paradox,[c] in representing a man a

if there were one-third of the number it would be more than there are at present in Ireland: the secular clergy, if we judge from the probable number of old churches, would not be one-sixth of ten thousand; and as there are not more than about eighty monasteries mentioned in the Four Masters, during the century before the English invasion, the regular clergy or rather monks, would hardly amount to two thousand.

[c] And contradicted himself; for after admitting that some Irish eccle-

societati non eximit, eorum sceleribus eximit. Et hoc paradoxon aliis cumulat. Quos enim gulæ mancipia esse fatetur, eosdem castitatis gemma insignes deprædicat.[6] Divo Paulo contra sentiente, in hæc verba: "Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria." Cui Ovidii dictum conforme est: vina parant animos veneri. Pulchre Hieronymus ait: "Ubicunque saturitas et ebrietas, ibi libido dominatur.[7] Specta ventrem et genitalia, qualis ordo membrorum, talis vitiorum nunquam ego ebrium castum putabo." Sive mavis idem ab ethnico proferri. "Proximus à Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam venerem esse consuevit." Additque S. Hieronymus alibi: "Venter mero estuans despumat in libidinem."[8] Proindè Divus Paulus diaconos non modo vinum largius haurire, sed etiam multo vino deditos esse vetuit; ut eos non tantum a vini usi, sed etiam appetitu averteret. Non vulgi tantum,[9] sed etiam prudentium sermone celebratur sine Cerere et Baccho Venerem frigere. Giraldus omnibus reclamat, ut desipere se palam faciat, qui solus à mortalium omnium sententia dissentiat. Prodigia prolaturus esse videtur, et forsitan undas aratro, terram navigationi, et aërem pecorum pastui aptabit, qui eundem ait esse bibacem, et castum, temulentum et pudicum, ebrium et cœlibem vino redundantem et libidinis expertem, cum non magis exploratum sit solis ortui diem, quam gastrimargiæ obscœnitatem succedere, hæc enim illius calcaneo tanquam individuus assecla inhæret.

Sicut autem ista effutire, sic asserere ausus est eosdem potationem in multam noctem, et postridiè precationem in occidentem solem protraxisse. [319] Ac è symposiis in precationis exedram, crapulâ nondum bene | obdormitâ prodire solitos fuisse; nec linguæ titubationem, capitis vertiginem aut pedum vacillationem deprecandi fervore quidpiam detrax-

[6] Ephes. 5, lib. 2, Remedii. [7] In Cap. i. Tit. 27. [8] Valerius Max. l. 2. cap. 1. [9] Epist. 83.

siastics were perfect, without speck or flaw, he says that all, without exception, indulged in those nocturnal potations. Possibly Giraldus may have merely exaggerated a long temperate after dinner session into a bacchanalian revel: thus at the present day an ordinary Irish dinner appears

companion of the wicked, but not an accomplice in their crimes. But another paradox is still more extravagant—namely, that those who were the slaves of gluttony, preserved in all its brilliancy the gem of chastity. How can that be reconciled with the doctrine of St. Paul, "be not drunk with wine, wherein is luxury?" Even Ovidius declares "that wine disposes the soul to lust." St. Hieronymus beautifully remarks "wherever there is gluttony and drunkenness, there lust riots supreme." Remark the stomach and the nakedness—the vices are as closely connected as the members. I never will believe that the drunkard is chaste. But perhaps it is better to give the same doctrine from a pagan: "The first step of intemperance under father Bacchus is usually to forbidden lusts." St. Hieronymus observes in another place "that the stomach, when steaming with wine, vents itself in lust." St. Paul has accordingly ordered the deacons not only not to drink too much wine, but not to be given even to much wine, in order to save them not only from using, but even from wishing for wine. It is a common saying, not with the vulgar only, but also with sensible men, that without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus soon languishes. Giraldus is alone against the world: self-convicted of folly, by opposing his own opinion to that of all other men. Nothing less than prodigies, such as furrowing the waves with a plough, or sailing on dry land, or feeding cattle on the clouds, can be expected from the man who asserts that there is such a being as a chaste tippler, a modest sot, a drunken celibataire, a man bloated with wine, and yet exempt from lust, when as surely as the sun succeeds the dawn, obscenity follows in the track of gluttony. They are inseparable associates.

To this absurd accusation he has the insolence to add that the men, who had protracted their orgies to a late hour in the night, would continue praying next day to the setting of the sun. They were accustomed, he says, to go from the festive chair to the choir of prayer, without sleeping away the effects of their gluttonous orgies; the fervor of their prayers was not relaxed either by the stammering of the tongue, or a reeling of the head, or a trembling of the feet, though, ac-

extravagantly long to a Frenchman. For some judicious remarks of Dr. Lanigan on this subject, see Eccl. Hist. Vol. iv. p. 266.

isse. Contrà decantatissimum vulgi proverbium,[10] impletus venter non vult orare libenter. Et Horatius:

"Corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una."[11]

Nonne sacris literis monentibus: "Vinum, et ebrietas auferunt cor?" Et authore Divo Bernardo:[12] "Generant perturbationem mentis, augent furorem cordis, ita alienant mentem, ut homo nesciat seipsum." Giraldus tamen ecclesiasticos nostros post commessationes mente inter orandum constitisse affirmat. Contraria connectere, ac temulentiæ castimoniam, pietatem, et jejunium comites assignare non veritus, qui clerum Hiberniæ castitati, precationum assiduitati, jejuniis, simulque vinolentiæ addictos fuisse asseruit. Quem protinus decuit ab ecclesiasticorum vitiis propalandis abstinere. Cum SS. Basilius, et Ambrosius genium esse improborum dicant,[13] bonorum lapsus in medium proferre. Et S. Gregorius eorum delicta detegenda potius esse quam evulganda doceat. Certè Constantinus magnus dictitabat, si episcopi alicujus stuprum videret, suo se paludamento facinus illud obtecturum ne flagitii ejus aspectus eos qui ipsum cernerent, ulla ex parte læderet.[14] Ideò etiam Machabæorum historiæ authorem, rei malè à sacerdotibus gestæ tempus siluisse tradunt interpretes,[15] ut quia eorum crimina celari nequiverant, adeò debebant caute et quasi diminute referri, ut facile possint oblivione deleri.

Quod si paucos aliquot ex clero mali hujus contagione irretitos fuisse diceret, calumnia minus moleste ferri debuit. Sed cum millesimum

[10] 2 Serm. sat. 2. [11] Oseæ 4, c. [12] De modo bene vivendi. [13] Moralium, lib. 25, c. 22. [14] Theodor. lib. 1. [15] Redanus in Mach. lib. 1—61, v. 12, c. 5, v. 67.

[d] It could hardly be expected that he would refrain from publishing the vices of the Irish clergy, when he gives so revolting a picture of the morals of his own Welsh brethren, in the ministry. Had this been done with a view to their reformation by competent authority, it would be excusable and meritorious, but there is nothing in the writings of Giraldus

cording to the most trite of all proverbs, "a well filled stomach has no cordial relish for prayer." Even Horatius could tell us

"The body glutted with the night's debauch
Its languor on the soul next day inflicts."

Do not the Holy Scriptures assure us "that wine and drunkenness take away the heart?" "Do they not," according to St. Bernard, "produce a perturbation of the mind, inflame the fury of the heart, and so disorder the faculties, that a man cannot know himself." Yet Giraldus asserts that after all their drunken feasts our clergy were masters of themselves at prayer. But he can combine contradictories, and make chastity, piety, and fasting, the handmaids of drunkenness; the Irish clergy being, according to him, faithful in chastity, in assiduous prayer and fasting, though addicted to drinking. He was specially bound to abstain from publishing the vices of ecclesiastics,[d] for St. Basilius and St. Ambrosius declare that it is characteristic of the wicked to make known the failings of the good; and St. Gregorius teaches that such failings should be rather concealed than exposed. Constantinus the Great protested that if he saw a bishop in the act of impurity, he would throw a cloak over the crime, lest the knowledge of such an enormity might in any way injure those who might witness it. In the same spirit the historian of the Machabees, according to the commentators, does not give the date of some evil things done by the priests; because, though the crimes could not be concealed, they ought to be recorded so briefly and circumspectly, that they might easily be forgotten.

Had Giraldus accused only a small number of the priests of indulgence in this crime, the calumny could be borne with more patience. But when he seems to absolve one only in every thousand of the con-

to prove that he had much of the spirit of his clerical profession. He certainly must have been very studious, and have labored long in the composition of his numerous works; but he was extravagantly vain and ambitious, selfish, sycophantic and obscene.

quemque duntaxat sceleris communioni adimere videatur, non inique ferat suo se jugulari gladio; suo nimirum se testimonio condemnari, qui testimonia non cohærentia, et se mutuò profligantia proferre familiare habet. Quando in iis ebrietatem cum sobrietate, temulentiam cum religione, cum jejuniis ingluviem inauditâ societate copulaverit. Clerum quoque Hiberniæ post S. Malachiam[16] S. Laurentius Dubliniensis archiepiscopus continentiâ apprime jam excoluit. Nam clericis incontinentiæ reis ita se asperum exhibuit, ut potestatem illos eo reatu exsolvendi exercere recusans, centum, et quinquaginta Presbyteros obscœnitatis immunditia contaminatos, Romam ad criminum expiationem à summo Pontifice impetrandam petere coegerit. Et illos non tam languidis præceptionum, quam vivacibus exemplorum incitamentis religionis, ac temperantiæ panoplia instruxerit.[17] "Nam quæcunque religioni, vel ecclesiarum officiis, vel honestati clericorum deesse videbat, ea sufficienter et honeste supplebat, superflua resecabat, recte disposita inviolabiliter observari volebat." De cleri autem bibacitate primus, et solus querelam Giraldus instituit. Verum accusatio unius duntaxat, et infestissimi adversarii, nullius præterea testis fide corroborata, quam inanissima, et fidei expers esse debet?

Itaque clerus Hiberniæ ad summum castimoniæ, pietatis, et abstinentiæ gradum suorum disciplinâ evectus, tantum abest ut advenas è Britannia majore posteà hùc advectos, morum suorum similitudine imbuerint; ut potius modicâ horum consuetudine adstrictus, ad pravos illorum ritus se demiserint.[18] Humana enim indoles ad vitium magis est cerea, quam ad virtutem flecti. Sub medium quadragesimæ 1185, "Albinus" O'Mulloy "Abbas de Baltinglas" (Cambrensem audis) "qui et postea Fernensis episcopus erat, de continentia clericorum sermonem texens prolixiorem, totam in clerum qui de Anglia, et Wallia venerant

16 Vita S. Laurent. c. 23. 17 Ibidem. 18 Warreus de præsul. in Eccl. Fernensi.

* And it is therefore probable, that if there was any truth in it, it applied only to the clergy, whom Giraldus had any opportunity of knowing: i.e. of the Danish settlements in and around Dublin, Waterford, &c. &c. When Giraldus, in full council of the assembled bishops, had endeavoured in a long oration to defend, by a retort, the foreign clergy from some

tamination, he must not complain if we dispatch him with his own sword; that is, convict him by his own testimony; a fate to which his contradictory and irreconcileable statements so often expose him, as when in this case he exhibits a combination, such as never existed, of drunkenness with temperance, sottishness with piety, and gluttony with fasting. Now, after the death of St. Maelmaedhog, St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, kept jealous watch over the purity of the Irish clergy. So severe was he to all the clergy guilty of incontinency, that he refused to exercise in their favor his power of absolving them, and compelled them to go to Rome to expiate their crimes at the feet of the pope. Nor was it by mere prosaic precept, but still more by the vivid eloquence of example, that he fortified them in all the armor of religion and temperance. "For whatever defects were either in religion or the offices of the church, or in the decency of ecclesiastical life, all were fully and decorously remedied: all superfluities were lopped off; and all good rules were ordered to be inviolably observed." But this charge of drinking was never made before or after Giraldus.* What respect, what attention is due to the evidence of one witness, not supported by other authorities, and the rabid enemy of the accused?

It is too true, that the Irish clergy, who had eminently cherished chastity, and piety, and fasting under their own native spiritual masters, were so far from reforming to their own perfect model the strangers who afterwards came over from Great Britain, that on the contrary, even a slight communication with the foreign brethren infected the native clergy with foreign vices. Such, alas, is the nature of man; pliant to vice, stubborn to virtue. In the middle of Lent, in the year 1185, "Ailbin O'Mael-mhuaidh, abbot of Baltinglass" [Bealach-Chonglais,] "and afterwards bishop of Fearna, did," according to Cambrensis himself, "speak at great length on the continency of the clergy, and throw the whole blame on the clergy who had come over from England and Wales: he told

charges made against them by the Irish, the archbishop of Dublin asked Felix O'Duibhleachain, bishop of Osraidhe, what he thought of the defence; "Certainly," replied the old bishop, "he stated a lot of calumnies; he called us topers (potores); it was with much difficulty I kept myself from flying at him."

culpam refudit,[19] docens munditiam cleri Hiberniæ quanta fuerit donec ex contagio advenarum corruptelam contraxerunt." Ita ut ecclesiasticus ordo in Hibernia deformatus potius fuerit, quam " ecclesiasticis normis, et disciplinis juxta Anglicanæ ecclesiæ mores informatus," ut vult Cambrensis. Cujus inanis est ea machinatio quâ verbose molitur Britannos potius Hibernorum, quam Hibernos Britannorum vitiis inquinatos fuisse :[20] " In naturam" (inquit) " converti prævaluit pravæ consuetudinis longus abusus: à convictu mores formantur. Qui tangit picem [320] coinquinabitur | ab ea, adeo mali vis magna est. Melli enim plurimo parum absinthii injectum, velocem amaritudinem reddit: mel vero duplum si misceatur absinthio, nequit ejus obtineri dulcedo. Adeo inquam bonos mores corrumpunt colloquia prava, ut vitio patriæ etiam alienigenæ huc advecti ferè involvantur." Videsne ut morose datâ opera orationi prolixæ immoretur, ut tandem Anglos, Hibernorum vitia imbibisse pronuntiet ? cum Albinus è contra (ut mox vidimus) non temerè, nec contentionis studio, sed pro concione in synodo ad Antistitum gravissimorum concessum è suggestu veritatis habitâ, Hibernos potius ad Anglorum vitia descivisse contenderit. Quare litem jam contestatam cernimus, et controversiœ advocationem ab ambobus hisce patronis utrinque susceptam, ut jam decisio litis in eo sita sit, utri fides adhiberi debeat ? Giraldum hominem peregrinum, semper contentiosum, gentis Hibernicæ odio alte imbutum, summo studio Hibernorum labes indagantem, et acrioribus probris insectantem, scriptis in musæo, non concione in rostris eas propalantem fuisse constat. Albinus in Hibernia natus, et enutritus suæ gentis homines intus et in cute novit, rerum in patria sua conversiones certius comperiit, quam advena quicunque qui majorem Hiberniæ partem nec pedibus unquam nec oculis obivit, et exiguam in illa moram contraxit, ac è conterraneis suis, Hibernorum scilicet hostibus, morum Hibernicorum cognitionem hausit, non è familiari ulla consuetudine, quæ illi cum Hibernis intercedere poterat. Sane vel hinc perspici potest quanta in æstimatione apud ipsos advenas pietatis, et scientiæ nomine Albinus fuerit, quod in synodo concionandi munus proxime post Joannem Cominum Dubliniensem archiepiscopum

[19] Apud eundem de scrip. Hiber. [20] Hiber. exp. lib. 2, c. 6. Top. d. 3, c. 24.

how stainless had been the purity of the clergy of Ireland before the contagion of foreign obscenity had corrupted them." Thus was the ecclesiastical order in Ireland rather deformed "than reformed by those ecclesiastical laws, and discipline of the Anglican church," of which Giraldus speaks so much. He labors at great length, but without the slightest success, to prove that it was the Irish corrupted the Britons, not the Britons the Irish. "The long habit of evil doings," he says, "was converted into a second nature. Society forms the morals. Touch pitch, and it will defile you, so dreadful is the influence of wickedness. Throw but the smallest drop of absinth into a large vase of honey, and the mass becomes instantly bitter: mix them in equal quantities and you can get no taste of the honey. So fatally do evil communications corrupt good morals, that all strangers coming hither are almost absorbed in the abominations of the land." See how deliberately, how zealously he endeavours to prove that it was the Irish who corrupted the English clergy? He was on his trial—see on the other hand, Ailbin taking up the question not intemperately or contentiously, but preaching to a synod of grave bishops from the chair of truth, and demonstrating that it was the Irish who had been depraved by the example of the English. Here now are both sides of the controversy before us—two disputants advocating opposite views on the same question: which of them are you to believe? that is the sole point for our consideration. Giraldus, on the one hand, was a stranger; maligning them outrageously, not, however, in a harangue delivered before the public, but in works compiled in his closet. But Ailbin was a native of Ireland, intimately acquainted with the character of his countrymen, amongst whom he had lived; he could give a much more trustworthy account of any change in his countrymen than a mere stranger, who had not travelled through, nor seen the greater part of Ireland; who made only a brief stay there, and took all his information regarding the character of the Irish, not from any personal intercourse with them, but from the reports of his own countrymen, the sworn foes of Ireland. The high character for piety and learning which Ailbin must have enjoyed even with the strangers themselves, is proved by the single fact, that he arose to speak in the synod immediately after John Comin, archbishop of Dublin. Had he dared to abuse that privilege, by stating a public

loco ei delatum fuerit. Quo nisi rectè, ac ritè fungeretur, si quidpiam à veritate alienum effutiret, ab erudito circumfusorum antistitum cœtu sibilis potius exciperetur, quam in episcoporum ordinem, et societatem posteà cooptari permitteretur. Pudor eum à patriâ laudanda proculdubio averteret, nisi Giraldi et similis farinæ hominum importuna obtrectatio animos illi, et justam audaciam ad illam tuendam adderet, et præsidii patriæ contra calumniatores comparandi necessitatem imponeret, Sicut amantes majore coram loquendi, quam absentes scribendi pudore tenentur, Ovidio canente: dicere quæ puduit scribere jussit amor: sic alius quicunque verbis præsentes quam scriptis absentes compellare magis erubescit. Ac proindè majori fræno Albinum à mendacio proferendo, quam Giraldum à scribendo coercitum fuisse videmus.

Nec in argumentis à Giraldo adhibitis ullum causæ patrocinium inest, non enim potius ab illius parte, quam à contrariâ militant. Nam "longum pravæ consuetudinis abusum" solus ille nostris, alii suis ascribunt. "A comitatu mores, formari" fateor. Candidos Hibernorum mores, ab improbo Anglorum "comitatu," deformatos esse non diffiteor Sed addit, "Qui tangit picem coinquinabitur ab ea." Nihil usquam verius: ecclesiastici enim oraculum est,[21] à Deo ipso haustum, subjungere autem debuit, advenas picis vicem gessisse, quæ indigenas inquinavit. Pergit dicens: "Melli plurimo parum absinthii injectum, velocem amaritudinem reddit." Mel vero duplum, "si immisceatur absinthio nequit ejus obtineri dulcedo." Hic Giraldus incolarum numerum pene infinitum ab inquilinorum modico manipulo potius perversâ consuetudine infectum, quam hunc ab illo fuisse non sentiens affirmat. Ita enim ad cœptum sermonem similitudo magis appositè accommodatur. Nam sicut unus ægrotus mille adstantes morbi contagione citius afflat, quam mille sani morbido uni sanitatem affundunt: sic plures à paucioribus vitio frequentius, quam hi ab illis virtute informantur Deinde subdit: "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava."[22] Quod nemo inficiari potest, utique è D. Pauli scriptis depromptum. Imo hujus dicti veritatem plura corroborant. "Si enim" juxta claudum "habites, subclaudicare disces.[23] Et morum scabiem affricat convictor

[21] Cap. 13. [22] 1 Cor. cap. 15. ver. 33.. [23] Plutar. de liber. educatio.

falsehood, he would have been cried down by that learned assembly of prelates, nor would he afterwards be raised to the rank and honors of the episcopacy. Modesty, no doubt, would have prevented him from praising his country, if the calumnious insolence of Giraldus, and men of the same stamp, had not excited, nay, compelled him to repel, with becoming indignation, the foul libels of those slanderers on his country. As lovers, according to Ovidius, are more bashful in speaking face to face, than in writing to each other, "love orders me to write what shame forbade to speak," so all others, too, feel more delicacy in addressing persons present, than in writing to the absent; and, consequently, it would have been far more difficult for Ailbin to speak than for Giraldus to write a falsehood.

Neither is there the slightest weight in the arguments of Giraldus. So far from supporting, they refute him. He is the only writer that attributes "the long disorder of evil customs" to our countrymen: all others ascribe it to his own. "Your company forms your morals," certainly; and I am sorry to confess that the unsullied morals of the Irish were defiled by the wicked company of the English. But he adds, "touch pitch and it will defile you." Nothing can be more certain; because it is the oracle of Ecclesiasticus, derived from the spirit of God himself. But, please remember it was the strangers that imported the pitch. What next? "Throw the smallest quantity of absinth into a large vase of honey, and at once the whole mass is bitter. Mix them in equal quantities, and the taste of the honey is totally lost." Here he unwittingly implies that the immense number of the natives were corrupted by the evil customs of a small body of foreigners. Such is obviously the most appropriate application of the simile. For as one sick man could more easily infect a thousand persons near him, than a thousand healthy men impart health to one sick man, so the greater number are more frequently trained to vice by the few, than the few trained to virtue by the great number. "Evil communications," he tells us next, "corrupt good manners," a maxim which we all believe because it is taken from the writings of St. Paul. We can demonstrate, from many other sources, the truth of the maxim, "If you live near a lame man, you will learn to limp: a companion will infect his companion with his own corrupt morals, and if you associate much with a stam-

convictori, et balbutire discit quisquis assidue cum balbo vivit." Familiares Platonis humerorum ejus latitudinem imitabantur. Aristotelis [321] balbutiem amici exprimebant. Qui cum Alexandro | magno familiaritatem contraxerunt, cervicis ejus inflexum, et vocis in dicendo asperitatem affingebant. Præclare Seneca: "Sumuntur" (inquit) "à conversantibus mores;[24] Et ut quædam in contactis corpore vitia transiliunt, ita animus mala sua proximis tradit. Ebriosus convictores in amorem vini traxit. Impudicorum cœtus fortem virum emollit. Avaritia in proximos virus suum transtulit." "Proclivis," est enim ut ait S. Hieronymus, "malorum imitatio:"

"Videmus
Uvam conspectâ livorem ducere ab uva."

Exploratum igitur est, è pravorum consortio improbitatem contrahi. Sed Angline Hibernorum, an Hiberni Anglorum perversitatem imbiberint? adhuc sub judice lis est. Illam disceptationis partem Giraldus operosius quam felicius; hanc Hiberni non inepte sustinent. Ac primum dicunt, si nuda sua assertione, et nullo præterea testimonio Giraldi disputatio fulciatur, ejus conatum non solum inanem, sed etiam insulsum esse, et illum proinde facere, ac si nigredinem Æthiopi abstergere contenderet. Deinde ut aliarum argumentationum non alienas ambages consectari desistam:[25] ab ipso Cambrensi jam didicimus Hiberniæ clerum summæ castitatis, inusitati jejunii, et prolixæ precationis exercitio floruisse. Albinus autem eodem Cambrensi referente continentiæ quæ in Hibernico clero viguit, ardorem non modice hospitibus nequitiæ frigidum affundentibus deferbuisse gravissime queritur. Cum itaque ipso Giraldo testante, Hibernicum clerum probos mores inquilinorum impulsu pejoribus mutâsse constet, quis populum cleri sui similitudi-

[24] Lib. 3, de ira. [25] Top. d. 3, cap. 27.

[f] See vol. ii., pp. , for some remarks on this point, especially the absurd assertion in Moore's history of Ireland, that the Irish clergy were married. The sole fact that the Irish clergy were so chaste, proves that they must

merer, you will contract the habit of stammering." Plato's friends aped his broad shoulders; and the admirers of Aristoteles learned to stammer. The familiar associates of Alexander the Great adopted the bend of his neck and the harshness of his voice. "Manners," as Seneca truly remarks, "are formed by company; and as some diseases of the body are communicated by contact, so the diseases of the soul are infused into your associates. The drunkard will make his friend love wine. Obscene company will debase the strong man. The miser will communicate his poison to his friend." "Great," says St. Hieronymus, "is the influence of evil example:"

"Behold
How grape to grape its bitterness imparts."

There can be no doubt of the fact, that bad company leads to immorality; but the question still recurs, were the Irish corrupted by the English or the English by the Irish? Giraldus maintains the latter, but with more zeal than success: the Irish maintain the former, and not without good grounds. For, in the first place, if Giraldus has no other testimony but his own mere assertion, he not only fails, but is outrageously absurd, and might as well attempt to wash a negro white. Next, not to speak of the conclusive points of other arguments,[f] which might be urged, has not Giraldus himself stated expressly that the Irish clergy were preeminent in chastity, in extraordinary fasting, and in long-continued prayer? and does not Ailbin complain, according to the same Giraldus, that the ancient purity of the Irish clergy had been, alas! considerably stained by the foul influence of foreign example? The fact being certain, then, on the evidence of Giraldus himself, that the Irish clergy were corrupted by the vices of foreigners, is it not certain that the Irish people must have formerly imitated the purity of

have been a good clergy, and that they wanted not the will but the power to remedy the evils of their country, which arose principally from political causes.

nem moribus retulisse dubitabit? ut qui vivendi rationem sacerdotibus assuetam amplecti plerumque ambiat, sacra pagina dicente:[26] "Sicut populus sic sacerdos," denique susceptam causæ defensionem hac amente potius, quam amentata sententia clausit: "Vitio patriæ" Hiberniæ "alienigenæ fere involvuntur." Hoc vero telum, non secus ac priora, irrito ictu aërem verberat. In peregrinos enim aliquo concedentes indigenæ oculos et ora convertere solent, quorum mores dum accuratius observant, incautius hauriunt, et præ novitatis studio nonnunquam in se illos exprimunt. Hinc "Lacones urbe peregrinos exigebant,[27] ne paulatim inundantes mali cujuspiam civibus essent magistri. Lycurgus enim perspexerat commerciis exterorum civitates quamvis bene institutas corrumpi, quod ad nequitiam omnes sint magis dociles quam ad virtutem." Subditque "nullam pernicisiorem esse mixturam, quam quæ per imperii translationem prolatationemque invehitur: sic influxu Græcarum nationum effœminata est Roma: sic barbarorum commercio Sparta ex sanctissima facta est corruptissima." Sic etiam Angli captatâ semel Hiberniæ dominatione Hibernos ad mores sibi familiares amplectendos, non hortationibus, sed imperiis adegissevidentur. Neque ullius uspiam regionis cœlo tanta indita est iniquitas, ut indigenas efferare valeat. Licet enim Bœotii stupidi vulgo audierint, ut hinc Horatius cecinerit:[28] Bœotium in crasso jurares aëre natum: tamen Plutarchus vir omni eruditione naviter expolitus originem inde duxit, qui patriæ studio ductus, stylo in Herodotum stricto, in eo nihil æque reprehendit atque scripta de Bœotis, et Cherroneis. Scythia ferox Anacharsim insignem philosophum protulit, qui cuidam Attico patriæ obscuritatem exprobranti: mihi (respondit) probro est patria, tu patriæ. Cappadocia imgrobitate morum infamis Basilium illum vere magnum, Gregorium Nazianzenum, et Aretam effudit: "Eutherius" (inquit

[26] Oseæ 4. [27] Plutarc. in Lacon. [28] In Epist.

[e] For the unfavorable character given by Giraldus both of the Anglo-Norman and Welch clergy, see Gesta Giraldi, in the Anglo Sacra, p. 486, and ibid., chap. vii., p. 474. His word alone could not be taken as satisfac-

their priests? Does not the people generally follow the example of priest? "As the people, so the priests," according to sacred Scripture. Finally, he winds up the defence of his case with this nerveless and foolish sentence: "The foreigners are almost absorbed in the vices of that country." This shaft, however, flies harmlessly as its predecessors. For when foreigners land in a country, they are generally observed closely, and much talked of by the natives, who, by closely observing, incautiously imbibe, and by the fascination of novelty, very often imitate the morals of the foreigner. Hence the Lacedemonians allowed none but natives to reside in their city, lest the gradual influx of foreigners might infect the citizens with vice. For Lycurgus was well aware that the best governed cities had been corrupted by intercourse with foreigners, all men being naturally more prone to vice than to virtue. He adds too "that no intercourse is more demoralizing than that which arises from the revolutions and extension of political dominion: thus Rome became effeminate from the influx of the people of Greece; and Sparta, which had once been a model of morality, became, by intercourse with the barbarians, a sink of iniquity." Thus, too, the English, from the moment they attempted the conquest of Ireland, appear to have drawn the Irish, not by exhortations but by command, to copy their own peculiar manners.[g] Neither is there in any climate whatsoever an influence so baneful that it barbarizes all the inhabitants. Thus, though Bœotian was another name for stupidity, so that Horatius says, "you could swear that a Bœotian must have inhaled thick air;" nevertheless Bœotia was the native land of Plutarchus, a man of polished and universal learning, whose patriotism impelled him to write against Herodotus, and criticize severely that portion of his writings which regarded the Bœotians and Chersoneans. Barbarian Scythia gave birth to the celebrated philosoper, Anacharsis, who, when once reproached by a native of Attica with the obscurity of his native land, answered, "My country is a disgrace to me, but you to your country." Cappadocia, which was notorious for immorality, produced the truly great Basilius, and Gregorius of Nazianzen, and Aretas. "Eutherius," says Marcellinus,

tory proof; but the councils of the time confirm his assertion on this point.

Marcellinus) "Armenus natus, gente truculentâ, et improbâ, justi consilii plenus fuit."

Hibernos omnis ætatis, omnis sexus, et omnis ordinis Giraldus inhumane proscidit, solos monachos hac injuria non affecit, itaque adeo multa laude prosecutus est,[29] utpote quos intra cœnobiorum septa se continuisse, et contemplationi accuratius indulsisse narrat. Cum tamen suæ gentis Benedictinos luxus, et luxuriæ,[30] Cistersienses avaritiæ acrius justo insimulet. Non scio si convitiorum in monachos nostros torrentem ideò coercuit, ut in episcopos illum impetu majori effunderet: quos quo celsiori dignitate cæteris præeminent, eò majoribus contumeliarum [322] cumulis | onerat. Ut qui majorem omnibus reverentiam, ob sublimiorem dignitatis gradum exigere debuerunt, non solum nullam venerationem à Giraldo, sed multam prætereà maledicentiam retulerint. Dicit enim "Episcopos in populi enormiter delinquentis correctione desides nimis, et negligentes fuisse.[31] Nec enim prædicant nec corripiunt, et reprehendere negligunt. Non fuit ex ipsis qui tanquam tubam exaltaret vocem, non fuit qui ex adverso ascenderet, et murum pro domo Israel se opponeret. Non fuit qui usque ad exilium, nedum usque ad sanguinem pro ecclesia Christi dimicaret. Non inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiæ surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cruentaret: non fuit qui faceret hoc bonum: non fuit usque ad unum. Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quærunt sed pasci. Sunt prælati, qui non prodesse cupiunt. Sunt episcopi qui non omen sed nomen, non onus sed honorem amplectuntur." Denique ut harum calumniarum aggerem, legentium animis altius demittat, ejus iteratione caput idem terminat. Ultimo enim audita fixius audientium mentibus inhærent: hinc "accidit" (inquit) ut "Episcopi nec verbum Domini populo prædicent, nec scelera eorum eis annuntient, nec in grege sibi commisso vel extirpent vitia, vel inserant virtutes."

Fateor hærere mihi aquam in excogitandâ ratione, qua grandinem hanc opprobriorum ab episcoporum cervicibus amovere valeam. Non quod ad eam arcendam, et abigendam argumentorum abundantia me deficiat, sed quod ad tantam probrorum multitudinem aspectam tanto

[29] Top. d. 3, c. 28, 29. [30] Itinera. Cambr. l. 2, c. 3. [31] Top. d. 3, c. 28.

"though a native of Armenia, a savage and wicked country, was eminent for upright prudence."

From the savage calumnies levelled by Giraldus against the Irish of every rank, age and sex, the monks alone are exempted. They are even highly extolled for always confining themselves within the precincts of their monastery, and devoting themselves to a contemplative life; while, as he insinuates, but with more severity than justice, the English Benedictines were defiled by luxury and lust, and the English Cistertians by avarice. I know not whether his object, in sparing a torrent of invective against our monks, was to enable him to discharge it with greater fury on our bishops, who are exhibited to us as criminals surpassing all others as much in guilt as in the dignity of their station. Thus the very men, whose exalted station ought to have secured for them a degree of reverence not due to others, are not only not venerated by Giraldus, but atrociously maligned. "The bishops," he complains, "were too slothful and negligent in correcting the enormous delinquencies of the people. They preach not, neither do they reprove, nor do they know what it is to censure. There was not one among them to raise up his voice like a trumpet; not one to go forward and ascend and place himself as a bulwark for the house of Israel. There was not one of them to fight even to exile, much less unto death, for the church of Christ. Not one was found in this country to purple the foundations of the rising church with the shedding of his blood; not one was found to do that good; no, not even one. Pastors! these—who love to be fed, not to feed. Prelates, who will not profit. Bishops, who accept the name, not the omen; the dignity, not the duties." And lest this load of calumny should not sink deep enough into the hearts of his hearers, he repeats it at the close of the chapter; last words generally making the strongest impression. "Hence it happens," he says, "that the bishops neither preach the word of God to the people, nor make known to them their crimes; neither extirpate vice, nor implant virtue among the flock committed to their charge."

I confess I am utterly at a loss for the means of averting this storm of invective from the heads of the bishops. Not that I have not arguments in abundance to oppose and destroy it, but such a multiplicity of horrid charges so totally confounds me, that the very abundance of my

stupore capiar, ut inopem me copia faciat. Cum præsertim Giraldus ipse tam facilem mihi viam ad victoriam sternat, ut si vel unum duntaxat episcopum suo munere ritè functum produxero, hac disceptationis arenâ, Giraldo prostrato, victor excessurus sim. Conditionem accipio, et non unum tantum episcopum, sed instructam episcoporum aciem mox in prospectum educam, quibus quot erant fulgidissimi virtutum radii tot emissis spiculis, hanc Giraldi calumniam perforabunt.

Certè non pauca tela ex ipso Giraldo ad ipsum confodiendum depromere possem.[32] Vocat enim Mauritium archiepiscopum Cassellienscm, "virum literatum, et discretum,"[33] et S. Laurentium archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, "Virum bonum et justum;" et Gelasium Primatem Hiberniæ "vulgi opinione virum sacrum, et solum vaccæ candidæ lacte vescentem."[34] An episcopus ille Dunensis à Giraldo negligens esse prædicabitur, qui Hugoni Tirello, ecclesiam suam diripienti jacturam ad ipso postea relatam longè ante minatus est? An episcopi illi desides existimabuntur, qui ubi periculum aliquod populis imminuit, illicò conventum indicebant, in quo, consilia, et capita conferebant qua potissimum ratione impendentia suis discrimina removere possint? Consuetudinis hujuscè specimen in Armachano, et Casseliensi concilio, quorum Giraldus meminit ediderunt.[35] Horum postremo "præfuit Christianus Lismorensis episcopus, et apostolicæ sedis legatus; adfuerunt Donatus Casseliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis,[36] et Catholicus Tuamensis archiepiscopi, cum suffraganeis et coepiscopis." Qui si in officio adimplendo desides essent, itineris laborem non subirent; et si exercendi suscepti muneris ignorantiâ laborarent, ad leges genti præscribendas ab ipso Henrico rege non convocarentur. Etenim â ratione alienum est, ut qui gentem Hibernicam probis moribus (si diis placet) imbuendam susceperunt, imperitos, inertes, et ignavos magistros iis edocendis admoverent. Itaque ad illud Giraldi effatum subvertendum, nulla oppugnatione opus est, quod et ipsum suis se telis labefactet

[32] Top. d. 3, c. 32. [33] Hib. exp. l. 2, c. 23. [34] Ibid. l. 2, c. 34. [35] Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 18, 33, 34. [36] Ibid. c. 34.

[h] In defence of Giraldus it might be urged that this council of Caiseal was convoked after the English came to Ireland, and that whatever good it

resources but makes me the more helpless, especially when my adversary opens for me so easy a path to victory that if I can find but one bishop faithfully discharging his duties, Giraldus is wrested in this conflict, and the wreath of victory is mine. I accept the challenge, and shall now produce not a solitary example, but an imposing host of bishops, whose dazzling virtues shall, like sunflashes, scatter and dissolve that black calumny of Cambrensis.

Giraldus supplies many weapons which can be fatally turned against himself. He describes Muiris, archbishop of Caiseal, "as a prudent and learned man;" St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, as "good and virtuous;" and Gelasius, primate of Ireland, "as revered as a saint by the people, and using no food but the milk of a white cow." Will Giraldus accuse of negligence that bishop of Dun, who, when his church was plundered by Hugh Tyrrel, denounced against the spoiler a visitation which was not long after fearfully realized? Were these bishops negligent, who, whenever any calamity threatened the people, instantly met in council, to deliberate and concert the best means of warding off the impending danger from their flocks? We have proofs of this solicitude in the councils of Ardmacha and Caiseal, recorded by Giraldus himself. In the council of Caiseal, Christian, bishop of Lismor, and legate of the Apostolic See, presided. Donnchadh, archbishop of Caiseal, Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus, bishop of Tuam, were also present with their suffragans and brother bishops.[h] Had they been careless in the discharge of their duties, they would not have encountered the fatigues of a journey; and had they been ignorant of their duties, would Henry have assembled them to make laws for the nation? Would it not be absurd that those men, who had undertaken (bless the mark) to plant sound morals among the Irish, should appoint incompetent, lazy and ignorant masters to teach them. It is unnecessary, then, to produce any other argument against Giraldus, as he

effected should be partly attributed to them. But we have already shown in notes to vol. ii., p. 547, that this famous council of Caiseal, to which certain writers have attributed so great an influence on the reformation of Ireland—merely revived or confirmed canons all of which had been enacted long before the English invasion.

apertissimè, et authorem suum hostem habeat unum omnium infestissimum.

Quod si seriò Giraldus ista protulit, summâ capior admiratione quòd in solo S. Laurentio (cum quo si non illi familiaritas, certè notitia proculdubio intercessit) se graviter (ut nihil gravius dicam), allucinatum fuisse non viderit, qui non segnem se,[37] veternosum, aut elinguem gregis sui pastorem, sed egregium eorum in virtutibus informatorem, in vitiis acerbum reprehensorem, in difficultatibus strenuissimum patronum gessit. Siquidem "implebat fidelis pastoris et prudentis rectoris officium, non propter improborum cogendorum instantia contemplationem negligens, [323] aut propter contemplationis studium agenda | postponens. Sermo ejus instar faculæ ardebat, radios vibrabat igneos. Dixisses stimulos et quasi clavos in altum defixos. Ibat vir sanctus per omnia justitiæ à dextris, et à sinistris, detruncans cruentas acies vitiorum, prædicans assidue verbum Dei, et opus faciens Evangelistæ: instans opportunè, importunè arguens, obsecrans, increpans in omni patientia, et doctrina, nè de manu sua requiretur sanguis commissi sibi populi pereuntis." Nec concionibus tantum suis populos ad virtutem attrahebat, sed curabat etiam ut alii in eadem palæstra desudarent,[38] ad quorum etiam procul positorum "conciones" audiendas concesserat. Ut non hortatu solum suo, sed et exemplo, ad vitiorum veternum suis excutiendum opem ferret. Quod si exitiosum plebi suæ discrimen emergebat ei avertendo, non secus ac sibi immineret, omnem curam, et operam impendebat.[39] Ut cum Divo Paulo dixisse videatur: "Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?" Quidam prædo in clientium ejus adhuc Abbatis turbam "insiliens nefanda rabie laicos cecidit, clericos spoliavit, fœminis vim attulit. Quod cum relatum esset viro Dei, ingenti mœrore animi percussus,[40] ascendit ad domum Dei, nec cibum capere voluit, ad humilem orationem se convertens." Alia quoque vice, nefarii quidam latrones quatuor sacerdotes sacrâ hostiâ

[37] Vita S. Laurentii, cap. 17. [38] Ibidem, cap. 18. [39] 2 Corin. 11. [40] Vitæ, c. 37.

[1] There is no record of this outrage in the Four Masters; but from the

stands self-refuted by his own weapons, and cannot have a more fatal adversary than himself.

But if he were serious in making those charges, I am amazed exceedingly that St. Lorcan alone (whom he must have known by character, if not personally) did not prevent him from falling into so grievous an error. St. Lorcan was neither a lazy, nor indolent, nor dumb pastor to his flock. He taught them to aspire to the highest virtues; he severely reprehended their vices, and was their most intrepid champion in all their difficulties. He fulfilled all the duties of a faithful and prudent pastor, neither neglecting spiritual contemplation in his zeal to reform the impious, nor omitting his active duties for contemplation. His eloquence glowed like a flame, scattering around its fiery beams. You could compare it to nothing but darts, or nails driven home to the quick. The holy man walked in all the paths of justice on the right hand and on the left, hewing down the savage hosts of vice, constantly preaching the word of God, and doing the work of an Evangelist: he was instant, in season and out of season, reproving, entreating, rebuking in all patience and doctrine, lest the blood of the flock committed to his charge should be demanded at his hands. But if he was zealous in instructing his people by his own preaching, he was equally zealous in making others labor in the same holy work, and often travelled a great distance to hear their sermons. Thus it was not merely by word or precept, but also by example, that he labored to expel the leaven of vice from his people. Whenever any danger threatened his flock, he exerted himself as strenuously and zealously to defend them as if himself were in danger, so that he could say with St. Paul, "who is weak and I am not weak? who is scandalized and I am not on fire?" While he was yet only an abbot a robber burst in among a crowd of his dependants,[i] "savagely murdered the laics, plundered the clerics, and violated the women. When the man of God heard this, he was struck with an agony of grief, and going up to the house of the Lord, he would take no food, but vented his soul in humble prayer." On another occasion four impious bandits sacrilegiously took

frequent sacrileges committed about this period, some of which were in Gleanndalocha, there is no reason to disbelieve the statement in the text.

ferociter spoliaverunt, et non ferendis injuriis ei illatis, turbam sacerdotes comitantem "usque ad mortem ferè verberibus affecerunt." Quo audito discrimine, cœpit dolere non mediocriter Abbas Laurentius,[41] et humiliter ad orationem conversus, jejunium sibi indixit, ut uno die naturali nec cibum nec potum caperet, et ecclesiam ingressus cum suis clericis,[42] Dominum incessanter deprecabatur, instar fidelis patroni pro liberatione suorum insistens. Annonæ caritate passim Hibernia laborabat, cui ille subveniendi sollicitudine captus, "egestatem inopum suam existimans, pro facultatum suarum copiis, sed non largissimæ charitatis suæ votis illis optitulabatur, et succurrebat: quingentos namque pauperes extrema penuria oppressos per triennium quotidianis subtentabat eleemosynis; exceptis aliis plus minus trecentis, quos per episcopatum suum vestibus, et alimoniâ donabat, quibus necessaria omnia ministrabat."[43] Et præterea "necessaria omnia suppeditavit ducentis pueris per diversa diœcesis suæ loca sparsis, aliquando pluribus, aliquando paucioribus.[44] Singulis insuper diebus pauperes sexaginta, aut quadraginta, vel minimum triginta in conspectu suo refici faciebat." Ut hinc, ejus vitæ scriptore referente, "Pater patriæ dictus fuerit."[45] Quem titulum magis adhuc promeritus est, cum nullum laborem ad quodcunque malorum levamen genti, aut plebi suæ comparandum non subterfugerit. Cujus rei causâ, (ut prætheream alienos illum literis,[46] et promissis suos monitis et stipendiis ad patriam hostibus eripiendam adduxisse) "ter" aut "quater" in Angliam trajecit, et semel "Romam" concessit,[47] ubi causam suam facundè perorans, apostolici legati dignitate insignitus, in patriam remeavit. Posteà simili de causa in Angliam migranti, "Rex Angliæ crudelem se tyrannum exhibuit, regioque edicto cavit, ne viro Dei liceret in Hiberniam reverti, portusque omnes qui Hiberniam spectarent,[48] ei voluit esse interdictos." Vel si mavis eandem rem Giraldi verbis expressam: "Ob privilegia in Lateranensi Concilio (cui intererat) contra regiæ dignitatis honorem, zelo suæ gentis, ut ferebatur

[41] Ibid. c. 8. [42] Ibid. c. 24. [43] Ibidem. [44] Ibid. c. 14. [45] Ibid. c. 8.
[46] Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 22. [47] Vitæ, c. 19, 21, 22, 23. [48] Ibid. c. 31.

[k] On the privileges obtained from the pope by St. Lorcan for the protection of the property of the church of Dublin, even against the king and his officers, see vol. II., p. 408, note supra.

the sacred host from the priests, and profaned it in the most horrid manner. They almost scourged to death the people who were accompanying the priests. The abbot Lorcan, hearing of this terrible event, was oppressed with extraordinary grief, and humbly seeking relief in prayer, imposed upon himself as a fast that during one whole day he would neither eat nor drink. He assembled his clergy in the church, and, like a faithful patron, sent up his incessant prayer to God, imploring him to have mercy on his charge. When there was a great scarcity of provisions through all Ireland, he labored zealously to relieve the distress, "looking upon the poverty of the needy as his own; he gave them all the assistance in his power, to the full extent of his means but not of his most benevolent desires. During three years, he supported by daily alms, five hundred of the most destitute poor, not including about three hundred others whom he clothed and fed, and provided with everything during his whole episcopacy. He also provided for two hundred boys, sometimes more, sometimes less, who were scattered through different parts of his diocese. Moreover, he distributed food in person every day, to sixty; forty, or at least thirty, poor people." Hence, according to the biographer, "he was called the father of his country," a title which he merited, in a more eminent degree, by his never refusing any labor, if it could avert the least calamity from his country and people. It was for this purpose that he made three journies to England (not to mention his attempt to drive the enemy from his country, by application for foreign help, and giving his money and advice to his own countrymen); he even travelled to Rome, where he eloquently pleaded the cause of his country, and was sent home honored with the dignity of Apostolic legate. When he visited England afterwards on a similar errand, "the king of England proved himself a cruel tyrant, and issued a royal order that the man of God should not be allowed to return to Ireland, and that all the ports on the Irish sea should be closed against him." But perhaps it is better to give the fact in the words of Giraldus: "He was dreaded by the king of England on account of some privileges,[k] which it was said he had, in his zeal for his country, obtained from the council of Lateran at which he assisted: for this reason he was forcibly detained a long

impetrata Anglorum regi suspectus, et ob hoc, tam in Anglicanis quam in transmarinis Galliæ partibus, diu detentus est."[50] Ut martyrii patiendi non voluntas illum, sed facultas, defecerit, non pertimescentem ut cruore suo gladius ille divi Thomæ Cantuariensis sanguine cruentus imbueretur. Tandem, ut ait Giraldus "laboriosum viæ et vitæ istius cursum felici fine complevit."[50]

Quomodo igitur desidia, negligentia, aut ulla officii prætermissio, aut remissio huic exprobrabitur? quis tam præfrictæ frontis erit, qui hunc "murum se pro domo Israel apposuisse, et usque ad exilium pro ecclesia Dei dimicasse inficiabitur?" Quod si quæ sub oculis erant, Giraldi aspectum, et cognitionem fugerunt superioris memoriæ res illius animo vel nunquam insedisse, vel penitus excidisse quis non existimabit? ut non dubitem quin de præclaris episcopis in vita S. Laurentii memoratis cognoscere vel contempserit, vel omiserit. Qui tamen soli ejus de Hibernicorum episcoporum socordiâ effatum mendacii arguere poterant. Etenim S. Laurentius, "Velut alter Samuel sub viro religioso episcopo Glandelacensi tanquam sub Heli magistro fuit, quandiù [324] idem | vixit episcopus, qui eum docuit verbo pariter et exemplo."[51] Ut hic præsul omnibus numeris absolutus proculdubio fuerit, è cujus disciplina alumnus tot et tantis virtutibus excultus prodierit.[52] Nec minori præstantia "Malachias Kildariensis, et Clemens episcopus" præditi fuisse videntur, qui assidui divi Laurentii comites, ab ejus latere raró discesserunt. Ut ejus contubernium virtutum illos ardore citra dubium inflammaverit.

Sed ut ad paulò anteriora tempora, non tamen extra Giraldi memoriam orationem referam: S. Malachiæ vitam, quam Giraldus vel divi Bernardi lectione, vel recenti fama rescire poterat, cursim evolvamus; ut illum convitiorum cumulum, quo famam antistitum obruere Giraldus tentavit, vel rebus gestis ab ipso aspectis, vel locupletissimorum testium narratione auditis evertere valeamus. Promat igitur divus Bernardus qua Malachias ratione populos informaverat.[53] S. Malachias "linguæ

[49] Hib. exp. l. 2, c. 23. [50] Ibidem. [51] Vitæ, c. 5. [52] Ibidem, cap. 28. [53] Vitæ Malachiæ, cap. 2.

[1] O'Briain, bishop of Killdara, died A.D. 1175. The Four Masters men-

time both in England and in countries beyond the sea." Thus if he were not martyred, it was not that he avoided it, but that it was not given—the sword, which was reeking with the blood of St. Thomas the martyr, had no terrors for him. At length, in the words of Giraldus, "he closed, by a blessed end, the laborious course of this blessed life."

What grounds of accusation, either of sloth or negligence, or any omission of duty or carelessness, appear in that life? can any man be so barefaced as to deny that Lorcan "stood like a wall in defence of the house of Israel, and fought even to exile for the church of God?" If Giraldus could neither see nor know facts which were before his eyes, it is not astonishing that he either never attended to or profoundly forgot the events of former days; he evidently neglected, perhaps from contempt, to make himself acquainted with the character of those illustrious bishops who are mentioned in the life of St. Lorcan; and who alone would convict him of a grievous falsehood in accusing the Irish bishops of sloth. "Thus St. Lorcan, like another Samuel, lived under the direction of the bishop of Gleanndalocha, a holy man, a second Heli; who until his death instructed his pupil both by word and example." The bishop, whose discipline produced a saint of such eminent and varied virtue, must have himself been perfect in every good work. Mael-maedhog of Killdara and bishop Clement,[1] it would appear, could have been less eminent for piety, as they were the inseparable associates of St. Lorcan, and rarely were out of his presence. His company must have, undoubtedly, inflamed them with the fervor of his own holiness.

To go back now a little farther, but still not to an epoch beyond the memory of Giraldus, let us take a cursory view of the life of St. Mael-maedhog, which Giraldus could have known either from the work of St. Bernard, or from public report: a sketch of the facts which Giraldus himself must have witnessed, or which rest on the most unimpeachable authority, overthrows the accumulated calumnies discharged against our bishops. First let us hear St. Bernard's account of the zeal of St. Mael-maedhog in instructing his flock. "St. Mael-maedhog," he says, "began

tion no Clement about this period, but a bishop of Luighne, who died A.D. 1218. Dr. O'Donovan supposes that Luighne was the diocese of Achadh-Chonaire, (Achonry).

sarculo," inquit, "cœpit evellere, destruere, dissipare. De die in diem factitans prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Diceres ignem urentem in consumendo criminum vepres. Diceres securim vel asciam in dejiciendo plantationes malas. Denique quicquid indecorum, quicquid distortum obvium habuisset, non parcebat oculus ejus, sed velut grando grossos è ficubus, et sicut pulverem ventus à facie terræ, sic coram facie sua ejusmodi nitebatur totum pro viribus exturbare, ac delere de populo suo." Subditque alibi Divus Bernardus; "Ubique semen spargitur salutare, ubique intonat tuba cœlestis, ubique discurrit, ubique erumpit evaginato gladio linguæ ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus,[54] increpationes in populis terror ejus super facientes mala. Clamat iniquis, nolite iniquè agere, et delinquentibus nolite exaltare cornu." Audis S. Bernardum Cambrensi non solum re, sed etiam verbis adversantem: hic enim dicit: "Non fuit in episcopis qui tanquam tubam exaltaret vocem suam." Ille S. Malachiam "ubique intonasse tubam cœlestem." Vides igitur ut omnes optimi præconis numeros S. Malachias expleverit.[55] Nunc cerne quomodo usque ad sanguinem dimicaverit. Quidam potens Malachiæ hostis, "consilium habuit cum propinquis, et amicis quomodo sanctum dolo tenerent, et occiderent. Timebant vero plebem, et conjurantes invicem Malachiæ constituere diem, et locum. Ipso die cum vespertina jam solemnia in ecclesia jam celebraret antistites cum universo clero, et multitudine populi, mittit ad ipsum nequam ille in verbis pacificis, in dolo rogans quatenus dignetur ad se descendere ut faciat pacem." Ille astantibus invitis, et flentibus dicens: "si contingat occidi, non recuso mori, totam spem suam ponens in Domino, tota alacritate perrexit, tribus tantum comitatus discipulis paratis mori cum eo. Qui ut calcato limine domus repentè se medio intulit armatorum: Concidere facies eorum, quia pavor irruit super eos. Ut dicere posset episcopus: qui tribulant me inimici ipsi infirmati sunt, et ceciderunt."

[54] Ib. c. 12. [55] Ibid. c. 5.

[m] This evil one against whom St. Mael-maedhog was contending was a member of that princely family, which, like many kings and lords on the continent before the age of St. Gregorius VII., had made sees and abbacies hereditary appendages to their families.

with the weapon of his tongue to pluck up, to destroy, and to scatter. Every day he made the crooked ways straight, and the rough ways plain. You would say he was a burning fire, consuming the brambles of vices. You would say that he was an axe or a hatchet hewing down evil plantations. In a word, his eye never spared whatever indecorum or irregularity came under his notice, but as the hail hurls the figs from the fig-tree, or as the wind sweeps the dust from the face of the earth, so did he labor, with all his strength, to eradicate and abolish from before his face every abuse among his people." In another place he adds, "every where was the salutary seed of the Word scattered; every where did the trumpet of heaven resound; he is present every where, dashing on with the naked sword of his eloquence to do vengeance on the nations, and to reprove the people: the dread of him was on every man that worketh evil." To the wicked he cries out, "do not work iniquity; and to the delinquents, let not your horn be exalted." Here St. Bernard contradicts Cambrensis, not only in substance, but almost in direct terms: "Not one of the bishops," says the latter, "raised up his voice as a trumpet." "St. Mael-maedhog made the land resound with the thunders of the heavenly trumpet," according to St. Bernard. Is it not evident that St. Mael-maedhog discharged all the duties of a perfect preacher? Mark, now, how he contended even unto blood. A certain powerful enemy of St. Mael-maedhog, "with his relatives and friends, entered into a conspiracy to take the saint by treachery and put him to death. But they feared the people, and so, conspiring among themselves, they concerted the place and the time to meet him. On the very day, while the bishop, with all his clergy, was celebrating the evening service in the church, he received a message from that wicked man, proposing peace, and treacherously begging him to come down and arrange the terms." His friends remonstrated with tears, but St. Mael-maedhog said, "if I am to be killed, I am not unwilling to die," and placing all his confidence in the Lord, he went with great alacrity, accompanied by only three disciples, who had resolved to die with him. As soon as he entered the door, he found himself surrounded by armed men; but their faces fell because terror overpowed them; so that the bishop could say, "my enemies who afflict me, they are become weak and have fallen down."[m]

S. Bernardus cætera huc spectantia uberius prosequitur. Ex his tamen, quæ protuli abundè perspicere quis posset, illum nulli se vitæ discrimini subduxisse. Labores verò ab eo, in verbo Dei per Hiberniam disseminando, et populis ubique ad bonam frugem revocandis toleratos enarrando percurrere vix, ac ne vix quidem quispiam posset. Suos etiam pro civium emolumento conatus patriæ finibus coërceri nequaquam passus est, duobus enim itineribus extra illam susceptis, altero Romam adiit, altero petiit.

Nec S. Bernardus solius Malachiæ virtutes, in ejus vitâ uberrimè, sed præclaras etiam aliorum antistitum dotes strictim et ex re nata, scriptis consignavit.[56] Nam de Malcho Lismorensi episcopo, insignem facit mentionem: "In illo," inquit, "pleno dierum, et virtutum sapientia Dei erat." Imo "tanta ei desuper collata est gratia, ut non modò vita, et doctrina, sed et signis clareret, etc." Prætereà S. Malachias habuit "Germanum Christianum nomine, virum bonum, plenum gratiæ, et virtutis.[57] Episcopus erat, illi quidem secundus in celebri opinione, sed vitæ sanctimonia, et justitiæ zelo fortè non impar."[58] Utpotè "vir sapientia, et pietate nulli secundus, lucerna lucida, et ardens, qui populo, et clero suis monitis, et sanctis operibus præluxit, servus Dei devotissimus, et pastor fidelis totius ecclesiæ." Quidam etiam Edanus Christiani successor, divinitus est designatus, "in cujus cunctantis, et flentis digito, S. Malachias annulum aureum quo desponsandus erat prævidit." Nec Gilbertus Apostolicus in Hibernia Legatus est hic silentio prætereundus,[59] quo "præ senio, et | debilitate corporis villicare [325] non valente, Innocentius secundus Papa Malachiæ commisit vices suas, per universam Hiberniam Legatum illum constituens." Gilbertus autem nisi singulari quadam virtutis eminentiâ insigniretur, Legati potestate triginta fermè annorum spatio, fungi non permitteretur.[60] Sanè illius præstantiæ non vulgare indicium est, quod cum divo Anselmo familiaritatem, et literarum commercium habuerit, et libellum ad suos ritibus ecclesiasticis ritè imbuendos ediderit.

56 Ibid. c. 3. 57 Ibid. c. 10. 58 Colgan. in appen. vitæ S. Macartheni, c. 4.
59 Ubi supra. 60 Usherus in syllog. epist. Hib. exp. Ep. 30, 31, 32.

St. Bernard gives, in fuller detail, the circumstances of this event; but the extracts, which I have given, prove to evident demonstration that no dangers of death had any terrors for St. Mael-maedhog. It would be almost impossible to give an account of all his labors in preaching the word of God throughout Ireland, and recalling his people to the paths of virtue. His labors for the good of his countrymen were not confined to the limits of his own country: for he made two journies beyond the seas, one to Rome, and the second during which he died.

But St. Bernard's testimony is not confined to the very copious detail of the virtues of St. Mael-maedhog; he has also incidentally recorded brief sketches of the eminent virtues of other bishops. He passes a glowing eulogium on Malchus, bishop of Lismor. "He was a man full of days and virtues; the wisdom of God was in him." Nay so signal were the favors conferred on him from above, that he was famed not only for his piety and learning, but also for his virtues. St. Mael-maedhog also had a brother named Christian, a good man, full of grace and virtue. He too was a bishop second to his brother in public estimation, but perhaps in sanctity of life and zeal for justice, not second. For he was a man "inferior to none in wisdom and piety, a burning and shining light, who allumed the path of clergy and people by his admonitions and holy works—truly a most devout servant of God, and a faithful pastor of the whole church." A certain bishop, named Edan, was miraculously selected as the successor of Christian, "for St. Mael-maedhog saw him in a vision with the bridal gold ring on his finger, though he resisted even to tears the dignity which was conferred on him." Gilbert, Apostolic Legate in Ireland, must not be passed over in silence. "When broken down by age and infirmities, he was relieved from his office by Pope Innocent II., who selected Mael-maedhog in his place, appointing him legate of all Ireland." If Gilbert had not been a man of eminent virtue, he would not be intrusted with the legatine authority during the space of almost thirty years. It is no slight attestation of his singular merit that he was the friend and literary correspondent of St. Anselm, and wrote a work to instruct his countrymen in the ceremonies of the church.

Quid "Neemiam" commemorem Devennaniæ episcopum, qui consuetudine cum Malachia initâ, non modicas virtutes ex ejus consortio citrà dubium hauserat? Annon innominatum illum Corcagiensem episcopum pluribus virtutibus inclaruisse dicemus? quem, licet "pauperem, et alienigenam, sanctum tamen, et doctum" Malachias cæteris de episcopatu contendentibus, episcopum renuntiavit reluctantem, et morbo etiam impeditum, quominus vel vestigium figere, nedum episcopatus administrandi onus subire potuerit, nisi suo morbo liberatus, et vires integras adeptus miraculo, ad morem jussis Malachiæ gerendum non tam suaderetur, quam adigeretur? Christianum fortassis illum, quem "sanctum fratrem" S. Bernardus appellat, episcopalis officii malè obiti Giraldus condemnabit, qui monachismi tyrocinio, sub divi Bernardi magisterio, Claravallæ ut suprà dixi posito, "instructis, et eruditis" monachis in Hiberniam abeuntibus præpositus, episcopus deindè Lismorensis, ac demum apostolicæ sedis in Hibernia Legatus evasit, utramque dignitatem viginti saltem annos gerens: quandoquidem Cardinalis Papyronis[61] collega concilio Kennanusensi in Media an. Dom. 1152: et Casselliensi an. Dom. 1172 solus præsederit. Quem temporis decursum otiosè fluere neutiquam passus est, antistitum conciliis sæpè sæpius, vel ad principum discordias sedandas, vel improborum licentiam coërcendam, vel decreta administrationi utilia sancienda indictis. Tandem ut animum in rerum cœlestium contemplatione liberius defigeret; illis se dignitatibus ultrò abdicavit, ac tædii ex tot jactationibus contracti ponendi gratia, ad remotiores secessus concessit. Ut frustrâ socordiæ maculâ ille notandus fuerit, qui vitæ initium pietate, progressum laborum assiduitate, finem summa sanctimonia excoluit.

Horum agmen quos vitæ S. Malachiæ, pro ac occasio affulsit, S. Bernardus inseruit,[62] S. Celsus archiepiscopus Armachanus claudat, "Qui cognoscens quia moreretur, fecit quasi testamentum quatenus Malachias deberet succedere sibi. Nam pro malis populi sui vehementer dolens (erat enim vir bonus, et timoratus) curavit omninò habere

[61] Colgan. 18, Mart. Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 84. [62] Cap. 7.

Need I mention Nehemias, bishop of Deuennania, who was the friend of St. Mael-maedhog, and must, no doubt, have imbibed no ordinary virtues in his society. "Shall we say, that the bishop of Cork was not famed for his great qualities, though we cannot tell his name;" he was poor, and a foreigner, but a holy and learned man, and was therefore selected, against his will, by St. Mael-maedhog, from the crowd of contending candidates, though he was so debilitated that he could not even stand, much less discharge the onerous duties of the episcopacy: but he was cured of his distemper, and miraculously recovered his strength, and was forced rather than persuaded to accept the offer of St. Mael-maedhog. Will Giraldus presume to say, that Christian neglected his episcopal duties, a man whom St. Bernard styles a holy brother; and who, after passing, as I have already stated, his monastic novitiate, under the care of St. Bernard himself at Clairvaux, was placed over the Cistercians sent into Ireland, and was subsequently created bishop of Lismor, and legate of the Apostolic See in Ireland. Both dignities he must have held at least during 20 years, for in 1152 he presided over the Synod of Ceanannus (Kells) in Meath, with Cardinal Paparo; and in 1172, he presided alone in the Synod of Caiseal. That long interval certainly was not spent in idleness; councils of bishops were frequently held, either to reconcile the differences of princes, or to repress the audacity of the evil doers, or to enact salutary canons for the government of the church. At length, to devote his soul more unreservedly to the contemplation of heavenly things, he voluntarily renounced his dignities, and retired to a secluded retreat to relieve himself from the sea of troubles on which he had been so long cast. What sloth can even the most malignant eye discover in a man whose youth was piety, whose manhood was labor unremitting, and whose end was eminent holiness?

To close this bright host whom St. Bernard has incidently mentioned in the life of St. Mael-maedhog, we produce St. Celsus, archbishop of Ardmacha, "who, knowing that death was at hand, almost left it in his will that Mael-maedhog should be his successor. To have Mael-maedhog his successor was in truth the dearest wish of his heart, the only solace of his grief for the disorders of his people, for he was a good and scrupulous man. He was a man of unsullied purity, and singularly beloved, both by the Irish and foreigners—the Irish clergy and people. After having

sibi successorem Malachiam," etc. Nimirum Celsus "vir illibatæ Castimoniæ fuit, et unicus, cujus arbitrio Hiberni, et exteræ gentes, clerus, et populus Hiberniæ erant contenti, post multos ordinatos episcopos, Presbyteros, et diversorum graduum clericos, post multas Basilicas, ecclesias,[63] et cœmiteria consecrata, post multas et magnas eleemosynas, et pias elargitiones, post regulas morum clero, et pacis populo præscriptas, post vitam in jejuniis, orationibus, prædicationibus, missarum celebrationibus, et id generis variis pietatis officiis transactam, sacramentis penitentiæ, et extremæ unctionis præmunitus, spiritum cœlo reddidit, primo die Aprilis, an. Dom. 1129;" quem prætereà Jocelinus scribit, S. Patricii vestigia diligentiori studio secutum fuisse,[64] cujus etiam merita nomen ejus in martyrologium Romanorum retulerunt. Ut episcopalis officii malè gesti nec quicquam reus agatur, qui vitæ stadium tam sanctè percurrit.

Non abs re foret his Domnaldum Armachanum, et Donatum Cassiliensem præsulem accensere, quorum ille post quatuordecem annos in præsulatu actos, an. 1105; hic decimo præsulatus, et nati Christi an. 1095, diem suum obiit.[65] S. Anselmus literis ad hos datis, "odorem religionis eorum, plurimis indiciis se agnovisse" testatur. Jam ista omnia Giraldus vel comperiit, vel ignoravit. Si comperiit, et omnes Hiberniæ episcopos tam acerbâ tamen censurâ perstrinxit, mendacii: si non novit, supinæ se socordiæ reum præbuit, quod in res tam obvias, [326] quæ ipso adhuc superstite, ut plurimum | gerebantur, vel oculos, vel aures tantillum non adverterit. Iniquissimum eum judicem appellare non dubitem, qui, antè nullam quæstionem de causa institutam, aut

[63] Trias Th. p. 300. [64] Cap. 176, apud Usherum de Primord. pag. 916. [65] Usherus in sylloge Ep. Hib. Ep. 33.

[a] It was on this subject that the editor addressed a letter to Dr. Lanigan, requesting to know in what sense he had stated that Dr. Lynch had failed on all important points in refuting Cambrensis. The answer to that letter is printed in vol. ii. p. 528, supra. It may possibly exculpate Cambrensis and Dr. Lingard so far as the character of bishops who lived long before the English invasion is concerned; but it certainly does not excuse Cambrensis from a gross calumny against those eminent bishops, who were either his own contemporaries, or who, at least, had been personally known to many still living in Ireland when he visited the

ordained many bishops, priests, and clerics of all orders, and consecrated Basilicas, churches and churchyards, after having dispersed alms and liberal donations, bountifully and without measure, and given a law of peace to the people and of reformation to the clergy, after a life spent in fasting, in prayer, in preaching, in celebrating masses, and in various similar works of piety, he prepared himself for death by the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and resigned his soul to God, on the 1st day of April, A.D. 1129." Jocelin, moreover, states of him, that he followed with singular fidelity in the footsteps of St. Patrick. It was this eminent piety that has had his name enshrined in the Roman martyrology. Certainly, a man whose whole life was such a triumph of holiness cannot, without absurdity, be charged with a neglect of his episcopal duties.

It is right to mention here, also, the archbishops, Domhnall of Ardmacha and Donnchadh of Caiseal, of whom the former died in 1105, the fourteenth, and the latter in 1095, the tenth year of his episcopacy. St. Anselm, in the letters which he wrote to them, said that he had many indications of the odor of their sanctity. Now either Giraldus knew or was ignorant of these facts.[n] If he knew them, and yet passed so severe a censure on all the Irish bishops, he was a liar; if he did not know them, he stands convicted of the most supine sloth in not turning for a moment the attention either of eye or ear, to public facts, most of which happened in his own life time. May I not confidently denounce, as a most iniquitous judge, the man who rashly pronounces sentence without making any inquiry, much less knowing all the facts of his

country. As an incident in the life of the great Catholic historian of England connected with the ever memorable famine of 1847. and the consequent famine fever, I may cite here the close of one of his kind letters:—

"I am much obliged to you for your researches for me; but I have no time to say more, for a messenger is come for me to go to a poor Irishwoman who is dying at Kirby Lonsdale, seven miles off. Hornby, June 7, 1847."

The researches to which he alludes were on the subject of the massacre by Cromwell's troops at Wexford, and the authorities referred to are published in the notes on that subject in the last edition of the History of England.

plenam ejus cognitionem perceptam, de illâ sententiam temere protulerat. Giraldo moveat fraus hæc deprensa pudorem.

Quando autem tot tam recentis memoriæ Autistitum vita tam pie acta tantam censurarum Giraldi molem per se labefactaverit, plures argumentorum machinas, ad eam evertendam admovere desinerem, nisi Giraldus idem omnes episcopos, S. Patricium, ad Giraldi memoriam, in Hibernia secutos eadem segnitie in episcopi munere administrando correptos fuisse asseruerit his verbis:[66] "Si prælati à tempore Patricii, per tot annorum curricula, prædicationi, et instructioni, item increpationi, et correptioni, pro officii sui debito, viriliter institissent, et prænotatas gentis enormitates aliquatenus extirpassent, et aliquam proculdubio in iis formam honestatis, et religionis impressissent." Toti Hibernicæ genti hic improperat "enormitates" ne "aliquatenus" quidem "extirpatas," nec aliquam in ea "formam honestatis, ac religionis impressam" fuisse. Sed morum enormitatem, ac deformitatem quam Hibernicæ nationi Giraldus potius affinxit quam affixit, satis superque antehàc eluimus. Spurcitias enim illas, aut Hibernis non omninò adhæsisse, aut piorum sedulitate naviter abstersos fuisse supra ostendimus. In gente verò durius increpandâ, sicut suo calumniandi genio non veritati, sic in episcopis tam aspersâ objurgatione nunc excipiendis non justitiæ, sed odio servivit. Eo enim "annorum curriculo," quod post Patricium effluxit, episcoporum plerique summa vitæ sanctimoniâ, plurimâ apud divinum numen gratiâ, et prope infinitis vivi ac mortui miraculis floruerunt.[67] "Nullus in diebus S. Patricii aut multo post tempore successorem ejus in pontificem aut regimen animarum promovebatur, nisi divina revelatione, aut aliquo signo evidenti dignus demonstraretur." Trecentos et quinquaginta manu sua S. Patricius consecravit."[68] Credemusnè aut episcopos cœlitus designatos, aut à

[66] Top. d. 3, cap. 28. [67] Jocelinus, cap. 174. [68] Id. c. 185.

[o] This does not mean that there were 350 sees in Ireland, but that 350 bishops were consecrated by St. Patrick either as the first bishops of different sees, or as successors to those first bishops. Assuming that St. Patrick governed the Irish Church during sixty years (A.D. 432-493), the

case. Let Giraldus extricate himself from the humiliation of this palpable imposture.

The great and pious actions of so many bishops, whose fame was yet fresh in the days of Giraldus, being of themselves sufficient to overthrow his slanderous accusations, I would not produce any other arguments to refute him, had he not accused all the Irish bishops, from the days of St. Patrick, of similar neglect of their episcopal functions. "Had the bishops," he says, "from the days of St. Patrick through so many successive ages, applied themselves to preach and instruct, and also to reprove and correct, as duty obliged them, they would have in some measure eradicated those enormities of their people, and imparted to them, beyond a doubt, some form of decency and religion." Here is a sweeping charge against the whole Irish nation, "of enormities" rioting uncontrolled, and of the "total absence of any form of decency or religion." But we have already refuted clearly the charge of "enormities and irregularity" levelled, but not proved, by Giraldus against the people of Ireland. These enormities, we have shown, either never had any existence among the Irish people, or were extirpated by the zeal of holy men. But as in his calumnious invective against the people, he followed the promptings of his malignity, and not of truth, so in this severe vituperation of our bishops he acts more from hatred than justice. During "that succession of ages," which elapsed after St. Patrick, most of the bishops were highly eminent for sanctity of life, for the abundant graces with which they were favored by God, and the almost infinite number of miracles worked by them, both during their life and after their death. "In the days of St. Patrick, and for many years after, under his successors, no person was ever raised to the episcopacy or received the cure of souls until some previous divine revelation, or evident sign, had attested his worthiness. St. Patrick consecrated, with his own hands, 350 bishops."[o] Is it pos-

number of bishops said to be consecrated by him will not appear extraordinary; for, if there were as many episcopal sees in each of the other provinces as in the ancient Meath, the total for Ireland would be eighty sees. Four deaths annually would not be too high an average on such a number, that is 200 deaths in fifty years, which added to the number of

S. Patricio episcopali ordine initiatos, vel officii episcopalis ignorantiâ, vel administrandi torpore captos fuisse? certè qui ex illis sanctitate claruerunt si officii sui minus benè præstiti maculâ inficerentur, nullâ ratione cœlis quo nihil iniquinatum ingreditur exciperentur. Ut cum vitæ sanctimoniâ, eo temporis decursu, claros fuisse quam plurimos plurium exploratæ fidei scriptorum testimonio constet, omnis eos vitii penitus expertes, ac proinde non tam fœde lapsos fuisse oportuit, ut à pravis gregum suorum moribus aspere carpendis abstinuerint aut suis concionandi beneficium subtraxerint. qui peregrinas gentes per varias Europæ regiones, fide, ac pietate imbuerunt. Viri enim in sacris literis assidue volvendis unice versati, nescire non poterant præcipuas episcopalis officii partes in eo sitas esse,[69] ut obnoxiis sibi populis S. Paulo præcipiente "prædicent verbum," eosque "arguant et increpent." Annon ex eodem didicerunt eum "qui præest" non modica populi sui "sollicitudine" teneri debere?[70] Et ille idem: "Væ mihi" inquit "si non Evangelizavero."[71] Ac de episcopis Hebræos alloquens illi ait: "Præpositi pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri."[72] Nec aliud quippiam in narrationibus de sanctorum Hiberniæ vita institutis frequentius occurrit,[73] quam eos sacris literis ediscendis sedulam operam navasse. Sic "S. Fortcherni Roscurense, sive Kilforchernense cœnobium velut ad sanctitatis, et sapientiæ Gymnasium plures pietate posteà, et doctrina illustres, in literarum virtutumque studiis educandi confluxerunt, inter quos, discipulum habere meruit S. Finnanum." S.

[69] 2 Tim. 4. [70] Ad. Rom. 12. [71] I Cor. 9. [72] Ad Heb. 13. [73] Colg. 17, Febr. c. 7.

first bishops for each see, would give nearly 300 bishops, not taking into account those who died in the first ten years of St. Patrick's mission. The precise number of bishops, however, consecrated by St. Patrick was manifestly not known to the most ancient authorities, some making it 350, others 550, and others 700. See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 493. Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities, p. 123. Ireland would admit of 94 sees as large as Ross, 147 as large as Kilfenora, and 160 as large as Kilmacduagh, ibid.: were the ancient Irish sees ordinarily as small as these, the 350 bishops said to have been consecrated by St. Patrick could easily be accounted for, without including among them the chorepiscopi.

sible that bishops, who were either called manifestly by heaven, or received episcopal consecration from St. Patrick, were either ignorant of the duties of a bishop, or slothful in discharging them? those, amongst them, who were celebrated for sanctity, could never enter heaven (into which nothing defiled can enter) had they been defiled with the guilt of not having faithfully discharged their duty. Now, as it appears on the evidence of many authors of undoubted authority, that very many of them had acquired the reputation of saints, they must have been entirely free from vice, and therefore could not have fallen into so shameful an excess as to abstain from reproving severely the wicked morals of their people, or deny to their own countrymen that ministry of the word which they dispensed so liberally to foreigners, and with such advantage to the faith and piety of various countries in Europe.[p] Men, who devoted their lives exclusively to meditation on the inspired writings, could not be ignorant that the most essential duty of a bishop was obedience to the mandate of St. Paul—"to preach the word" to the flock entrusted to their charge—"to reprove and rebuke them." From the same authority could they not learn, that he "that ruleth" ought to have a great carefulness for the people? Again, he says, "wo unto me if I preach not the gospel;" and addressing the bishops in his epistle to the Hebrews, he says, "your prelates—watch as being to render an account of your souls." In the lives of Irish saints nothing is more common than details of their unremitting studies of the sacred writings. Thus "the monastery of St. Fortchern at *Roscurense,* or Killfortchern,[q] was a general mart of sanctity and learning, whither great numbers flocked to be educated in piety and erudition; very many of

[p] Moore supposes that the main cause of the emigration of these holy and learned Irishmen was the convulsed state of the country; but was that the cause of the influx of strangers to Ireland for instruction? It must be remembered that an immigration, as well as an emigration, must be accounted for; and both were influenced by the same spiritual principle.

[q] A saint of this name is mentioned among the family of St. Patrick by the Four Masters, A.D. 448. His festival was kept in two churches, one at Ath-truim (Trim), and another called Killfortchern, in the the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow. O'Donovan, ibid. Dr. Lanigan is of opinion that there were two Fortcherns. Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 428, 466.

Keranus Sagriensis "in divinis literis et scripturis in sancta schola S. Finnani Clonardensis, (qui ut Pantenus Alexandriæ, ita ille Clonaracdiæ gymnasium literarum instituit) legebat."[74] Et S. Keranus Clonmacnosensis ibidem "scripturas legebat," qui cum pervenisset ad illa Mathæi verba, "Omnia quæ vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis,"[75] præceptori dixit, "Pater, sufficit mihi hoc dimidium libri quod legi ut opere compleam,[76] et vere sufficit mihi ad docendum hæc sola sententia." S. Columba quoque Tirdaglassensis ad eundem S. Finnanum, ut "sacram scripturam addisceret accessisse" scribitur.[77] S. Molassius etiam "divinam paginam sub magisterio S. Finnani studiose [327] didicit." Præterea "in schola S. Finnani viri sapientissimi | multitudo sanctorum Hiberniæ divinitatem scrutabantur."[78] Denique "S. Columba de cellis apud S. Finbarrum seu Finnanum episcopum adhuc juvenis sapientiam sacræ scripturæ addiscebat."

Quid multis? ad hoc S. Finnani gymnasium tanquam ad omnis literaturæ, et disciplinæ sanctioris emporium undique concursus factus est,[79] "ut trium virorum millium doctor" extitisse dicatur.[80] Nec solus Finnanus ad alios literis imbuendos animum adjecit, nam ad S. Ibarum (quem S. Yvorum Cambrensis appellat, et satis tenui prædicatione prosequitur) "Ex omnibus Hiberniæ partibus, gratia discendarum literarum sacrarum,[81] aliarumque artium liberalium confluebat magna multitudo clericorum, monachorum, et aliorum in famosissimo quondam, et sanctissimo monasterio suo quod Begerin, id est parva Hibernia vocatur, et situm est ad Australem partem regionis Hua Censelach, in provincia Lageniæ, in litorali modica insula." Fiechum Sleptensem episcopum è discipulis "sexaginta sanctos ad Deum præmisisse" scribit

[74] Vita S. Kerani. [75] In ejusdem vita, cap. 7. [76] In ejus vita. [77] Ejus vita, cap. 3. [78] Vita S. Molvani. [79] Colg. 23 Febr. [80] Top. d. 3, cap. 32. [81] Usherus de prim. pa. 1062.

[r] A sufficient proof that St. Kiaran was not a bishop before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland. St. Finnean died in the year 548, according to the Four Masters; but the date of St. Kiaran's death is not known.

[s] St. Kiaran's death is recorded A.D. 548.

[t] Now Terryglass, in Lower Ormonde, on the banks of the Shannon,

them afterwards rose to fame as saints and doctors, and one amongst these scholars was St. Finnean." St. Kiaran of Saighir studied the Scriptures and sacred writings in the holy school of St. Finnean at Clua-Iraird,[r] where a great college had been founded like that of Pantenus at Alexandria. St. Kiaran, of Cluain-mic-nois,[s] also studied the Scriptures in the same school; and when he came to those words of St. Matthew, "all things whatsoever you wish that men should do unto you, do you in like manner to them," he said to his professor, "Father, it is enough for me to carry into practice this half of the book which I have read, and that sentence alone is verily enough for me to teach." It is recorded also, "that St. Colum, of Tirdaglas,[t] went to the same Finnean to learn the holy Scriptures." St. Molaisi,[u] too, "diligently studied the sacred page under the care of St. Finnean." "In the school of the same most learned Finnean a host of the saints of Ireland made their sacred studies." It was there, in fine, "under the care of Finnbharr, or bishop Finnean, that St. Colum in his early days imbibed the wisdom of the sacred Scriptures."[v]

Why more? this college of St. Finnean, like a great emporium of all learning and of singular holiness, was so general a point of attraction, that he is said to have had at one period "three thousand scholars." But Finnean was not the only person who devoted himself to the instruction of others. St. Ibhar, who, under the name Yvor, is dismissed by Giraldus in a few sentences, "had from all parts of Ireland a great multitude of clerics, monks, and others, flocking to learn the sacred writings and the other liberal arts, in his once most celebrated and eminently holy monastery, which is called Beag-Eire, or little Ireland; a small island lying near the sea shore, in the province of Leinster, and the southern point of the territory of Ua-Ceinnsealach."[w] Fiach, bishop of Sleibhte, "sent before him to heaven sixty saints his disciples,"

anciently a very important establishment, as appears from the numerous references preserved by the annalists. Its founder, St. Colum Mac Crimhthann, died A.D. 548.

[u] St. Molaisi, founder of Daimh-inis in Loch Eirne, died A.D. 563.

[v] And it is recorded, attended at the death-bed of his preceptor.

[w] In Wexford Harbour. St. Ibhar died A.D. 500.

Jocelinus.[82] Quis numerum inibit aliorum ejus disciplinæ alumnorum qui sanctitate non insigniti, ac ipsi superstites fuerunt? Quid sanctum Nemidium episcopum memorem?[83] "Qui scholarum præclarus magister extitit?" Quid S. Mocteum Lugnadensem episcopum, de quo ejus vitæ scriptor protulit hæc verba: "Ut cæteræ cujus non erat numerus progeniei taceam multitudinem, centum episcopos, trecentosque clericos sive Presbyteros dicitur habuisse discipulos."[84] S. quoque Brendanus Clonfartensis episcopus, "trium millium monachorum pater."[85] Et. S. Congellus: "Tria millia monachorum sub cura sua in diversiis cellis,[86] et monasteriis instituisse traditur."[87] S. Ædus filius Brieci episcopus adolescens cum S. Mundo mansit, literas et scripturas assidue apud eum discens.[88] Ut omittam quæ de Lismorensi schola S. Cathaldi suprà produxi; et academiam Rossailithrensem sileam, "Ubi crevit civitas, in qua semper manet magnum studium scholarum." Quam à S. Fachnano viro sapiente institutam,[89] S. Brendanus "liberalium artium" prælectionibus honestasse dicitur. Quid quod etiam S. Sinchellus episcopus de Killachuidh an. Dom. 548 extinctus "Scholam apperuerit, quæ fuit isto seculo, et scientia, et pietatis commune emporium."[90] Episcopos igitur, aliosque ecclesiasticos, literas ubertim per ea tempora imbibisse, et non magis sanctitate quam doctrinâ conspicuos fuisse constat.

Itaque sicut illorum eruditionis modica indicia exhibuimus,[91] sic etiam qua sanctitate floruerint paucis expediamus. Vetustissimum extat scriptum in lucem non ita pridem ab Ushero editum sanctos Hiberniæ

[82] Vita S. Pat. c. 117. [83] Colg. 6 Jan. [84] Ibid. 24. [85] Matt. c. 7. [86] Idem. 29 Jan. [87] Ejus vita, cap. 13. [88] Usherus de prim. pa. 963. [89] Colg. in S. vita Mochom. 13 Matt. [90] Ind. Chr. Usheri an. 540. [91] Colg. 26 Martii.

[x] In the Queen's County, about a mile to the west of Carlow. St. Fiach was a disciple of St. Patrick; was appointed bishop of Sleibhte, and afterwards archbishop of South Leinster at least. He lived to an advanced age; date of his death uncertain. His festival is October 12. See Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 274, 435.

[y] This is probably Nennidius. There were two saints of that name in the sixth century. See Lanigan, index,

according to Jocelin: but who can tell the number of his disciples who survived him or were not honored as saints ?[x] Need I mention the holy bishop Nemidius,[y] "who was a renowned master in the schools ?" or St. Mochta,[z] bishop of Lughmagh (Louth), of whom his biographer records, "that without including the almost innumerable host of his other disciples, he had instructed one hundred bishops, and three hundred clerics or priests." St. Brendan, bishop of Cluainfearta, "was the father of three thousand monks," and St. Congal "is recorded as having had under his care, in different cells and monasteries, three thousand monks." St. Ædh Mac Bric,[a] a bishop, spent his youth with St. Ilund, in the diligent study of the scriptures and other learning. It is unnecessary to mention the school of Lismor, founded, as I have already said, by St. Cathaldus, or the college of Rossailithre, "around which a city sprang, where, down to the present day, there has been always a great literary establishment." It was instituted originally by St. Fachtnan,[b] a learned man, and afterwards raised to the dignity of a college of the liberal arts by St. Breanainn. To these we might add St. Sincheall, bishop of Killachaidh, who died A.D. 548. "The school over which he presided was, during his age, the common emporium of learning and piety." It is evident, then, that the bishops and other ecclesiastics must have been profoundly versed in literature during those ages, and as eminent for knowledge as for holiness.

But having now produced some few proofs of their learning, let us give a brief notice of their sanctity. There is yet extant a document of very ancient date, lately published by Ussher, in which the Irish

voce Nennidh.

[z] Disciple of St. Patrick. It is doubtful whether he was bishop. He had "sixty psalm-singing seniors," who neither "tilled, nor threshed, nor reaped," but devoted all their time to reading. He died A.D. 534, at a very advanced age. See Four Masters, A.D. 448, 534.

[a] Bishop of Killare, [Cill-Air] in Westmeath; died A.D. 588. The school of St. Ilund was at Rath-Libhthenn in the King's County. See Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 10, 187.

[b] Flourished in the latter half of the sixth century; date of his death uncertain. In the annals there are several notices of his successors in the establishment of Roscarberry.

tribus quasi classibus exhibens, cujus ultimam classem hæc verba claudebant, "Primus ordo erat sanctissimus, secundus sanctus sanctorum, tertius sanctus.[92] Primus sicut sol in fervore claritatis clarescit, secundus sicut luna palescit, tertius sicut aurora clarescit." Instar seculi aurei, argentei, et æneï. Horum autem sanctorum vicissitudinem per plurium Hiberniæ monachorum tempora, post Hibernos vera fide S. Patricii operâ imbutos, ad annum reparatæ salutis 658 durasse idem vetus monumentum prodit.[93] Ego autem Hiberniam, licet non ardentissimâ illâ primorum temporum, memorabili tamen sanctitate, per aliquot secula tempore illo posteriora floruisse contendo. S. enim Patricius animo quadam vice à sensibus avocato, videre sibi visus est Hiberniam totam uno incendio conflagrantem, deindè arduos ex igne montes, altitudine cœlum æquantes;[94] tum lucernas pluribus in locis ardentes; donique insulam totam tenebris obductam, raris tantum carbonibus hinc inde micantibus, et mox angelo indice cognovit primâ illa conflagratione similitudinem conditionis, in qua jam tum Hibernia versabatur, cæteris visionibus pietatis per futurorum temporum vicissitudinem inclinationem exprimi. Quæ res ubi suspiria illi gemitus, ac querelas elicuit, luce mox oriente, tenebras paulatim abigi vidit, quæ per eosdem gradus, quibus sensim decidit, ad priorem splendorem tandem eluctata est. Cum autem authore Jocelino "tempus tenebrarum Hibernici illud autumaverunt quo prius Gurmundus, ac postea Turgesius, Norwegienses principes pagani in Hibernia debellata regnabant."[95] Et horum in Hiberniam appulsum Giraldus in annum 838 referat; necessaria consecutio est, ut prioris sanctimoniæ non tenues [328] rivuli ad illud tempus | à Giraldo assignatum defluxerint.[96] Ut non magis apposite quam verè Colganus dixerit: "Faciem ecclesiæ Hiber-

[92] De prim Eccl. Br. pag. 913. [93] Id. p. 947. [94] Jocelinus, cap. 175. [95] Ibidem. [96] Trias Thaum. p. 301.

[c] Various interpretations have been given at different times of those three periods, so famous in popular tradition. But all agree that a brilliant period was to follow the three; and that it was to last until the end of time. Our national bard has often sung the undying fidelity of the Irish memory to the glories of the past, and its influence in sustaining the national

saints are divided into three classes. At the close of the last class, the following words are found: "The first order was most holy; the second, holy amongst the holy; the third, holy. The first, like the sun, was radiant with all the fervor of charity; the second was as the pale light of the moon; the third like the brightening streaks of the morning." This was not unlike the ages of gold, of silver, and of brass. According to the same ancient document, this varied succession of saints continued during the reigns of several Irish monarchs, subsequent to the conversion of the Irish by St. Patrick, down to the year 658. Now, I undertake to demonstate that Ireland, though fallen from that surpassing fervor of her primitive days, produced, during the following ages, memorable examples of holiness. In one of those ecstatic visions with which St. Patrick was favored, he thought he saw all Ireland enveloped in one brilliant flame; next, he saw large mountains of fire shooting their flames to the skies; then, lamps gleaming in many places; and finally, the whole island enveloped in darkness, save a few sparks glimmering at distant intervals. An angel immediately revealed to him that the first conflagration typified the present state of Ireland, and that the subsequent visions foreshadowed the declension of Irish piety in the vicissitudes of after times. Struck with the revelation the saint sighed and wept, but when the sun rose, he beheld the dark clouds gradually rolling away, and the former splendor bursting on his view by the successive degrees in which it had previously declined. Now as, according to Jocelin, the Irish interpreted the period of darkness,[c] of those years during which the pagan princes of Norway, Gurmund, and after him Turgesius, reigned over conquered Ireland; and as the descent of those princes is referred by Giraldus himself to the year 838, it follows necessarily that no ordinary current of primitive sanctity must have flowed down to that period which he has marked. There was, therefore, much truth and propriety in the words of Colgan, "that

heart in all persecutions: but the hope of a great future, the conviction that the faith of St. Patrick cannot be eradicated, and that it will one day surpass all its former triumphs, has been, perhaps, equally powerful in nerving the patience of the people.

nicæ ab anno Christi 440, usque adannum circiter 840 florentissimam fuisse." Quare falsò Giraldus asserit in Hibernia "fidem ab antiquo fundatam et semper tepidissimam extitisse."[97]. Cum superiori totius Hiberniæ conflagratione ardorem religionis, ac fidei quo incolæ tum inflammabantur, angelus denotari edixerit. Et "intellexerit vir Dei S. Patricius et ore deprompserit in magnitudine ignei ardoris,[98] Christianæ fidei, et dilectionis qua fervebant insulani, devotionem, et zelum religionis." Ut Giraldus humanos antagonistas hactenus nansci solitus, nunc cum angelo è cœlis demisso, et viro cœlitus edocto congrediatur, qui fidem illi hac in re penitus abrogant. Ita ut supervacaneum sit civem suum Jocelinum, aut vetustissimum superioris catalogi scriptorem in subsidium advocare, ad Giraldi scitum evertendum. Licet illi uterque graviter adversetur. Hic enim illum Hibernicæ pietatis ardorem ad annum salutis reparatæ 658, ille ad Danorum in Hiberniam irruptionem protraxit. Adeò ut qui eam religionis præstantiam ad arctius temporis spatium contrahit, ad ducentos saltem annos illam proroget. Ac proinde Giraldum aperti mendacii convincat dicentem: fidem in Hibernia "semper" tepidissimam fuisse.

Hic vero latus mihi campus aperitur ad episcopos sanctitate claros huc producendos. Ut lector intelligat, quos vitæ sanctimonia ornavit, eosdem nulla gravioris delicti, nedum muneris neglecti fœditate conspurcari potuisse. Vix enim facilius est Oceano fluctus quam in "insula sanctorum" quæ plurimis sanctis plena habebatur,[99] stellarum prope numerum sanctorum patrociniis exæquant,[100] sanctissimorum, doctissimorumque virorum officinæ est, et omnibus vicinis gentibus fide præpollet, sanctos episcopos præceptis, et exemplis, facem vulgo suo ad virtutem præferentes reperire. Quanquam vero in causa facili cuivis

[97] Top. d. 3, c. 28. [98] Jocelinus, cap. 175. [99] Joc. c. 174. [100] Marianus Surius, 8 Martii.

[d] But the triumph of Christianity, it will be found, was not so complete as has been commonly supposed. For, though the sword was not unsheathed against it, pagan customs long held their ground in many parts of the country.

[e] And probably deliberate; for he

from the year 440 down to about the year 840 the face of the Irish church was radiant with all the bloom of health."[d] Giraldus has, therefore, falsely asserted "that the faith founded at an ancient date had been always very tepid;" whereas the angel declared that the first general flame throughout Ireland indicated the ardor of the faith and piety of the primitive ages, "for St. Patrick, the man of God, understood and declared to others that the greatness of that brilliant flame was a type of the Christian faith and charity which glowed in the hearts of the islanders, exciting their devotion and zeal for religion." Thus Giraldus, who has hitherto been in antagonism to mortals alone, now contends with an angel sent down from heaven, and a man instructed by heaven; but against such opponents what credit does he deserve? or can it be necessary to cite against him his own countryman, Jocelin, or the author of that very ancient catalogue, both of whom contradict his position in the most decisive terms; the latter extending the epoch of Irish fervor to the year of our Lord 658, and the former to the invasion of the Danes. Thus as the period of great Irish piety extended, according to the lowest computation, to at least two hundred years, Giraldus stands convicted of a most flagrant falsehood,[e] in asserting "that faith had been at all times very cold in Ireland."

Here a wide field presents itself for expatiating on the sanctity of our bishops, whence my readers can infer that those who were famed, for sanctity could not have been guilty of any very grievous crime, and, least of all, of the foul crime of having neglected the duties of their state. It were almost as easy to number the waves of the sea as to number the holy bishops whose precept and example were as beacons to their flocks, "in that island of saints," which abounded with hosts of holy men; whose patron saints[f] were almost as numerous as the stars of heaven; which was the nurse of the most holy and learned men; and surpassed in the fervor of its faith all neighbouring nations. But,

could hardly be ignorant of the benefits conferred on his own Wales and on England by Irish ecclesiastics in many preceding centuries.

[f] Almost every tribe had its patron saint, as well as each province and the whole kingdom.

licet esse diserto: mihi tamen magis hic quam alibi aqua hæret. Quandoquidem piget rem decantatissimam tanquam crambem recoctam lectori apponere, et non magis mihi tædium quam illi fastidium parere. Si enim singulas Hiberniæ diœceses dicendo percurrerem, et episcoporum qui illas administrarunt, nomina huic opellæ insererem, immodica mole opusculum excresceret, et falcem in messem alienam mittere meritò accusarer. Præsertim cum non triginta solum diœceses Hibernia ut modo, sed multo plures olim complexa fuerit.

Itaque contrahendæ rei studio, Armachanorum præsulum, et Hiberniæ primatum album exhibebo, non integrum illum quidem sed eorum duntaxat, qui post S. Patricium, ad Danos Hiberniam aggressos, in ea serie sancti titulum retulerunt. Ut capitis ecclesiæ Hibernicæ conditione proposita, ejus similitudinem membra moribus retulisse nemo non judicet. S. igitur Benignus, S. Patricii successor abiit in cœlum anno post Christum natum 467, S. Hiarlathus 481, S. Cormacus 496, S. Dubtachus 512, S. Ailildus 525, S. Ailildus secundus 535, S. Dubtachus secundus 547, S. David 550, S. Fethlimius 577, S. Kierlanus 587, S. Euchodius 597, S. Maclasrius sive Terenanus 622, S. Tomianus 660, S. Segineus 680, S. Flannius 704, S. Suibhneus 729, S. Congassius 749, S. Ferdachricus 771, S. Torpachus 807, S. Nuadus 810. Ita sanctorum Hiberniæ principatum catenam ad memoratæ caliginis

[g] A work which our author could not accomplish; and which never can be done; the succession in many of the sees being hopelessly unknown, and in many others uncertain.

[h] Four Masters. He was also "Psalmist" of St. Patrick.

[i] Four Masters, Annals of Ulster, &c.

[k] He was nephew of the king of Ireland, Laeghaire. His relics were preserved at Trim, in Meath; his festival was February 17. Thus in his own archiepiscopal see St. Patrick had consecrated three bishops; and if the same number died in the same time in all the other sees founded by them, the great number of bishops said to have been consecrated by him is easily accounted for.

[l] This and the three preceding obits are given in the Four Masters at the year stated. They style Dubhtach II. "abbot" and "saint." The latter is not prefixed to any of the preceding names except Iarlath.

[m] Styled abbot only by the Four Masters, but in other catalogues bishop.

[n] Four Masters; and by them styled

though any man can be eloquent in a plain case, I experience far more difficulty on this than on any other subject; because it is unpleasant to descant upon a threadbare topic, which cannot but be wearisome to the reader as it is irksome to me. For, were I to inspect all the dioceses in Ireland, and insert in this little work the names of all the bishops that governed them,[g] my book would extend to unreasonable limits, and I could be justly charged with putting my sickle in another man's harvest: especially as Ireland contained formerly a far greater number of dioceses than thirty, into which it is now divided.

For brevity's sake, therefore, I will give here a catalogue only of the archbishops of Ardmacha, primates of Ireland, not a complete catalogue, but those only who from the days of St. Patrick to the invasion of the Danes were placed on the calendars of saints. From the state of the head of the Irish church all can safely infer that the members must have resembled it in morals. To commence, then, St. Benignus, successor of St. Patrick, went to heaven in the year of our Lord 467.[h] St. Iarlath in 481;[i] St. Cormac in 496;[k] St. Dubhthach in 512; St. Ailild in 525; St. Ailild the Second in 535; St. Dubhthach the Second in 547;[l] St. David in 550; St. Fedhlimidh in 577;[m] St. Kaerlan in 587;[n] St, Eochoidh in 507;[o] St. Mac Laisre or Tereanan in 622;[p] St. Tomian in 660;[q] St. Segien in 680;[r] St. Flann in 704;[s] St. Suibhne in 729;[t] St. Congas in 749;[u] St. Feardachrich in 771:[v] St. Torpach in 807;[w] St. Nuadha in 810.[x] Here we have a succession of sainted primates[y] of Ireland down to that epoch of darkness But

saint: not given to either of the preceding.

[o] Bishop and abbot. Four Masters.

[p] Bishop and abbot, not saint. Four Masters.

[q] Bishop and saint. Four Masters.

[r] Bishop and saint. Four Masters, A.D. 686. Festival May 24.

[s] Abbot. Four Masters. Bishop in other ancient catalogues.

[t] Bishop. Four Masters.

[u] Bishop and scribe, i.e. learned writer. Four Masters.

[v] Abbot. Four Masters.

[w] Scribe, rector and abbot of Ardmacha. Four Masters.

[x] Bishop, anchorite, and abbot of Ardmacha. Four Masters, A.D. 811 (recte 816).

[y] Not the names of all the bishops down to this period: a point on which Irish authorities do not all agree; and if all those mentioned here were on the Irish calendars as saints, it is strange that the Four Masters prefix that name to some and not to others.

tempora deduximus. Quorum sicut sollicitudo in suo munere obeundo, sic et sanctitas hic non substitit, sed ad posteriorem quoque memoriam protracta est. Artgirius enim primus Momoniam 822, Connaciam 824, incolarum probis ritibus expoliendorum gratiâ peragravit. Beatum Faranannm primatem Armachanum Turgesius ann. 843, vel 848, urbe Armachana occupatâ, una cum omnibus religiosis, et studiosis, sacrisque reliquiis in captivitatem et naves Limbricum adduxit. Moelcova etiam Armachanus archiepiscopus, an. Dom. 876, à Normannis, iterum 870 captus est. Nimirum optimi præsules gregi suo maluerunt captivitatis societate conjungi quam iis in tanto discrimine positis se subducere. [329] Ut nec | quicquam Giraldus oggannierit neminem ex episcopis fuisse "qui se murum pro domo Israel opponeret," Melcovam beatus Mocteus excepit an. Dom. 889 mortuus. Quem in archiepiscopatu secutus S. Kellachus 898, S. Macbrigidus 925. Beatus Dubdaletheus secundus 987, beatus Dubdaletheus tertius 998, S. Moelmurius 1020 mortalem vitam cum immortali commutarunt.

Quanta vero sedulitate suscepto ministerio functi fuerint vel hinc perspici potest, quod præter diœcesis Armachanæ limites, pro usitato episcopis visitandi more, accuratè quotannis obitos, cæteras etiam Hi-

[z] To establish the laws and constitutions of St. Patrick. Yet, from the notices both in the Annals of Ulster and in the Four Masters, it would seem that Artgir usurped the see. He was of the tribe of Oirghialla, the same that afterwards made the see their family inheritance. For the chronological difficulties on the succession the reader is referred to Lanigan and Ware.

[a] According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, A.D. 842, Annals of Ulster, A.D. 844, Four Masters, A.D. 843.

[b] The Four Masters do not record his second captivity. He died A.D. 885. They style him abbot only.

[c] Bishop, anchorite and scribe. Four Masters. But he hardly can have succeeded Maelcobha; for in the year 889 the Four Masters themselves mention Maelbrighdhe as being successor of St. Patrick.

[d] Anchorite and bishop of Ardmacha, but not saint, in the Four Masters.

[e] Saint, successor of St. Patrick, Columkille and Adamnan. Head of the piety of all Ireland, and of the greater part of Europe; died on the 8th of the kalends of March, and was buried on the 8th of the kalends of July. Four Masters, 925. From about this period for 200 years the see of Ardmagha was held by one family.

their solicitude in the discharge of their duties and their reputation as saints were not confined to their own days, but were transmitted to succeeding ages. Thus Artri the First made a visitation of Munster in 822, and of Connacht in 824, to establish approved discipline among their inhabitants.[z] When the city of Ardmacha was taken by Turgesius in 843 or 848, St. Farannan, primate of Ireland, and all his clergy and students, with their sacred relics, were carried off captives to the enemy's ships at Limerick.[a] Maelcobha, also archbishop of Ardmacha, was taken prisoner by the Northmen in 876, and again in 879.[b] These devoted prelates, rather than abandon their flocks in the hour of danger, preferred sharing with them the miseries of captivity. How futile, then, the growling calumny of Giraldus, that among the bishops not one was found "to oppose himself as a wall for the house of Israel." St. Mochta succeeded Maelcobha, and died in 889.[c] To him succeeded St. Keallach in 898,[d] St. Mac Brighid in 925,[e] the blessed Dubhdalethe the Second in 987,[f] the blessed Dubhdalethe the Third in 998,[g] and St. Maelmuire in 1020,[h] all of whom passed to a happy immortality.[i]

An evident proof of the fidelity with which they discharged their duties is, that besides their ordinary annual visitation of the diocese of Ardmacha, according to the rule of all other bishops, they also made ex-

[f] This must be probably an error of the press. Dubhdalethe died A.D. 998, in the eighty-third year of his age. The Four Masters do not style him saint.

[g] Dubhdalethe III succeeded in 1049, and died in 1064. Four Masters.

[h] Head of the clergy of all the north-west of Europe, and flood of the dignity of the western world. Died on the 3rd of June, A. 1020. It was he that brought the remains of Brian Boroimhe to Ardmacha after the battle of Cluaintarbh. In the year 995 "Ardmacha was burned by lightning, both houses, and cloicteach fires, and its fidhneimhidh (sanctuary grove), with destruction. There came not in Ireland since it was discovered, and there never will come to the day of judgment, a vengeance like it." From that time during 130 years the great church was only partly roofed, until it was completed by Celsus in 1125.

[i] Not one of the many national calendars still extant has been published. Assuredly the publication of some of them is most desirable, especially for cases like the present, where ancient authors leave it doubtful whether certain persons were saints or not.

berniæ provincias magnis itineribus creberrimè percurrerint. Nam "sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum" illos pungebat veritos ut "speculatores domui Israel" in Hibernia "dati," populi sanguis de illorum manu "requireretur."[1] In illis itaque peregrinationibus, sacrorum et profanorum hominum mores acrius perscrutati,[2] ad vitia evellenda, et virtutes inserendás naviter incubuerunt. Sic Dermicius Armachanus an. Dom. 835 Connaciam adiit "legis illic S. Patricii stabiliendæ causâ" Nimirum ut ad rectè vivendi normam à S. Patricio institutamamplectendam, et vitæ suæ imitatione referendam incolas adduceret. Moelisa Primas Armachanus Momoniam an. Dom. 1068 peragravit. Donaldus Armachanus an. Dom. 1092 Keneloniam, anno sequenti Momoniam universam accuratè lustravit. Anno autem 1096, de cleri totius Hiberniæ consilio, ea jejunia, et pia opera Hiberniæ incolis injunxit, ut illius imperata hi facientes, gravissima imminentia pericula averterint. Anno deinde 1101 regulum Ulidiæ vinculis, et inimicitia reguli Ailechensis liberavit, ac utrumque icto fœdere conciliavit. Anno proximè secuto, dissidia regum Aquilonaris, et Australis Hiberniæ paceunius anni inter utrumque constitutâ sedavit. Sanctus Celsus an. Dom. 1106, per Ultoniam, et anno sequenti per Momoniam iter habuit, an. Dom. 1111 synodo Usnachensi à quinquaginta episcopis, treecentis Presbyteris, ac tribus ecclesiasticorum millibus frequentatæ præfuit. In qua leges ad clerum, et populum probis institutis informandum idoneæ latæ sunt. Idem an. Dom. 1116 Connaciam secunda vice obiit. Et ad Hiberniam an. Dom. 1126 bellorum tumultibus maximè agitatam pacandam, annum et mensem extra suæ Diœcesis fines egit, negotium tandem ità transigens, ut dissidentes principes ad concordiam; clerum, et populum ad

[1] 2 Corin. 11, c. [2] Ezech. 3. c.

[k] St. Bernard, nevertheless, attributes all the disorders in the Church of Ireland for two hundred years before the time of Celsus to the family which had appropriated to itself the see of Ardmacha. It is remarkable that at least in the annals of the Four Masters the "airchinneach" (Erenagh) seldom appears until the commencement of the tenth century. He was hereditary protector or guardian of the temporalities of the church, The prominence acquired by him in the tenth century arose, no doubt,

tensive journies at other periods through the other provinces of Ireland. Their "solicitude for all the churches"[k] stimulated their zeal: they feared lest, as they had been given "as watchmen to the house of Israel," the blood of the people might be required at their hands. During these visitations they accordingly made diligent inquiry into the conduct of both clergy and laity, and zealously endeavoured to eradicate vice and foster virtue. Thus Diarmaid, of Ardmacha, visited Connacht in 835, to establish there the law of St. Patrick—that is, to induce the inhabitants to embrace the pure rules of morality introduced by St. Patrick, and to imitate his example. Maelisa, primate of Ardmacha, visited Munster in 1068. Domhnal, of Ardmacha, made a searching visitation of Kineloghain in 1092, and of all Munster in the next year. In 1096, with the consent of the Irish clergy, he enjoined certain fasts and pious works on the people of Ireland, by observing which they were saved from very grievous calamities that were impending over them. In the year 1101 he induced the king of Aileach to liberate the king of Ulidia, and to forget their enmity and unite in a common league. In the following year he reconciled the differences of the kings of North and South Ireland, and made them bind themselves by a treaty to one year's peace. In the year 1106 St. Celsus made a journey through Ulster, and another through Munster in the following year. He presided in 1111 in the synod of Uisneach, which was attended by fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand ecclesiastics; and where salutary laws were enacted for the reformation of the morals of clergy and people. In 1116 he made a second visitation of Connacht, and when Ireland was a scene of universal war in 1126, he spent a year and a month out of his diocese, laboring, and with signal success, to restore harmony among the contending princes, and to advance his people in the ways of perfection.

from the same causes that kept Ardmacha in the same family; that is, the usurpation of the see by those who were originally only its protectors—a disorder then very general throughout Europe. The "airchinneach" is clearly the same substantially as the "feartighis," which is translated "œconomus" in some versions of the Irish annals. "Œconomus" is the Latin term by which Giraldus designates the lay usurpers of bishoprics and abbacies." See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 80.

præstantiorem disciplinam adduxerit. Anno denique 1128 Connacienses et Momonienses discordiâ divulsos, pacis vinculo conjunxit.

Qui fuerunt in simili opera S. Malachiæ conatus suprà exposui. Quem sicut in archiepiscopatu S. Gelasius decessorem habuit, sic in obeundæ Hiberniæ labore obeundo, ejus vestigiis inhæsit. Nam an. Dom. 1139, itinere per Momoniam ex animi sententiâ perfunctus, alio itinere Connaciam an. Dom. 1149 permensus, utrobique religionis, pietatisque scita propagavit. An. Dom. 1144, discordiam inter Theodoricum Connaciæ, et Murchardum Midiæ regem exortam compescuit. An. Dom. 1148, indictâ synodo disciplinam ecclesiasticam novis legibus sufflaminavit. An. Dom. 1152, ad ecclesiam Hibernicam multo splendore decorandam, non modicam operam contulit. An. Dom. 1162 expoliendæ disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ, et politicæ in numerosa synodo rursus incubuit. Eodem etiam anno, ubi domum concessit, non quieti se, sed tam accuratæ diœcesis suæ lustrationi tradidit, ut anteriora tempora, vix ac ne vix quidem tam accuratam viderint. Maculas enim in cleri, ac populi moribus exortas abstersit, et illos etiam ad decreta in synodis sancita conformare non suasit modo, sed et persuasit. An. Dom. 1165 Hiberniæ, et Ulidiæ reges bello confligentes ad pacem, et concordiam attraxit, an. Dom. 1167, in comitiis publicis, immunitatem non contemnendam ecclesiæ comparavit, an. Dom. 1172 capularis et propè jam effætus Connaciam quarta vice non segniter obivit, et ecclesiarum negotiis ritè peractis, per Ultoniam iter prosecutus, in ea quoque, [330] ut res ecclesiasticæ rectè instituerentur curavit. | Ita ut inaniter in Antistites Hiberniæ Giraldus linguæ aciem strinxerit, ac illos "à tempore S. Patricii, per tot annorum curricula prædicationi, et instructioni, item increpationi et correptioni pro officio viriliter institisse" negaverit, sui se in unius ecclesiæ præsulibus falsi convictum perspicit.

Nec enim attinet alios omnes in medium proferre, cum supremæ sedi se ducem illis in debiti officii viâ præbenti comites se cæteros addidisse dubium non sit.[3] Quorum plurimi improbos non solum exemplis, et hortationibus ut S. Fursæus episcopus "multis annis in Scotia" (id est Hibernia) "verbum Dei omnibus annuntiavit," et ejus collega S. Meldanus episcopus "egregius verbi Dei præco," ac plures alii:[4] sed etiam

[3] Beda, lib. 1, cap. 4. [4] Colg. 7 Febr.

Finally, in the year 1128, he happily made peace between the hostile armies of Munster and Connacht.

St. Mael-maedhog's exertions in a similar cause have been already recorded. Gelasius succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see, and followed also in his footsteps in laboring for the good of Ireland. In the year 1139 he resolved to undertake a journey through Munster and in 1149 he visited Connacht, and propagated in both provinces the maxims of religion and piety. In 1144 he reconciled the conflicting claims of Theodoric of Connacht, and Murchadh, king of Meath. Ecclesiastical discipline received from him a fresh impulse by his canons enacted in a synod in 1148. The year 1152 was spent by him in conferring fresh lustre on the church of Ireland; and in 1162 we find him again presiding in a numerous synod for perfecting reforms in church and state. When he returned home the same year he took no rest, but commenced so searching a visitation of his own diocese, that it would be difficult to conduct one more effectively. Whatever blemishes had arisen in the morals of clergy or people were purged away, and he not only advised but persuaded them to conform their lives to the canons enacted in the synod. In 1165 he made peace and harmony between the kings of Ireland, and the king of Ulidia, who were at war; in 1167 he vindicated and secured in a public assembly the immunities of the church; in 1172, though already very old, and almost worn out, he carefully visited Connacht, a fourth time, and having satisfactorily arranged all ecclesiastical matters, he continued his journey through Ulster, eradicating there also all ecclesiastical abuses. How futile, then, is the malignant charge of Giraldus against the Irish bishops, "that from the days of St. Patrick, through so many successive centuries, they had neglected to preach and to instruct, to reprove and rebuke intrepidly as they were bound in duty." The prelates of a single see give the lie to his assertion.

It cannot be necessary to produce any other prelates, as all must undoubtedly have followed the example of strict fidelity set to them by the metropolitan see. Very many of them (like St. Fursa, a bishop who preached the word of God to all in Ireland during many years, or his colleague St. Meldan, "who was an eminent preacher of the word of God") reformed the wicked by their preaching and example: and

ostentis ad resipiscentiam libidinosos ad castitatem, fures ad pœnitentiam, efferos ad mititatem, blasphemos ad palinodiam, et improbos ad bonam frugem attraxerunt. Ita ut quandoque, vel sceleratis facinorum pœnas meritò dantibus, alii fugienda viderint in alieno malo, visâque alterius culpâ suam emendaverint; vel deterrimi sæpissimè flagitiorum cœno tandem emergentes monachorum cœtui ultrò aggregati, optimi et nonnunquam sanctissimi evaserint.

Quamobrem qui ad malos à sceleribus avellendos prodigia etiam adhibuerunt; quis eosdem suasionibus ad improbos in virtutis callem deducendos usos fuisse inficiabitur? faciliorem enim rei perficiendæ rationem eum in promptu habuisse necesse est, qui per ardua rem assecutus est.

Telam calumniarum quam in episcopos Giraldus exorsus est, adhuc texere pergit dicens:[5] "Non inventus est, qui ecclesiæ surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cruentaret: non fuit qui faceret hoc bonum, non fuit usque ad unum." Parum faustè sacram paginam in profanos, et alienos sensus non raro Giraldus torquet.[6] Ut videatur, "Dare sanctum canibus et margaritas ante porcos mittere," qui sacratiores voces ad calumnias adhibet. Quibus vel ignorantiam suam, vel malevolentiam prodit: ignorantiam si historias non percurrerit; malevolentiam, si quæ in iis maximè obvia sunt, oculos ejus fugerint, aut de industria lectorem ea celaverit, ut fræna sibi ad calumniandum laxius remitteret. In ecclesiæ apud nos aurora, episcopi non se morti subducebant.[7] Divo Patricio Apostolo nostro pluries "insidiæ" tendebantur, sed illas divinitus evasit. Ante quem, "S. Eucharius, S. Eliphi frater episcopalis gratiæ functus honore,[8] palmam martyrii feliciter adeptus est, cujus sorores Menna, Libraria, et Susanna fuerunt. Sicut unius fidei, ita et unius ejusdemque scilicet monachicæ professionis." Duæ saltem postremæ sorores "sanctæ vitæ propositum sanctiore martyrii gloria consummaverunt" in Lotharingia circa salutis annum 360, ubi S. Eucharius "Tullensis episcopus" erat, S. Mansuetum civem suum in eodem episcopatu longo intervallo secutus, in cujus vita scribit Adso:[9] "Ex transmarinis Scotorum finibus" Tullenses "moris erat expetisse

[5] Top. d. 3, cap. 28. [6] Mathæi 1. [7] Jocelinus, c. 44, 45, 120. [8] Usherus de prim. pag. 786, ex Rup. Abbate Tuitiensi. [9] Idem in indice Chron. p. 1086.

[1] There is no account of St. Eucharius in authentic Irish annals.

also by their miracles: the impure repented and were made chaste: robbers became penitents: the brutal were humanized: the blasphemer recanted, and bad men of all kinds were reformed. Thus it sometimes happened, that when the guilty suffered the chastizement due to their crimes, others took warning from the fate of their neighbour, and by observing his faults, corrected their own; very frequently, also, criminals of the deepest die rose from the mire of their iniquities, and, voluntarily embracing the monastic life, became good men, and sometimes eminent saints.

Is it possible that men who even worked miracles to deter others from crime would not use exhortation to bring back the guilty to the paths of virtue? they who attained their object by arduous means, must certainly have had it in their power to employ those means that were more easy. The tissue of calumny manufactured by Giraldus against the bishops is expanded in the following strain: "not one was found to purple with his blood the foundations of the rising church: there was not one to do that good, no not one." Giraldus frequently perverts the words of Scripture to false and profane meanings: he appears "to be casting pearls before swine, and giving holy things to dogs," in making the blessed words the vehicles of his calumnies. But this charge proves either his ignorance or malevolence: ignorance if he did not examine the histories: malevolence, if he either did not see or deliberately suppressed the most palpable facts, in order to give fuller scope to his calumnious propensities. Even in the very dawn of our church, our bishops exposed themselves to danger of death. Plots were often laid against our apostle, St. Patrick, but he escaped them miraculously. Before his time "St. Eucharius, brother of St. Eliphas, was raised to the episcopal dignity, and won the glorious crown of martyrdom. He was brother to Menna, Libraria, and Susanna. Professing the same faith, they also embraced one and the same mode of life, the monastic profession." Of these sisters, the two last "certainly consummated their holy lives by the more holy crown of martyrdom, about the year 360, in Lorraine, where St. Eucharius[1] was bishop of Tulle. Many years before him the same see had been filled by St. Mansuetus, his fellow-countryman, in whose life by Adso, it is recorded "that the people of Tulle had very frequently invited over Scots from beyond

multos." Aliquot autem seculis postea decursis, Dani Hiberniam armis late infestantes, ab hauriendo episcoporum sanguine sibi non temperarunt. Anno enim 839, Dani è Lochech in Lugniam irrumpentes, eam diripuerunt,[10] pluribus episcopis, sacerdotibus, ac viris eruditis ad sua castra in captivitatem abductis, post alios ex iis antea occisos; anno 854 Sodamnaus episcopus Slaniæ â Normannis "Martyrio" affectus est. Dani Dublinienses anno 885 Flannum Moelsachlini filium Hiberniæ regem prælio aggressi, Seargum Crundensi filium Kildariensem episcopum vita spoliarunt. S. Cormacus archiepiscopus Casselliensis martyrum numero adscriptus est. Alii plurimi carnifices domi minimè nacti sanguinis pro Christo effundendi desiderio ardentes, peregrè profecti, laniones immanes offenderunt.[11] Sic septem episcopi S. Fingarem in Britanniam majorem comitati circa Christi annum 450 martyrio nobilitati sunt; S. Livinus nuntio Dubliniensi archiepiscopatui remisso,[12] seculo septimo à sicariis in Belgio,[13] fidem ejus, ac illius disseminandæ ardorem exosis obtruncatus, deinde à Gandavensibus patroni veneratione cultus est. S. Romualdus regalis celsitudinis solium,[14] et pontificalis dignitatis respuens honorem, Machliniam petiit, [331] ibique anno post Christum natum 775 martyrii corona | insignitus est Colmannus episcopus patriam deserens, Viennam Austriæ, religionis Catholicæ propagandæ causâ profectus, illic morte plexus, an. Dom. 1074, martyris nomen assecutus est.[15] S. Kilianus Witzburgensis episcopus dum Orientalis Franciæ incolis divini numinis, et veræ religionis cultum acrius inculcaret, flagitiosorum magnatum odio contracto, martyrum in cœlis consortium, in terris honorem adeptus est.[16] S. Foillano episcopo martyrium an. Dom. 655 passo, Fossenses in Belgio patroni honorem deferunt. An. salutis 697 S. Marinus episcopus in Bavaria exustus martyrio decoratur.[17] S. Tanco Verdensis episcopus an. Dom. 800 martyrio affectus occubuit.[18] S. Isengerus Verdensis etiam episcopus diœcesis suæ incolas religione Catholica imbuens, in eorum offensionem incidit, ac ab iis an. Dom. 824 producereà necatus est. Quem sicut in episcopatu Verdensi, sic in martyrio an. Dom. 828 Kartilla secutus est.[19] Cujus et in episcopatu et martyrio Harruchus,

[10] Annales. [11] S. Anf. [12] Molanus in Mat. [13] SS Belgii 12 Decem. [14] Idem 29 Junii. [15] Surius 13 Octo. [16] Serarius. Colganus 16 Janu. [17] Raderus. [18] Martyr. Angl. 16 Feb. [19] Martyr. Uverden, 23 April.

the seas." Some centuries later, when the Danes invaded Ireland, they had no reverence for the lives of bishops. For in 839 these foreigners, bursting from Lochech into Lugnia, plundered it and carried off many bishops, priests, and learned men captives to their camps, besides murdering many more. In 854 Sodhamna, bishop of Slaine, was martyred by the Danes. In 885 the Danes of Dublin fought a battle against Flann, king of Ireland, son of Moelseachlainn, and murdered Searga, bishop of Killdara, son of Crundan. St. Cormac, archbishop of Caiseal, has been also numbered among the martyrs.[m] Many other Irishmen, who evidently desired to shed their blood for Christ, and had no opportunity of martyrdom at home, sailed for foreign shores, where they fell under the swords of ruthless barbarians. Thus the seven bishops who followed St. Fingar to Great Britain in 450, won the glory of martyrdom. St. Livin, who renounced the archbishopric of Dublin, was martyred in the seventh century in Belgium, by assassins who hated his faith, and his zeal for its propagation; but he was afterwards worshipped as their patron by the people of Ghent.

St. Kilian, bishop of Wurtzburg, having incurred the hatred of the wicked nobles while he was zealously preaching the true God and the Christian religion to the inhabitants of Eastern France, was put to death, and won the martyr's palm in heaven and his honors on earth. St Foilan, bishop, was martyred in 655, and is honored as patron saint by the inhabitants of Fosse, in Belgium. In the year 697 St. Marinus, bishop in Bavaria, was burned to death, and is honored as a martyr. St. Tanco, bishop of Verdun, was martyred in the year 800, St. Isinger, who was also bishop of Verdun, having incurred the enmity of his subjects by his zealous preaching, was martyred by them in 824. He was succeeded in the see of Verdun by Cartilla, who was also martyred in 828. Harruch, or Barruch, also a martyr, was the next occupant of the same see, 830. St. Erlulph, who was in later times

[m] Killed in the battle-field, in a very questionable cause against the kings of Ireland, of Leinster, and of Connacht, A.D. 903. See Four Masters.

seu Barruchus an. Dom. 830 successor extitit. S. autem Erlulphus eundem episcopatum posteà consecutus, post operam incolis fide Catholica excolendis impensam,[20] martyrii palmam ad quam anhelavit obtinuit. S. Joannes Michelburgensis episcopus fidem Christianam in Wandalia impensè propagans, infidelium odia sic in se convertit, ut comprehensum ludibrio primum habuerint,[21] deindè fustibus contuderint, demum pedibus, ac manibus truncatum, lenta morte excruciaverint. S. Cetheus cognomento peregrinus episcopus et martyr in civitate Atternensi sub annum 600.[22] Ut jam in propatulo positum sit à veritate Giraldum toto cœlo aberrasse cum diceret: nullum post hominum memoriam Hibernicum episcopum vitam in fide tuenda posuisse.

Nè vere opprobrium istud tenuius esse videretur, noluit Giraldus multo gravioris opprobrii coronidem illi non addere subjungens: Hibernici episcopi, "Sunt pastores qui non pascere quærunt sed pasci.[23] Sunt prælati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed præesse. Sunt episcopi qui non omen, sed nomen, non onus, sed honorem amplectuntur." Hic non magis uberem se in criminationum varietate suggerendâ ostentat, quam infelicem in capitibus accusationum cudendis ostendit. Nam ille calumniarum cumulus, neque in illorum, neque in superiorum temporum episcopos cadere potest. Plures jam episcopos, ubi occasio adfuit memoravi, quorum cum summâ pietate, aut potius sanctitate tanta vitiorum multitudo copulari non potuit. Quippè nullo unquam societatis vinculo, virtutes ac flagitia connecti valuerunt.

Quarè cum episcoporum omnium omnibus virtutum numeris absolutorum non minus fastidiosa, quam inanis enumeratio futura esset. In quatuor archiepiscopis, qui tum, aut paulo secus, Hiberniæ præsidebant, cum eam armis infestare primum Angli cœperant, orationis cursum tantisper sistamus. Sicut enim qui parent ad imperantium vivendi rationem se plerumque accommodant: sic cæteros Hiberniæ Antistites ad suorum metropolitanorum mores suos affinxisse probabilis conjectura est.

Quod si in rebus ob oculos Giraldo positis, veritas illum defecisse deprehendatur, quis in narrationibus ab ipsius memoria remotis,

[20] Martyr Anglicum, 15 Julii. [21] Cranzius in Uvandalia. [22] Colganus, 3 Martii, p. 540, num. 34. [23] Top. d. 3, c. 28.

bishop of the same, and devoted his life to the propagation of the faith among the inhabitants, at length obtained the wished-for crown of martyrdom. St. John, bishop of Mecklenburg, after having zealously preached the faith in Vandalia, was assailed by the infuriated hatred of the pagans, who first seized and exposed him to all sorts of indignities, then beat him with clubs, and at last cut off his hands and feet, and left him to die by a lingering death. St. Cetho, surnamed the pilgrim, was a bishop and martyr in the town of Atterne about the year 600. These facts are a triumphant refutation of the outrageous falsehood of Giraldus, that there was no record of any Irish bishop laying down his life in defence of the faith.[n]

Lest that calumny should not be black enough, Giraldus was not content without adding another of much more malignant hue. The Irish bishops," he says, "are shepherds, whose object is to be fed, not to feed. They are prelates who seek to sway, not to serve; they are bishops who love the title, not the thing; the dignity, not the duty." But here he is as unhappy in forging the points as he is futile in devising the vanity of his accusations. For this heap of calumnies applies neither to the bishops then living, nor to their predecessors. As my occasion required, I have already mentioned many bishops whose great piety, I should rather say sanctity, is utterly irreconcileable with such hideous vices. There is not, there never can be any bond of union between virtues and vices.

But as a catalogue of all the bishops who were eminent for all the virtues would be as tedious as it is unnecessary, let us consider for a moment the character of the four archbishops who governed Ireland during or immediately preceding the armed ravages of the English in the country. For, as the subject generally conforms to the example of his ruler, it is fair to infer that the other bishops of Ireland modelled their lives on the conduct of their archbishops.

Now, if in matters of which he was an eye-witness Giraldus is convicted of falsehood, what reliance, I ask, can be placed on his narra-

[n] Nearly all these martyrs have been already noticed briefly by our author. See vol. ii. of this work and index.

veritatem illum attigisse sperabit? Primum igitur quatuor illi tum archiepiscopi Gelasius Armachanus, Gregorius Dubliniensis, Donatus Cassellienisis, et Edanus Tuamensis non essent, summi pontificis jussu à Cardinali Papirone, aut archiepiscopatus dignitate, aut pallii honore insigniti, si tam in officio præstando vecordes, de populi salute tam parum solliciti essent, ac de cute suâ tantum curandâ tam anxiè laborarent. Porrò ut quantum à vecordia singuli abfuerint paucis doceam. S. Gelasium qui ad Giraldi tempora vitam produxit, ipsius Giraldi verba jam à me producta laudibus attollunt. Quantum vero in suis probitate morum expoliendis desudaverit, non ita pridem exposui.[24] In Gregorii factis enarrandis, non est cur multum immorer? cum infestationis Anglicæ initia non viderit, utpotè vita functus an. Dom. 1161. Eum [332] tamen chronica nostra, "virum prudentem, | et linguarum peritia præstantem" appellant, qui si singulari aliquâ præstantiâ insignis non esset, et regis Hiberniæ, et Dubliniensium, et Henrici primi regis Angliæ literis ac sollicitatione[25] episcopali charactere initiari non expeteretur. De S. Laurentio Gregorii successore, supra passim egi, cujus actis Giraldi dicta mendacii disertè coarguntur. Tantum enim abest, ut ille "præesse," aut "nomen episcopi, honoremvè" ambiverit, ut potius episcopatum "Glindalacensem" sedulò delatum, constantissimè detrectaverit,[26] et "minister potius, quam prælatus fuerit."[27] Imo archiepiscopatum ipsum Dubliniensem "valdè invitus, denique renitens, et in ipso honore onus pensitans," amplexus est.[28] Ita ut scriptor ejus vitæ Giraldi calumniam conceptis verbis everterit, cum hic dicat nostrates episcopos, "honorem non onus amplecti;" Ille S. Laurentium majorem oneris quam honoris habuisse rationem.[29] "Nam in omnibus quibus posset, popularem excitare favorem, cautè se gerebat, inanem gloriam et lupinam hypocrisim tanquam pestem evitans." Sciscitaberis fortasse si sanctus Laurentius "pascere quæsierit an pasci?" Certè suis non solum salutis monita, sed etiam corporis escam largè submi-

[24] Warræus de præf. Dubl. page 6. [25] Usherus in syllog. Ep. 40, 41. [26] Vitæ, c. 6, [27] Ibidem. [28] Ib. c. 10. [29] Ibid. c. 4.

° Which simply recite the fact of his election by the Dullow clergy, and

tives of events anterior to his own day? In the first place, those four archbishops, Gelasius of Ardmacha, Gregorius of Dublin, Donnchadh of Caiseal, and Edan of Tuam, would not have been raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, nor have received the pallium from Cardinal Paparo, by order of the pope, if they had been so negligent in discharging their duty, so reckless of the salvation of their people, so exclusively devoted to their own selfish interests. But to show in detail how little any of them deserves this vituperation, I say that Giraldus himself gives the highest attestation to the character of his contemporary Gelasius; I have already cited his words. I have also given abundant proofs of the zeal of this prelate in reforming the morals of his subjects. It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the life of Gregorius, as he did not live to witness the English invasion. He died in 1161. Our chronicles describe him as "a prudent man, and a great linguist." Had he not been eminent for some great virtues, he would not have been invited both by the king of Ireland and the Dublinians, and the letters of Henry I., king of England,[o] to accept the honors of the episcopacy. I have already spoken of St. Lorcan, the successor of Gregorius. His acts convict Giraldus of flagrant falsehoods. So far from wishing "to domineer," or courting "the name" and "honor" of the episcopacy, that, on the contrary, he constantly declined the see of Gleanndalocha. which was pressed on him, and preferred to obey, rather than to rule. It was even much against his will that he accepted the archbishopric of Dublin: he resisted long, because he believed that the dignity itself was a burden. The writer of his life, therefore, directly contradicts Giraldus. The latter asserts that our bishops "courted the dignity, not the duties;" while, according to the former, "St. Lorcan took more into account the duties than the dignity; for, by every means in his power, he cautiously avoided attracting the favorable notice of the people, and abominated vain glory and wolfish hypocrisy as a plague." You will ask whether St. Lorcan desired rather to feast than to feed? But, as I have proved already, it was not the food of eternal life alone,

order the archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him. Sylloge. Epist. p. 105. See also vol. ii. p. 784, supra, note 6.

nistravit, ut supra fuse docui. Imo cum "divitiæ ejus, licet plurimæ, benignitatis, et charitatis ejus sumptui non responderent, thesaurum patris sui, quem custodiendum acceperat; pauperibus totum distribuit, et quæcunque invenire poterant manus ejus, multifariis charitatis officiis liberaliter dispergendo, per manus indigentium in cœlos transmisit."[30] Quid quod Dublinio capto, et direpto, "Beatus Laurentius instar Jeremiæ testis extiterit stragis populi sui; ubi et multis affectus injuriis, rebus eorum defensis, et munitis, morti se pro illis exponere neutiquam formidavit;[31] corpora etiam cæsorum, pius pastor inter manus hostium adhuc palpitantia rapiebat, et velut alter Tobias festinabat Christianæ tradere sepulturæ. Si quos autem post stragem invenit superstites, quibus poterat facultatibus iis succurrebat." Videmus quam multum de grege, nunc quam parum de se pascendo laborabat videamus. Pauld post initum archiepiscopatum "à carnibus semper abstinuit, sexta feria solo pane vescebatur, et aqua, et frequenter nec panem sumebat illo die, nec aliquid refectionis corporalis.[32] Sæpe etiam panem lixivio mixtum solebat edere."[33] Quadragesimale vero tempus in remoto recessu abditus transegit, ibique suo "corpori ter tantum in hebdomada panem et aquam, interdum etiam olus præbebat."[34] Sanè "dives et pauper ab eo acceperunt non solum temporale subsidium, sed et consilium spirituale. Sic enim decebat pastorem bonum pascere gregem suum." Itaque unius S. Laurentii vita machinam illam probrorum quam Giraldus molitus est funditus labefactare valet, qui "pascere" non "pasci; prodesse," non præesse quæsivit, et episcopi potius "Onus" quam "honorem" amplexus est. Ità ut obstruatur Giraldi os "iniqua" de illo in omnium episcoporum Hiberniæ persona "loquentis,[35] cum nihil haberet mali de illo dicere."

Donatum O'Lonorgan, aliis Donaldum archiepiscopum Casseliensem cumulatè commendatum existimo, quod honorem pallii tam ardenter, duobus itineribus Romam susceptis, à S. Malachia expetiti, Cardinalis ad Hiberniam datâ operâ summi pontificis jussu accedens illi detulerit. Prætereà, "Vir erat tam ob eruditionem,[36] quam ob liberalitatem, præsertim erga egenos celebratus," et qui in "senectute bona quievit."

[30] Ibid. c. 5. [31] Ib. c. 18. [32] Ib. c. 13. [33] Ib. c. 17. [34] Ib. c. 14. [35] Ib. c 10. [36] Warræus de præs. Cassel. p. 4.

but their corporal nourishment also that he liberally dispensed to them. Nay, when "his revenues, though very great, were exhausted by his charity and munificence, he distributed to the poor all the treasure which his father entrusted to his care: everything that he could lay his hands on was liberally dispensed in the multifarious duties of charity, and sent before him to the throne of God, through the hands of the poor." After the capture and pillage of Dublin, "St. Lorcan, like Jeremias, witnessed with his eyes the massacre of his flock: but he braved a thousand injuries, and nobly exposed himself to death to protect and save their property. The pious pastor snatched the yet palpitating bodies of his slaughtered children from the hand of the enemy, and, like another Tobias, hastened to give them Christian burial. To those who survived the massacre he gave all the relief in his power." This is not the portrait of a pastor who desired only to feast himself, and to neglect his flock. Almost immediately after his elevation to the archiepiscopal see, "he renounced the use of flesh meat, fasted every Friday on bread and water, and often took neither bread nor any other corporal food on that day. Moreover, his food was frequently bread, mixed with soda. But during the fast of Lent he retired to some secluded retreat, and "there allowed himself only bread and water three days in the week, and sometimes herbs." Verily "the rich and the poor received from him not only temporal aid, but spiritual advice. For thus it becometh the good shepherd to feed his flock." The life of St. Lorcan alone is, therefore, a complete refutation of that labored tissue of Giraldus's calumny: for that holy prelate wished to feed not to God; to serve not to sway: it was the duties not the dignity of the episcopacy that occupied his thoughts, and thus is the mouth of Giraldus stopped, who spoke evil things of him in the person of all the Irish bishops, "though there was nothing evil that could be said of him."

Donnchadh O'Lonorgan, or as he is called by others, Domhnall, archbishop of Caiseal, has what I believe to be a fame attested by the best authority, namely, the cardinal from whom he received the pallium, and who had been sent by the pope expressly for that purpose, after St. Mael-maedhog had twice visited Rome to solicit that honor for Ireland. Moreover, "he was a man highly distinguished for learning and libe-

Quod si vel aperto, vel occulte vitio illum, aut alium quempiam episcoporum laborasse Giraldus comperisset, illud profecto scriptis prædicare non dubitasset; aucupi similis in avium globum tela conjicienti, quæ aërem tantum irrito ictu verberant, quod in unam earum aliquam illa non collimaverit. Sic ille cum in episcoporum nullo nævum vel eminus prospexerit, cæcâ quadam calumniandi rabie correptus, omnes convitiorum nimbo conatu inani, vulnerare tentavit. Id sanè Donati laudibus annumerandum est, quod in Concilio Casselliensi tertias saltem retulerit,[37] et quod ex omnibus Hiberniæ episcopis, soli quatuor ejus suffraganei duos archiepiscopos Dubliniensem, et Tuamensem, ad Concilium Lateranense an. Dom. 1179 comitati fuerint, quos sicut ille dignitate, ac potestate, sic etiam dotibus in Antistitem cadentibus superasse censendus est.

Hujus vero Donati anno Domini 1182 mortui successorem Mauri-[333]tium | colloquiis et consuetudine Giraldo motissimum ipse "virum literarum et discretum" appellat.[38] Quæ censura Mauritium probris quibus superiores episcopos Giraldus laceravit liberat. Nec Mauritii successorem Mathæum O'Hanii episcopis hiscè Giraldi convitio impetitis adscribi patitur ejusdem Mathæi Elogium literis pridem consignatum,[39] in quibus fuisse dicitur "totius Hiberniæ legatus, et vir præ cæteris Hiberniensibus sapientissimus, post multarum ecclesiarum fundationem, post victoriam de antiquo hoste in multis miraculis habitam, in monasterio de Sancta Cruce, spontanea voluntate, universa pompa seculi spretâ 1206 felicissimè quievit.

Porrò præter illa jam memorata collegarum encomia, illud in Edano O'Hoisin archiepiscopo Tuamensi singulare habetur: quod annales nostri pietatis, hospitalitatis, et castitatis, in tota Leithcunnia, illum anno salutis 1161 morientem, palmam retulisse deprædicent. Et quod in synodo, quam ille an. Dom. 1158 Roscomaniæ indixit, "multa bona decreta sunt."[40] Ut omnes officii sui numeros expleverit, qui "hospitalem, benignum, sobrium, justum, et continentem" se præbuerit. Cujus successor Catholicus O'Dubhaii, "Vir gravis, et (ut illa ferebant tem-

[37] Notæ Picardi in Newbrig. [38] Top. d. 3, cap. 32. [39] Warræus de præs. Cassell. p. 6. [40] Idem in præsul. Tuamens. p. 35.

rality, especially towards the poor. He died in a good old age." If Giraldus had known that he or any other bishop was guilty of any public or secret crime, most certainly he would have recorded it: but now he is like the fowler that discharges his random shot among a flock of birds, but spends his vain fury on the empty air, and does not graze even one of them. Even so this man, not being able to fix his eye upon a single fault in any of the bishops, is suddenly possessed by the blind spirit of calumny, and vainly attempts to overwhelm all under the hail of his invective. It should be mentioned to the credit of Donnchadh, that he held the third place at least in the council of Caiseal, and that of all the Irish bishops four only of his suffragans accompanied the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam to the council of Lateran in 1179;[*] and as he was superior to his suffragans in dignity and authority, we may infer that he was superior to them in the virtues of his state.

On the death of Donnchadh in 1182, he was succeeded by Maurice, with whom Giraldus himself was familiarly acquainted, and whom he describes as "a prudent and learned man." This character, of course, vindicates Maurice from the charges made against the preceding prelates. Math-ghamhain O'-h-Einne successor of Maurice, also stands acquitted of the envenomed calumnies of Giraldus against these bishops, for his character has been already recorded in glowing colors "as the legate of all Ireland, and the wisest man of all the Irish." After founding many churches and triumphing over the old enemy by many miracles, he voluntarily renounced all the pomps of the world, and retiring to the monastery of Holycross, died a most happy death in 1206.

Of Ædan O'h-Oisin, archbishop of Tuam, it can be said, that besides the eulogy already given to his colleagues, our annalists, recording his death at the year 1161, state that in piety, hospitality and chastity, he bore away the palm from all Leath Chuinn, and that in a synod held at Roscomain in the year 1158 "he enacted many useful canons." Thus there was nothing wanting to his glory, for "he was hospitable, kind, sober, just, and chaste." His successor, Catholicus O'Dubhthaigh, [Kyley O'Duffy,] "was a respectable man, and versed in all the

[*] The bishops of Kill-da-lua, Waterford, Limerick, and Lismor. According to other accounts one or two more Irish bishops were present at that council.

pora) eruditus," pacta illa inter Henricum secundum Angliæ,[41] et Rothericum Hiberniæ regem inita, et ab Hovedeno literis consignata transegit, et S. Laurentio Dubliniensi archiepiscopo Romam ad generale Concilium an. Dom. 1179 proficiscendi comes,[42] ac socius additus est. Qui tot laboribus pro patria, et grege etiam peregrè oblitis "prodesse" potius quam "præesse," pascere quam "pasci," onus episcopi, quam "honorem" amplecti maluisse dicendus est.

Sed extrà hos archiepiscopos abeamus, et orationem paulò latius excurrere patiamur, tantum quoad longissimè potest mens Giraldi respicere spatium præteriti temporis. Et planè perspiciemus episcoporum tantillo temporis intervallo morientium vitâ ignominiam à Giraldo irrogatam episcopis omnibus qui post S. Patricium in cœlos elatum, in Hiberniâ extiterunt abstersam fuisse. S. Malachias quatuor tantum annos supra viginti, ante Hiberniam ab Anglis aditam, hanc vitam æterna mutavit. Qui quomodò Hibernis profuit, potius quam præfuit satis uberè pro institutâ brevitate, jam exposui. Non committam tamen ut silentio prætercam summam ejus de una ove amissâ sollicitudinem. Ut indè liqueat, quantum de universo grege laboravit.[43] "Fuit quidam clericus," (inquit S. Bernardus) "in Lismor, probabiles ut fertur vitæ sed fidei non ita. Is sciolus in oculis suis, præsumpsit dicere in eucharistia esse tantum modo sacramentum, et non rem sacramenti, id est solam sanctificationem, et non corporis veritatem. Super quo à Malachia secretò et sæpe conventus, sed incassum vocatus in medium est, seorsum tamen à laicis, ut si fieri possit saneretur, et non confunderetur. Itaque in conventu clericorum data facultas homini est pro sua sententia respondendi. Cumque totis ingenii viribus (quo non mediocriter callebat) asserere, et defendere conaretur errorem, Malachia contra disputante, et convincente, judicio omnium superatus, de conventu confusus quidem exiit, sed non correctus: mæstus Malachias pro homine sic indurato, sed magis fidei dolens injuriam, timens periculum, ecclesiam convocat, errantem publicè arguit, publicè monet ut resipiscat, suadentibus hoc ipsum episcopis, et universo clero." Cum

[41] 1 Tit. 1. [42] Waræus ubi supra, page 6. [43] Vita S. Malach.

literature of his age." Through his mediation the treaty recorded in Hoveden was made between Ruaidhre O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, and Henry II. of England, and he was also selected to accompany St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, to the general council held at Rome in 1179. A prelate, who undertook such labors both at home and abroad, for his country and his flock, could hardly have wished "to sway" rather than "to serve," or to attach more importance to "dignity" than to "the duties" of a bishop.

But passing now from these bishops, let us extend our researches to a period as far back as could possibly be included under the denunciation of Giraldus. This examination will furnish us, in the lives of Irish bishops living almost at the same time, a triumphant refutation of the calumnies of Giraldus against all Irish bishops from the days of St. Patrick. Twenty-four years before the arrival of the English in Ireland, St. Mael-maedhog passed from this earth to his everlasting crown. I have already shown, in as full detail as was consistent with the brevity of my plan, the beneficial influence of his ministry in Ireland. But I cannot pass over in silence an example of his extraordinary solicitude even for one lost sheep. It will teach us how he must have labored for the whole flock. "There was a certain cleric," says St. Bernard, "a man of fair morals, it was said, but not of sound faith. He, a sciolist in his own eyes, presumed to say that in the Eucharist there was only a sacrament, but not the substance of the sacrament; that is, that there was sanctification only, but not the true body. Mael-maedhog had many private conferences with him on the matter, but in vain: he was then cited in public, but not before the laity, that if possible he might be reclaimed without being exposed to public obloquy. A council of clerics was held, where the man had full liberty to explain his sentiments. He asserted and defended his error with all his talent (which was by no means contemptible), but Mael-maedhog answered, and by the unanimous decision of the assembly, refuted him. The man withdrew confounded but not corrected. Mael-maedhog, grieving for such obstinacy, but still more for the injury done to the faith, and dreading the progress of the evil, summoned a council, reproved the defender of error, admonished him publicly to repent, which was recommended also by the other bishops and by the whole clergy." But as the obstinate man

non acquiesceret contumaci anathema indicunt, hæreticum pronuntiantes. Nec sic evigilavit. Tandem "fugam meditatur," et in via, "subita correptus infirmitate, insano quodam adjuvante, domum revertitur, insano dicente infirmitatem istam haud aliam quam ipsam mortem esse. Hoc autem non dixit à semetipso, sed pulchrè Dominus per insanum corripuit eum, qui sanis acquiescere noluit consiliis sensatorum." Denique clericus "ille revertitur in civitatem, redit ad cor, et ad misericordiam Domini. Eadem hora accitur episcopus, agnoscitur veritas, abjicitur error, confessus reatum absolvitur, petit viaticum, datur reconciliatio, et uno pene momento, perfidia ore abdicatur, et morte diluitur."[44] Ut Malachias vel hinc cernatur Evangelistæ consilium adamussim explevisse dicentis: "Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade, et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum. Si te non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum, vel duos. Quod si non audierit eos: dic ecclesiæ. Si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut Ethnicus, et publicanus." Sed quantum [334] magis profuit Malachias quam præfuit, è S. Bernardo | accipe dicente: "Votæ piorum Malachiam suadebant subire onus." Archiepiscopatus Armachani, "Sed ille omne sublime haud secus quam suum præcipitium declinabat.[45] Instabant tam sancto operi, et sollicitabant omnes, duo potissimum episcopi, Malchus Lismorensis, et Gilbertus legatus apostolicus, qui convocatis episcopis, et principibus terræ, uno spiritu adeunt Malachiam parati vim facere, at ille renuere; verum illis è contra instantibus, sed et tota authoritate jubentibus subire onus, atque intentantibus anathema." Tandem reluctans acquievit. Ita ut jam quivis ferre sententiam possit, si Malachias "non prodesse cupivit, sed præesse." Imo quæ subjungo è S. Bernardo illam Giraldi arietem è calumniis in omnes Hiberniæ post S. Patricium cœlitibus aditum episcopos conflatam prosternunt: "Apud quos moram facere" Malachiæ "libuisset, illorum se conformabat moribus, et observantiis, communi contentus vitâ et mensâ: non fuit in victu, non fuit in vestitu, in quo

[44] Mathæi 18. [45] Cap. 7.

would not yield, they anathematized and pronounced him a heretic. Even this did not awake him from his error. At last "he resolved to fly, but being seized with a sudden illness on the road, he returned home with the help of an idiot, who told him that this sickness was death itself. Now, it was not from himself the idiot said this, but the Lord beautifully made use of an idiot to reprove one who disdained to listen to the prudent advice of sensible men." In fine, "the cleric returned to the town, threw himself on his own reflections and on the mercy of God. The bishop is immediately called in: the truth is professed: error is renounced: guilt confessed and absolved: he asks the viaticum: the pledge of reconciliation is given, and almost at the same moment the treacherous error is abjured with the lips, and is destroyed by death." Here it is evident that St. Mael-maedhog fulfilled to the letter the injunctions of the Gospel. "If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him, between him and thee alone. If he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, and if he will not hear them, tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and publican." But St. Bernard tells us that St. Mael-maedhog was much more sensible to the duties than to the dignity of a bishop. Mael-maedhog was earnestly pressed by pious men to undertake the burden of the archbishopric of Ardmacha. But he regarded very high office as a precipice dangerous to himself. But they persevered in their holy religion, and urged their combined solicitations, especially by two bishops, namely, Malchus of Lismor, and Gilbert, legate of the Apostolic See. The latter convoked an assembly of the bishops and princes of the land, who all came forward with one voice to do violence to Mael-maedhog; but he refused: however, as they not only persisted, but ordered him with all their authority to undertake the charge, and even threatened to excommunicate him, "he at last gave a reluctant consent." Let every man judge from this narrative whether Mael-maedhog was more anxious to "sway than to serve." Better still: the following extract from St. Bernard demolished that battery of calumny which Giraldus levelled against all Irish bishops from the days of St. Patrick. "Wherever Maelmaedhog happened to reside, he conformed to the customs and observances of the place, and was content with the life and table of the community; there was nothing in his food, nothing

potuisset Malachias dignosci inter fratres: in tantum cum major esset, humiliavit se in omuibus. Denique cum exiret ad prædicandum cum peditibus pedes et ipse ibat episcopus et legatus. Forma apostolica hæc et indè magis mira in Malachia, quo rara minus in aliis. Verius profecto apostolorum hæres est iste, qui talia agit. Sed advertere est quomodo dividat hæreditatem cum fratribus suis æque nepotibus apostolorum. Illi dominantur in clero; iste dum esset liber ab omnibus, omuium se seruum fecit, illi autem non evangelizantes manducant, aut evangelizant ut manducent. Malachias imitans Paulum manducat ut evangelizet: Illi fastum, et quæstum æstimant pietatem. Malachias hæreditate sibi vendicat opus et onus. Illi felices se credunt si dilataverint terminos suos, Malachias indilatanda charitate, gloriatur. Illi congregant in horrea et dolia replent, undè onerent mensas; Malachias colligit in deserta, et solitudine unde impleat cœlos. Illi cum accipiunt decimas, et primitias, et oblationes insuper et Cæsaris beneficio telonia, et tributa, et alios redditus infinitos, solliciti sunt nihilominus quid manducent, aut quid bibant. Malachias nihil horum habens, multos tamen locupletet de promptuario fidei. Illis nec cupiditatis nec sollicitudinis ullus est finis, Malachias cupiens nihil, non novit tamen cogitare de crastino. Illi à pauperibus exigunt quod dent divitibus, ille sollicitat divites pro pauperibus sustentandis. Illi marsupia vacuant subditorum, iste pro peccatis eorum altaria cumulat votis hostiisque pacificis. Illi alta palatia erigunt, turres ac mænia ad cœlos levant: Malachias non habens ubi caput reclinet, opus facit evangelistæ. Illi equos ascendunt cum turba hominum gratis manducantium panem, et non suum: Malachias septus sanctorum fratrum collegio pedes circuit portans panem angelorum quibus satiet animas esurientes. Isti plebes ne agnoscunt quidem, iste erudit. Isti potentes et tyrannos honorant, iste punit." Quod S. Bernardi judicium os Giraldo obturavit, ut nihil præstantius ad convitiorum ejus struem funditus evertendam excogitari potuerit.

in his dress, to distinguish Mael-maedhog from his brethren, inasmuch as he was more exalted, he humbled himself in all things. When the brethren went out on foot to preach, he, too, though a bishop and legate, went on foot. This conformity to the apostolical model was the more admirable in Mael-maedhog as it was so rare in others. He that doth such things is more really the heir of the apostles. But remark, what part of the inheritance he takes from his brethren, who are also the heirs of the apostles. They lord it over the clergy: he, though he was free from all, has made himself the servant of all: they either eat, and do not evangelize, in order that they may eat. St. Mael-maedhog, like St. Paul, eats that he may evangelize. They make piety a subject of vanity and interest. Mael-maedhog claims the labor and the responsibility as his part of the inheritance. They think themselves happy when they have extended their domains; Malachy glories in the diffusion of God's love. They gather into barns, and fill up their casks, whence their tables are sumptuously supplied; Mael-maedhog gathers together in deserts and solitudes those who are to fill up the mansions of heaven. They, while they receive tithes and first fruits, and oblations, and have tributes and tolls, and innumerable other resources conferred on them by the king, are, nevertheless, solicitous about what they are to eat or to drink. Mael-maedhog, though possessed of none of those sources of wealth, enriches many from the treasury of faith. To their cupidity and solicitude there were no limits; Mael-maedhog had no cupidity, and knew not what it was to think of the morrow. They exact from the poor what they lavish on the rich; he importunes the rich to support the poor. They empty the pockets of the indigent; he loads the altars with oblations and peace offerings for their sins. They erect gorgeous palaces, and raise their towers and battlements to the skies; Mael-maedhog does the work of the evangelist, not having whereon to lay his head. They ride on horses, with a retinue of men, who eat in laziness the bread of others; Mael-maedhog attended by a choir of holy brothers, goes about on foot, carrying the bread of angels, which satiates the hungry soul. They do not even know their flocks; Mael-maedhog feeds them. They honor tyrants and great men; Mael-maedhog punishes them." This testimony of St. Bernard gives so crushing a refutation of Giraldus, that it would be impossible to imagine a more thorough demolition of his calumnies.

Subnectam tamen aliquot episcoporum, qui post S. Malachiam in cœlos relatum, virtute claruerunt, elogiola è vulgaribus nostris annalibus deprompta tenuibus illis quidem, ac leviori potius insinuatione res Hibernicas quam uberiori narratione prosequentibus. Gillenanoemhus seu Nehemias O'Murchertachus nobilis in Australi Hibernia episcopus senio gravis, castitate, prudentia, et pietate insignis. Murchertachus O'Moelmocheirge nobilis episcopus Ombronniæ Brefnensis seu Kilmoriæ, senex optimus, et prudentia præstantissimus. Episcopus O'Gormghalius annis, prudentia, et pietate honorandus, post pœnitentiam, eodem quo cæteri an. Dom. 1149, diem suum obiit. Muredachus Odubhy archiepiscopus Connaciæ sive Tuamensis præstantissimus totius Hiberniæ senex ac prudentia, castitate et munerum, ciborumque largitione præcellens 75 ætatis, et Christi nati anno 1150 Congæ vitâ excessit. Huamoelfoghmair episcopus Alladensis, post vitam piè actam, diem suum obiit an. Dom. 1151. Aidus O'Moeloin episcopus Clonmacnosensis fons pietatis, et opum Leithcunniæ qui facultatibus misericordiam adæquavit, vivendi finem fecit anno salutis 1153. Isaacus O'Cuanain episcopus Eliæ et Roscree, vir castissimus, et Momoniæ Orientalis præstantissimus senex, ultimum emisit spiritum, anno partus virginei 1161. Moelruanius O'Ruadan episcopus Lughniæ in Connacia, sive Achadensis, præstantissimus senex et pietate ac prudentia clarissimus vivere [335] desiit an. Dom. 1169. Petrus O'Morhus episcopus | Clonfartensis, ac pius Monachus Sannæo omne submersus est 1171. Gillaedus episcopus Corcagiensis vir Dei gratia, prudentia et pietate cumulatus vitam finiit 1172. Muredachus O'Cobhtaith episcopus Dorensis, et Rathbothensis, fax prudentiæ, ac pietatis, Aquilonarem Hiberniam incolentibus, vir impollutæ castitatis, lapis pretiosus, gemma pellucens instar vitri, sydus præfulgidum, thesaurus sapientiam recondens, sedulus canonum

[p] Amid the convulsion and anarchy before St. Mael-maedhog's time, there are some notices of eminent bishops, and men distinguished for learning and holiness in different parts of Ireland.

[q] Bishop of Cluain-Uamha (Cloyne), according to Harris.

[r] The first bishop of that see, by that title, mentioned in Irish annals. Killmor does not appear as one of the sees in the council published, vol. ii. p. 783, supra.

[s] This see is not mentioned at all: a thing not unusual in the annals.

I shall subjoin, however, from our ordinary Irish annals a brief eulogium on some of our bishops who were eminent for virtue after the days of St. Mael-maedhog.[p] The references are brief, being rather passing allusions than a detailed narrative of the affairs of Ireland. Thus in 1149 there died in the south of Ireland Gillananaemh, or Nehemias O'Muircheartaigh, a noble bishop, venerable for his age, and famed for his chastity, prudence, and piety;[q] also Muircheartach O'Maelmocharge, the noble bishop of Uimbreiuine, Breffne, or Killmor,[r] venerable not less for his great prudence than for his advanced years; and bishop O'Gormghail, whose years, piety, prudence, and penance won for him a high reputation.[s] Muireadhach O'Dubhthaigh, archbishop of Connacht, or Tuam, the most venerable old man in all Ireland, and famed for his prudence, chastity, and liberal donations, both of presents and food, died at Conga in the seventy-fifth year of his age, A.D. 1150. Uamaelfoghmair, bishop of Killalaidh, closed his pious life in the year 1151.[t] Aedh O'Moelain, bishop of Cluainmicnois, a well-spring of piety and munificence in Leath Chuinn, whose charity knew no limits but his means, closed his mortal career in 1153. Isaac O'Cuanan, bishop of Eli and Ros-Cre, a man of eminent chastity, and the most venerable sage of East Munster, breathed his last in 1161.[u] Maelruan O'Ruadain, bishop of Luighne, or Achaidh-Chonaire, in Connacht, a celebated old man, and of the highest repute for prudence and piety, died in the year 1169.[v] Peter O'Mordha, bishop of Cluainfearta, and a pious monk, was drowned in the Shannon in 1171. Gillaedh, bishop of Cork, who was highly favored by heaven, with prudence and piety died in 1172. Muireadhach O'Cobhthaigh, bishop of Doire and Rath-bhoth, a beacon of prudence and piety to all the inhabitants of Northern Ireland, a man of unsullied purity, a precious stone, a gem brilliant as crystal, a bright star, an overflowing treasure of wisdom, a strict

[t] Bishop of Tir-Amhalghaidh and Tir-Fhiachrach-Muaidhe, the present Killalaidh, established as a see in the council supra, vol. iii. p. 783.

[u] This diocese included the baronies of Cluainlisg and Cineal-Fheargha (Ballybritt), in the King's County, and those of Eile-Ui-Fhogartaigh (Eliogarty) and Ui-Cairin (Ikerrin), in the county of Tipperary.

[v] His death is recorded A.D. 1170 by the Four Masters.

observator, post vestes, et escas in egenos abunde collatas, post plures sacerdotio, diaconatu, aliisque ordinibus initiatos, post plurimas ecclesias restauratas, aliasque suis impensis extructas, et quamplurima templa, cœmeteriaque sacro ritu dedicata, post palmam pietatis, peregrinationis, et pœnitentiæ relatam è corporis ergastulo in cœlos evolavit; anno partæ salutis 1173. Nox mortem ejus secuta miraculo memorabilis est; fulgor enim diei lucem splendore adæquans, post noctem intempestam exortus, ita finitimas usquequasque regiones ad diluculum insolito splendore irradiavit, ut cives diem illuxisse rati continuò è stratis exilierint, et circumjacentia loca tanquam uno incendio conflagrantia conspicati, ex urbe columnam igneam erumpere, ac Euronotum versus efferri viderunt. Ita tamen ut conflagratio magis crescere cis quam citra mare visa fuerit.

Etrius O'Miadhachain episcopus Clonensis ævo confectus, post vitam piè actam, eodem anno 1173 excessit. Moelpatricius O'Banain episcopus Conorensis, et Dalariæ, vir affabilis, sanctitate, mansuetudine, et cordis munditia conspicuus annis gravis justi mortem obiit 1174. Moelisus episcopus Dunensis sapientia et pietate ornatus è vivis excessit, an. Dom. 1175. Flabertachus O'Brolchain successor S. Columbæ sapientiæ et hospitalitatis per Aquilonares Hiberniæ plagas, à quo tanquam ab oraculo responsa, consilia, et vivendi norma petebantur. Cui clerus Hiberniæ, ob ejus sapientiam eximiasque virtutes, dignitatem episcopalem contulit, et Hiensis monasterii regimen datum erat. Post diuturnas ægritudinis molestias patienter toleratas, sanctissimè in monasterio Dorensi, vitam caducam terminavit, æternam inchoavit. Itaque vel paucorum hæc episcoporum elogia cumulum illum probrorum à Giraldo in universos nostrates episcopos congestum satis superque dissipant. Quarè in re tam apertâ pressius inculcandâ, ulterius desudare perindè mihi videtur, ac si soli in meridie ostendendo facem accensam quis admoveat.

Cæterum non tam episcopos calumniari desiit, quam ad dedecus nationi universæ inurendum transiit dicens:[46] quod "Omnes Sancti

[46] Top. d. 3, cap. 28.

observer of the canons, after abundantly distributing of clothes and food to the needy, and ordaining many deacons, priests, and other clerics; after repairing many churches, and building others at his own expense; and consecrating many churchyards according to the rites of the church; after having won the palm of sanctity, and penance, and pilgrimage, departed to heaven from the prison of the flesh in the year of our Lord 1173. The night after his death was long memorable for a great miracle: a brightness, brilliant as the light of day, burned forth during the louring night, and illumined the whole surrounding country until morning with so unusual a splendor, that the people, imagining it was day, jumped out of their beds, and beholding every place around them, as if involved in conflagration, they looked towards the city, they saw a pillar of fire rising up from it, and appearing to be carried towards the south-east, but in such a way that the flame was seen to increase more at this side than beyond the sea.

In the same year, 1173, Etrius O'Miadhachain, bishop of Cluain-Uamha died of extreme old age, after a very holy life. Maelpatric O'Banain, bishop of Coinneire and Dal-Araidhe, an affable man, eminent for piety, meekness, and purity of heart, died in a good old age the death of the righteous in 1174. In 1175 died Maelisa, bishop of Doun, who was celebrated for his wisdom and piety. Flaithbheartach O'Brollaghan, successor of St. Colum, and famed for hospitality through the north of Ireland, whose words, whether on morals or prudence, were revered as oracles, and who was raised to the episcopal dignity by the clergy of Ireland on account of his great virtues and wisdom, and afterwards became abbot of the monastery of Ia. He, after bearing the pains of a tedious illness with exemplary patience, died in the monastery of Doire, exchanging, with every sentiment of holiness, this fleeting life for an eternal crown. The eulogies passed on these few bishops are more than sufficient to overthrow those accumulated calumnies discharged by Giraldus on all the prelates of our church. To insist any longer in enforcing so clear a position is, in my opinion, the same as to hold up a torch to the noonday sun.

But, instead of ceasing to calumniate our bishops, he proceeds to cast a stigma on the entire nation. "All the saints of this country,"

terræ illius confessores sunt, et nullus martyr. Quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire." Solent malevoli quidvis atrâ maledicentiæ bili fingere, et quod laudibus efferendum erat, improbando deprimere. Sciscitor majorinè honore cuipiam genti foret martyres aliquot suæ nationis numerare, quam copiâ carnificum abundare qui cæde se martyrum contaminarent? nonnè miserum est eam gloriam adipisci, quæ sine atrocitate comparari non potest? infelices nè an potius efferos nepotes vocem, qui à majorum truculentia honorem aucupantur? num nomen aliquid proavis nostris accrevisse putabimus? quod in amica ruerint capita, et in ejusdem cœli tanquam uteri sobolem? quasi gloriosum esset in cives sævire, ac feras quæ suo generi non nocent immanitate superare? Nam:

"Parcit
Cognatis maculis similis fera: Quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam sævis inter se convenit ursis."

Et tamen ferociam non ponere, etiam in populares ejusdem cœli et soli consortes exercere, in honore ponetur? Et Hiberni quod crudelitate victimis proludere non consueverint, dedecoris nota inverentur? Annon [336] hinc | validius eruitur, Giraldo quamtumvis reclamante, Hibernos "Gentem crudelissimam,[47] et sanguinis sitibundam" minime fuisse? Imò singulari quadam mansuetudine, et humanitate supra gentes alias, quæ cives suos atrociter mactarunt, præditos fuisse. Ut qui modo vivimus Hiberni non Busiride aliquo aut Diomede, Atreo vel Thoante progeniti sumus. Crudelitas ista adventitia est, et importata, ut Mathæus Casselliensis archiepiscopus Giraldo Hiberniam martyribus vacuuam esse improperanti rectè responderit:[48] "Hibernos in sanctos Dei nulla

[47] Top. d. 3, c. 28. [48] Top. d. 3. c. 32.

he says, "were confessors—there is no martyr. It would be hard to find any other country of which the same could be said." The malignant usually indulge the promptings of their bilious malice, and depreciate by their calumnies what should have claimed their admiration. Is it a greater honor to a nation, I ask, to boast of some martyrs than to have had among her sons a host of cruel butchers, who polluted themselves by shedding the blood of martyrs ? Is it not a miserable thing to receive that glory which cannot be acquired without atrocity ? Are those children unfortunate, and not rather barbarous, who glory in the atrocity of their father ? Can we imagine that our ancestors acquired any glory by murdering their friend—the sons of the some soil, their own brothers by country ? as if it were a credit to be cruel to your countrymen, and to outstrip the ferocity of the wild beast, which spares its own kind. For

"The brutish beast
Doth spare his brother, known by kindred spots;
Did ever lion slay his weaker kind ?
Did forest boar e'er use his stronger tusk
To kill a boar ? The tiger is at peace
With brother tiger : so is bear with bear."

And yet shall it be accounted an honor not to renounce cruelty, but even to inflict it on those who share with you the benignity of the some soil and sky ? Why, then, are the Irish to be stigmatized, because they did not commence by subjecting some victims to torture ? Is not their conduct, whatever Giraldus may say to the contrary, an evident proof that they were not what he represents them, "a most cruel and bloodthirsty people," but rather a mild people, far more humane than other nations, which savagely butchered their own sons. No; we Irish of the present day are not the descendants of any Busiris, or Diomedes, or Atreus, or Thoas. Cruelty of this kind is not indigenous, but imported, as Matthew, archbishop of Caiseal, very truly retorted when Giraldus accused us of having no Irish martyrs. "The Irish," said he, "were never, on any occasion, accustomed to lay violent hands on the saints of God. But a people has now come

occasione manus extendere solitos fuisse. Sed nunc in regnum gentem advenisse quæ martyres et facere novit et consuevit."

Nobis tamen ea divinæ gratiæ aura affulsit, ut martyrum nostræ gentis honore in terris, et patrocinio in cœlis non careamus, quorum sanguinem vix ac ne vix quidem Hibernica manus, sed peregrina ubertim profudit. Eorum nomina quia Giraldus ignoravit, vel consultò reticuit, aliqua ex parte hic edere constitui. Ut injuriam illius vel ignoratione, vel malevolentia nobis illatam, aliqua ratione resartiam. Missos tamen episcopos faciam quos religionis causa necem passos supra memoravi. Quorum plures, licet divina bonitas tyrannorum cruciatibus eripuerit martyrum tamen albo non expunxisse credenda est; quando quod de S. Martino prædicat ecclesia, in eosdem aptissimè quadrat:[49] Utpote quorum "anima quam et si gladius persecutoris non abstulit, palmam tamen martyrii non amisit." Nam ut ait S. Cyprianus "Qui se tormentis sub oculis Dei obtulit, passus est quidquid pati voluit." Sic Beatum Faranañum, et Moelcouvam Hiberniæ primates non desiderium, ut antè dixi, sed casus neci subduxit. Sic S. Malachias in medios insidiatores, "Qui eum dolo tenere, et occidere" statuerunt sciens irrupit, ut se mortem non recusare palam faceret. Sic S. Laurentius "Morti se pro suis exponere neutiquam formidavit." Verum his affectu potius quam effectu martyrum nomina promeritis, martyrum classi nondum annumeratis martyrum albo adscriptos, ob mortem fidei gratiâ obitam in medium proferamus.

Ab Odrono autem Hiberniæ Protomartyre initium ducamus, qui S. Patricii aurigam agens, ejus locum in curru quadam vice de industria captans, necem S. Patricio ab insidiatore inferandam lancea perfossus ultro pertulit.[50] Cujus deinde "animam Patricius, in cœlum ab Angelis conspexit deferri, et inter martyres locum sortiri." Hunc excipit S. Guignerus seu Fingar, regis Hiberniæ filius, quem ultroneum sibi exilium, ut ardentiori, ac liberiori studio divini numinis cultui indulgeret indicentem 777 è sacro et profano ordine homines prosecuti sunt, qui

[49] Epist. 37. [50] Jocelin. c. 73.

[w] For some account of whom see Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. pp. 225, 297.

into our country which knew how to make martyrs, and has often done so."

However, by the favor of God's grace, our country enjoys the honor of having had martyrs on earth, and has now their patronage in heaven: their blood was shed copiously by foreign hands, but never or hardly ever by their countrymen. As Giraldus either did not know or deliberately suppressed their names, I have resolved to produce a few of them here, to avert in some way the dishonor which his ignorance or malevolence would cast upon us. The bishops, however, who died for the faith I omit, as I have already mentioned them. A great number of them, though saved by the goodness of God from the torture of tyrants, yet ought not, we hope, be expunged from the calendar of martyrs, since we can apply to them with perfect truth, what the church sings of St. Martin, "that though the sword of the persecutor did not take away their lives, they lose not the palm of martyrdom." For as St. Cyprian says, "whoever devotes himself in the presence of God to torments, has already suffered all that he wished to suffer." Thus, it was not by their own desire, but by chance, that Moelcobha, and the blessed Faranan, primates of Armagh, escaped death. St. Mael-maedhog (Malachy), also, deliberately placed himself in the power of those who had resolved to take him by treachery and slay him," thus giving a palpable proof that he had no fear of death. Neither did St. Lorcan (Lawrence), "ever hesitate to confront death for his people." But as those who wore the palm of martyrdom, not in act, but in desire only, have not yet been ranked in the martyr's calendar, let us produce those who actually attained that honor by shedding their blood for the faith.

We begin with Odhran, the protomartyr of Ireland. When driving the chariot of St. Patrick, he purposely sat one day in his master's place, and was pierced through by a lance, which the assassin had intended for St. Patrick. St. Patrick saw his soul carried up to heaven by angels, and obtaining a place in the martyr's chair. Next follows St. Guigner, or Fingar,[w] son of the king of Ireland, who embraced voluntary exile, in order to devote himself with greater fervor and liberty to the service of God, and going into Great Britain, with 777 associates, lay and clerical, about the year 450 "was made a martyr of Christ in one day, with all his companions, thus receiving the prize

circa Christi annum 450, in Britannia "omnes una die Christi martyres effecti,[49] sacræ mortis compendio, perennis vitæ bravium perceperunt." Qui (sicut sigillatim infra nominandorum plerique) in natali solo lictores è suis civibus haud nacti, in alieno peregrinati repererunt, "S. Eliphius filius regis Scotiæ" sive Hiberniæ, "relictis suis possessionibus amplissimis,[50] Christo Domino Deo in paupertate servire dulce habuit; in civitate Tullensi unâ cum sociis suis 33 fidelibus est captus, et quasi patriæ proditor in carcerem conjectus. Verum Dei beneficio nocte ipsa mirabiliter liberatus est. Inde ipse Dei verbum constanter et sedulò ubique prædicavit, et magnam fecit in vinea Domini messem. Ultrà quadringendos homines brevi convertit, quos et baptizari curavit. Julianus vero Imperator Apostata in eum iratus, et quod Christi gloriam (cui ille plurimum invidebat) audacter profiteretur, comprehendi fecit, et an. Dom. 350," vel potius 360 "decollari.[51] S. Gunifortus nobili genere in Scotia" sive Hibernia "natus et in Christiana fide enutritus, cum in Christianos persecutio ferveret, cum Guniboldo fratre et duabus sororibus in Germaniam venit: ubi licet Christiani variis tormentis interficerentur, Christum tamen prædicare non destitit. Sororibus autem martyrio affectis, ipse et frater Comum pervenit.[52] Ubi cum libera, et magna voce Christum annuntiaret, Guniboldus gladio necatus est. Gunifortus vero Mediolanum ingressus, ubi Christiani diversis cruciatibus perimebantur, adversus fidei Catholicæ persecutores argumenta adeo perlucida objecit, ut non valentes resistere, in eum irà in furorem versa furerent, qui Gunifortum extra urbem pertractum, sagittis confossum, atque innumeris affectum vulneribus, totoque corpore proprio cruore conspersum in via quod mortuum crederent abeuntes relin-[337] quunt, sed post diem tertium | Papiæ ad martyrii palmam evolavit. Videtur martyrio affectus Constantio Imperatore." SS. Maura et Brigida regis Hiberniæ filiæ,[53] cum fratre suo Hispado multis injuriis

[49] S. Ansel. [50] Usherus de primordiis, p. 785, ex Cratepolio. [51] Philipp. Ferrar. in SS. Italiæ 22 Aug. [52] Vide Usherum de Primord. p. 794, et sequ. [53] Colganus Bolando 14 Janu.

[x] On the supposed acts of Eliphius, and the claims of Ireland to his birth, see Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 6-10.

of eternal glory, by the short passage of a holy death." They (like many others, whose names shall immediately be given,) not meeting the persecutor in their native soil, sailed to foreign lands and found him. "St. Eliphius, son of the king of Scotia" or Ireland,[x] "renouncing his ample possessions, made it his delight to serve Christ, the Lord God, in poverty. He was taken with his thirty-three faithful companions in the city of Tull, and cast into prison as a traitor to his country. But on that very night he was miraculously delivered by the mercy of God. Henceforward he preached the word of God everywhere, constantly and zealously, and gathered a great harvest in the vineyard of the Lord. In a short time he converted more than four hundred persons, and had them all baptized. But the emperor, Julian the Apostate, being incensed against him for boldly professing the glorious faith of Christ (of which the emperor was the truculent enemy), ordered him to be seized and beheaded in the year 350, or rather 360. While the persecution was raging against the Christians, St. Gunifort descended from a noble family in Scotia or Ireland, and educated in the Christian faith, came with his brother Gunibold and his two sisters to Germany, who, though Christians were subjected to all sorts of violent death, he never ceased to preach Christ. His two sisters having suffered martydom, he and his brother came to Comus, where Gunibold was slain by the sword, while in the act of boldly and strenuously proclaiming the faith of Christ. Gunifort then proceeding to Milan, where the Christians were butchered by various torments, produced such powerful arguments against the persecutors of the Christian faith, that being unable to confront him, their indignation broke out into violent fury, and dragging him outside the city walls they pierced him with arrows, and believing that he was dead left him covered with innumerable wounds and weltering in his blood; but on the third day afterwards, he passed to the martyr's crown at Pavia. His martyrdom probably occurred in the reign of the emperor Constantius."[y] SS. Maura and Hispida, daughters of the king of Ireland,

[y] It is very doubtful whether Ireland can claim St. Grimbald, at least at so early a period as that mentioned in the text. See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 6, 10.

pro Christo, et conservatione castitatis affectæ, gladiis impiorum in Gallia trucidatæ ad cœlum, an. Dom. 500, aut non multo secus commigrarunt. S. Dallanus piorum opusculorum scriptor ægregius, Inniscoeliæ in Tirconallia, circa Christi nati annum 580, à pyratis è finitimo portu derepentè irruentibus obtruncatus est, capite in Oceanum abjecto, quod cum postea cervici admoveretur,[54] ita illi mordicus hæsit, ac si nunquam divulsum fuerit.

Sub annum Domini 600 S. Dympna cujusdam regis Hibernici filia, cervicibus incestuosissimi patris filiæ stuprum inferre nitentis manu ac ferro in Brabantia præcisis, ad cœlos evolavit. Sanctus Gerebernus presbyter qui S. Dympnæ fuit à confessionibus, eodem fine vitam impiissimis regis ministris illi caput amputantibus terminavit.[55] Anno Domini 616 BB. Moelpatricius, Monganus et Donnanus cum duorum supra quinquaginta monachorum cœtu, morte ob religionis professionem plexi sunt. Anno partus virginei 636, pyratæ Norwagienses in Inbherdamnaniam appulsi, ac mox Glasmoriam[56] juxta Surdum in Lagenia profecti, ex improviso S. Cronanum et monachorum cui præfuit multitudinem una nocte ex odio Christi jugularunt.[57] S. Monon in Nassoria Leodiensi Diaconus sub an. 630 martyrio effectus est. Anno Æræ Christianæ 660, vel 640, S. Foilano in diœcesi Cameracensi trucidato, comites se mortis præbuerunt Boætius, Gobenous, et Columbanus.[58]

Anno post virginis partum 678, Indractum regis Hibernici filium, Sororemque illius Dominicam, seu Drusam,[59] ac novem socios piam in Anglia peregrinationem obeuntes nefarii homines Christianam fidem exosi vita spolierunt.

[54] Colganu, 28 Janu. [55] Colganus 19 Febr. in notis, nu. 6. et 5. [56] Ibidem 10 Febr. [57] Surius 18 Octo. [58] Colganus 17 Feb. [59] Ibidem 5 Febr.

[z] Disciple of St. Columba, and author of a poem on his master The date of his death is not known, nor is it clear that he can be considered a martyr. Inis Caoil, now Inishkeel, i.e., the Island St. Conall Cael, is an island near the mouth of Gweebara Bay, in the county of Donegal. See Ann. Four Mast. A.D. 619.

[a] Famous in Belgium, but the date of her martyrdom is uncertain.

[b] Uncertain where or when they were martyred.

[c] It is very probable that they were

after suffering with their brother Hispado, many torments for Christ and the preservation of their chastity, fell beneath the swords of the impious in Gaul, and passed to the immortal crown in or near the year 500. St. Dallan,[z] an eminent author of pious works, was beheaded at Iniscoel in Tir-Chonail, by pirates, who made a sudden irruption from a neighbouring port. His head was cast into the ocean, but when afterwards placed on the neck, it adhered as firmly as if it had never been cut off.

About the year 600[a] St. Dympna, a daughter of some Irish king, passed to her crown, being beheaded in Brabant by the sword and hand of her abominably incestuous parent, who attempted to violate her chastity. St. Gerebernus, a priest who was confessor to St. Dympna, suffered a similar fate, being beheaded by the impious satellites of the king. In the year 616, the blessed Moelpatric, Mongan, and Donman, were put to death for the faith, with more than fifty-two monks their disciples.[b] In the year 636, the Norwegian pirates, landing at Inbher-damnann, and marching thence to Swords, near Glasmore in Leinster, suddenly attacked St. Cronan and a great number of his monks, and through hatred of Christ, massacred them all in one night.[c] St. Monan, a deacon in Nassoria of Liege, was martyred in the year 630.[d] St. Foilan was killed about the year 640 or 660, in the diocese of Cambray, and had as companions of his martyrdom, Boætius Gebenous and Columbanus.

In the year 678, Indracht,[e] son of an Irish king, together with his visitor Dominica or Drusa, and nine companions, were massacred during a pilgrimage to England, by some wicked wretches who hated the Christian faith.

not martyred until the close of the eighth century, as the Scandinavian savages had not commenced their bloody invasions before that time. Yet, as the monastery was near the eastern shore, and as occasional descents of pirates are mentioned in the seventh and sixth centuries, our author's date may not be incorrect.

[d] Belongs more probably to the middle of the eighth century. Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 196.

[e] See Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 465, for the uncertainty about the precise date of St. Foillan's death. He was killed in the forest of Soignies, in Hainault.

Anno post salutem humano generi comparatam 689,[60] vel 697, S. Kiliànus Witzburgensis episcopus martyrii socios habuit Colmanum Presbyterum; Totuanum Levitam seu diaconum; Colonatum, Gallonem, Arunuildem Presbyteros; Totuatum diaconum, septemque alios.

Annales nostri ad annum Domini 721, conceptis verbis aiunt S. Conallum filium Modaini "martyrii coronam adeptum fuisse."

Anno à virginis partu 822, Benchorum à Danis direptum, et templum ejus ac cœmeterium vastatum est.[61] Imo reliquiæ S. Congelli è thecâ quæ illas operiebat extractæ, demum abjectæ sunt, ut ipse olim vaticinatus est. Ad hoc tempus stragem illam referendam esse censeo, quâ S. Bernardus memorat ibidem "Nongentos simul una die à Pyratis occisos fuisse."

Anno post Christum natum 823, Blathmacus Flanni regis Hibernici filius in insula Hya S. Columbæ à Danis martyrio affectus est.[62] In Annalibus nostris martyrium Temneni Anachoretæ in annum Christi 826 refertur. Coemanus Abbas de Linduachaill et cæde, et flammis, an Christi nati 841, à Danis extinctus est. Dunmascâ, salutis anno 843, à Danis vestatâ, Aidus filius Dubhdachrichi Tirdaglassensis, et Cluaineidhnachensis Abbas, necnon Keternachus filius Condionasci Prior Kildariensis, ac plures alii trucidati sunt. Eodem etiam Anno Nortmanni Dublinia erumpentes Cluanandoburam adorti, turrim de Killachuidh expilant,[63] et Nuadatum Seigeni filium martyrio afficiunt. S. Domnannum etiam cum quinquaginta duobus sociis feri carnifices, nescio quo anno truculentè mactarunt. S. Maimbodus quoque martyrio in Brabantia coronatus est.[64]

Anno post hominis formam à Christo susceptam 847, Moelbrassalius Mugdorniæ dominus, post se dignitate abdicatum, et nuntium opibus remissum, ac austeriorem vivendi rationem susceptam, dum pietatis operibus sedulo incumberet, necem à Danis passus est.[65]

[60] Serrarius in notis ad vitam S. Kiliani. [61] Annales. [62] Colganus 18 Janu. et Annal. [63] Colg. in indice morali. [64] Ibidem 93 Janu. [65] Molanus in natalibus SS. Belgii.

[r] No such name at that date occurs in the Four Masters. An Indrecht, abbot of Hy, was slain early in the ninth century. See Lanigan.

[s] And apostle of Franconi. See Lanigan.

In the year of the redemption of mankind, 689 or 697, St. Kilian bishop of Wurgburgh,[f] was martyred together with Colman, a priest; Totuath, a Levite deacon, or Colonatus, Gallon, and Arunvild, priests: Totuath, a deacon, and several others.[g]

Our annals also record, expressly at the year 721, that St. Conal, son of Modan, had obtained the crown of martyrdom.

In the year of our Lord 822, Bangor was plundered by the Danes, and its church and cemetery destroyed. The relics of St. Comgall were torn from the shrine in which they were enclosed, and, as himself had predicted, were thrown away.[h] To this date ought to be referred, in my opinion, that massacre recorded by St. Bernard, "in which nine hundred persons were slain in one day by pirates."

In the year 823, Blathmac, son of Flann, an Irish king, was martyred by the Danes in Hy, the island of St. Columba.[i] The martyrdom of Temnen, an anchorite, is also recorded by our annals in the year 826.[k] Coeman, abbot of Linduachaill (Magheralin in Down), was murdered and burned by the Danes in the year 681. When the same barbarians plundered Dunmasc (Dunamase), in the year 843, they slew Aid, son of Dubhdachrich abbot of Tirdaglass, and Cluaineidhnach (Clonenagh), and also Kethernach, son of Cudionaisc, prior of Kildare, with many others. In the same year, the Northmen issuing from Dublin, attacked Cluain-an-dobhair, pillaged the tower[l] of Killachaidh, and martyred Nuadhat, the son of Seigen. The savage butchers massacred also St. Domnan and his fifty-two associates, but in what year, I cannot decide. St. Maimbode was martyred in Brabant.

In the year 847 of the incarnation of Christ, Moelbrassail, lord of Mugdorna, after abdicating his dignity, renouncing all his wealth and embracing a more austere mode of life, was slain by the Danes while he was diligently practising his works of piety.[m]

[h] That does not appear from the notice in the annals, which states that the relics were carried "without defect" to Antrim, though they had fallen from the shrine.

[i] See Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 253.

[k] Martyred by the Danes.

[l] These notices are given by the Four Masters, A.D. 843. The "tower" of Killeigh (King's County) is rendered the "fold" (which is a misprint for "the fort") by Dr. O'Donovan.

[m] Recorded by the Four Masters.

Virginei partus anno 850, S. Ieron nobilis patris nobilissimis filius, patrimonium et patriam deserens, in Holandia, post flagella, dirumque [338] carcerem, | à Danis obtruncatus. Egmundæ multa veneratione colitur, multis res amissas, ejus ope flagitatâ recuperantibus. Ut hinc carmen emanaverit.

Rebus in amissis Ieron sæpissimè fulget

Anno post Christi natalia 852,[65] Indracthum Finnachtani filium, virum sapientissimum S. Columbæ successorem Saxones martyrio affecerunt.

Anno Epochæ Christianæ 884, S. Eusebius postquam annos triginta cellâ clauderetur, et Helvetii populi mores acrius objurgaret,[66] illius in se sic odium excitavit, ut caput ipsi falce tandem demeteretur, quod manibus suis mox exceptum ad cellam retulit. Anno priorem proximè insecuto, Fergallum Fionachti filium Cluanhuamæ Abbatem Normanni peremerunt. Joannes Scotus Erigena[67] magister delitiosus à Carolo Calvo Imperatore Romano, et Galliæ rege appellatus, in cænobio Malmsburiensi, circa reparatæ salutis annum 883, "A pueris, quos docebat, graphiis (ut fertur) perforatus, etiam martyr æstimatus est," cujus celebre sepulchrum in sinistro latere altaris, et epitaphii produnt versus, scabri quidem et moderni temporis lima carentes, sed ab antiquo non adeo deformes:

"Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus Sophista Joannes
Qui dotatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro;
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum
Quo meruit sancti regnant per sæcula cuncti."

[65] Annales. [66] Colganus 30 Janu. [67] Malmsburiensis, lib. 2. de gestis Regum Angliæ, c. 4.

[n] His martyrdom is denied by excellent authorities. See Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 285

[o] This is an error; the John of

In the year of our Lord 850, St. Ieron, the noble son of a noble father, after abandoning his patrimony and country, was beheaded by the Danes in Holland, after having endured scourging and severe imprisonment. He is honored with singular veneration at Egmund, many persons having recovered by his intercession things which they had lost, whence the origin of the following verse:

Ieron shows where lost things may be found.

In the year 852, the Saxons martyred Indracht, son of Finnachtan, a man of eminent wisdom and successor of St. Columba.

In the year 884, St Eusebius, after having lived thirty years shut up in his cell, reproved so severely the evil deeds of the Helvetians, that in their excited rage they cut off his head with a hatchet; but he immediately took up his head in his hands and returned to his cell.[n] In the next year Fergal, son of Fionachta, abbot of Cluainhuama (Cloyne), was slain by the Northmen. John Scotus Erigna, styled the delightful master, by Charles the Bald, king of France and emperor of Rome, was, in the monastery of Malmsbury about the year 883, "pierced to death (it is said) by his scholars with their writing pens, and is honored as a martyr."[o] His splendid tomb, on the left side of the altar, may still be recognised by the monumental verses, which, though deficient in the purity and correctness of modern times, are good enough according to the standard of their age:

"Within this tomb lies John the shrewd,
Who, living, was with wondrous skill endued;
By martyrdom he reached the bless'd domain,
Where pious saints through endless ages reign."

Malmesbury died in the twelfth century; John Scotus Erigena in the ninth, and in France. See Lanigan, iii., p. 316.

Anno post Christum in lucem editum 917; Indractus Abbas Treodensis in suo cænobio (à Normannis ut videtur) interemptus est.[68]

Anno post Christi natalem 920; Abel Abbas cum mille ducentis martyrio coronatur.[69] Anno à Christo carnem humanam induto 930; Airmedachio Cuilrathinæ Abbati, manus Normanni attulerunt. Anno à Christi natalibus 938; Subnius filius Conbretani Slaniæ Abbas, à Normannis cæsus est. Anno post orbem redemptum 946; Colmanno Moelpatricii filio Slaniæ Abbati vitam Dani eripuerunt. Anno salutis humanæ 948; Dani face campanili Slaniæ subjectâ, Coenchaurum Slaniæ lectorem in eo clausum, pedum etiam Erci episcopi, et campanam campanarum optimam cremarunt. Anno ab hominum genere restituto 956, Tanaidum Huidiri filium, S. Congelli successorem Dani necuerunt. Anno Christi nati 973; Ferdalachum Rachrenniæ Abbatem Dani occiderunt.

Plures nunc martyres enumerare supersedeo, cum hi quam abundè doceant Giraldum à veritate multis parasangis aberrasse, quem scribere non puduit, "nullum martyrem" Hiberniam fudisse,[70] et "nullum unquam in illo regno pro ecclesia Dei, martyrii coronam adeptum fuisse." Cujus rei, et aliarum "terræ illius enormitatum in prælatos præcipuè culpam" Giraldus "refudit." Quandò autem "nullos unquam martyres" Hiberniam tulisse falso scripserit: Et æquè falso episcopis ascripserit, quod in causa fuerint cur nulli martyres Hiberniæ suppetierint; aliarum "enormitatum" culpam in eos frustrà conferet. Sicut enim in priore criminatione fides illum, sic in posteriore defecit. Adde quod superiora in hujus opusculi decursu à me prolata episcopos multo majorem operam in enormitatibus evellendis, quam inferendis navasse convincant. Cogi-

[68] Colg. 5 Febr. in notis, n. 3. [69] Colg. in notis ad vitam S. Sodrani, num. 10. [70] Top. d. 3, c. 32.

[p] They were slain some place in the barony of Forth, county of Carlow.

[q] All these martyrs are mentioned in the Four Masters at the years here named. Tanaidhe Maguire, here called successor of Comgal, was abbot of Clones and Muckna. See Four Masters, A.D. 956.

[r] Four Masters. With an impudence in keeping with the atrocities

In the year 917 Indracht, abbot of Treod (Trevet in Meath), was slain in his monastery—probably by the Northmen.

In the year 920 the abbot Abel received the martyr's crown with twelve hundred associates.[p] In the year 930, Airmedhach, abbot of Cuilrathen (Coleraine), was slain by the Northmen; who also murdered Suibhne, son of Cubretan, abbot of Slane, in 938. In the year 946, Colman, abbot of Slane, son of Moelpatric, was martyred by the Danes. In 948 they set fire to the belfry of Slane, and burned Coenachuire, lector of Slane, who was shut up in it, and the pastoral staff of bishop Erc, and a bell the best of bells. In 956 Tanaidh, son of Huidhir, and successor of St. Comgal,[q] was murdered by the Danes; they also slew Feardalach, abbot of Reachrainn, in the year 973.[r]

It is needless to mention many other martyrs, those whom I have mentioned being abundantly sufficient to convict Giraldus of a gross departure from truth in presuming to say "that Ireland had produced no martyr, and that not one in all that kingdom had ever won the crown of martyrdom for the church of God." The blame of that, and what he terms "the other enormities of that land," he throws principally on the bishops.[s] But his statement that Ireland had produced no martyrs being false, of course it is false that the bishops were the cause of their country not producing martyrs, and we may treat with contempt his accusing them of other "enormities." As the first accusation deserves no credit, the second must share the same fate. Moreover, the facts adduced by me in a preceding part of this work, prove that the bishops were much more zealously engaged in eradicating than in introducing

of the Northmen, one of their countrymen (Waersa) has favored the world not long since with a sketch of the civilizing influence of the Danes on Ireland and other countries. Strange civilizers, who plundered churches and monasteries, the only asylums of literature and art in those times, and who have not left a single scrap of literature behind them in Ireland. He and others would be better employed in accounting for the intellectual poverty of Scandinavia for the last three centuries.

[s] It may be that many of these bishops who provoked the ire of Giraldus were not bishops of sees, but bishops in monasteries, who but discharged their duty by not going beyond the precincts of their monasteries.

tatione lector illa parumper obeat, quæ de SS. Malachia, et Laurentio probatissimi authores suprà memorarunt, et facilè deprehendet nobilissimum illud Antistitum par, sic episcopi munus ad amussim explevisse, ut pontificalis officii ritè obeundi exempla potius ex eorum actis peti debeant, quam ut quidpiam in iis desiderari possit, quod in præsulem omnibus numeris absolutum cadere valeat. Cum verò eâ virtutum præstantiâ penitus imbuti ante fuerint, quam è patriâ pedem unquam extulerunt, intrà patriæ fines eos illam imbibisse oportuit. Nemo autem erit tam rationis inops, ut dicat præclaram illam institutionem eos potius primos excogitasse, quam ex aliorum disciplinâ et exemplis hausisse. Ut jam dilucide pateat plures episcopos iis præivisse, qui virtutum omnium exempla suppeditaverunt, et quorum mores hoc par Antistitum in [339] se ad vivum expresserit. |

Quare quantum commendationis Giraldus in illos qui è monachorum cœtu ad episcopatum educti sunt confert, quod "quæ monachi sunt sollicite compleant:" tantundem laudis iis derogat dum dicit:[71] "quæ prælati sunt illos fere prætermittere universa," et quoscunque episcopos officii desides, ac subditorum salutis negligentes semper extitisse. Num officii fuit aut subditorum salutis negligens S. Malachias "qui dissolutus nunquam? negligens nihil, minime aliquando otiosus? pene nicessanter circumiens parochias omnes, evangelio serviens, alios qui secum laborabant in opere ministerii sustentabat." Ita ut qui hactenus videras Giraldum Hiberniæ populum protervè, fœminas petulanter, optimates ignominiosè, sacerdotes procaciter vellicasse, nunc eundem in universum episcoporum ordinem irreverenter invectum esse perspicias; quos summæ imperitiæ, vel improbitatis arguit. Imperitiæ, quod suscepti muneris partes ignoraverint. Improbitatis, quod iis fungi prudentes omiserint: ac proinde obnoxii fuerint pœnis[72] "servi qui cognoscens voluntatem Domini et non facit secundum voluntatem ejus vapulabit multum."[73] Nam "scienti bonum facere, et non facienti peccatum est illi." Non secus ac si una munii parte adimpletâ, aliâ

[71] Top. d. 3 cap. 29. [72] Luc. 12. [73] Ep. Jac. 4.

enormities. A moment's reflection on the lives of SS. Lorcan (Lawrence), and Mael-maedhog (Malachy), as recorded above by the most unexceptionable authorities, must convince my reader, that so far from being deficient in any respect, these two noble prelates discharged their episcopal duties with such fidelity as to make their lives models of episcopal perfection, adorned with all the qualifications required in the perfect prelate. As they had been thoroughly imbued with this eminent virtue before they ever set their feet in a foreign land, they must have acquired it in their own country. Now, can any one be foolish enough to imagine, that this splendid system of education was not handed down to them by the teaching and example of others, but invented by themselves. Many bishops, it is clear, must have preceded who bequeathed examples of all virtues, which were faithfully copied in the lives of our two great prelates.

Though Giraldus does not refuse some commendation to those prelates who exchanged the monk's cowl for the episcopal crozier, but eulogizes their strict fidelity to their monastic duties, "yet he nullifies that testimony by accusing them of neglect of almost all the duties of a prelate," and describes all the bishops as having been at all times negligent in their office, and careless of the salvation of their subjects. Was St. Mael-maedhog careless of his duty or the salvation of his subjects? "he who was never careless, who neglected nothing, and was never for a moment idle; he was almost constantly visiting all the parishes, propagating the Gospel, and supporting those who labored with him in the work of the ministry." Hitherto you have seen Giraldus venting his impudence against the men, his scurrility against the women, his contempt on the nobles, and his insolence against the priests of Ireland, but never you behold him irreverently assailing the whole bench of bishops, accusing them either of the grossest ignorance or guilt: ignorance, if they knew not the duties of their office; guilt, if they deliberately neglected to discharge them; thus entailing on themselves the punishment of the servant who knew the will of his Lord and did not according to his will, and shall be beaten with many stripes. "For to him who knoweth to do good, and doth not, to him it is a sin." Could they possibly have imagined that by discharging one branch of their duty, and neglecting the other, they could enter the gates of heaven?

prætermissâ in cœlos aditum sibi patere arbitrarentur. Et "cum ferè omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in clerum electi sint, ac intrà ecclesiarum septa de antiqua consuetudine se continentes, contemplationi solum fere semper indulgent;" pessimè sibi consuluerunt,[74] quod in tam sedulâ et assidua rerum cælestium contemplatione, nulla suscepti oneris recordatio eorum animos subierit.[75] Quasi suo tantum commodo invigilare, sui vero gregis saluti obdormiscere licuerit. Cum non magis ad hoc non omittendum, quam ad illud faciendum obstringerentur.

Ante hac monui varias in Hibernia scholas multa hominum frequentiâ celebratas fuisse, in quibus assiduo docentium et discentium studio sacræ literæ terebantur. Ex his autem scholis tanquam ex equo Troiano viri multa virtute ac eruditione perquam exculti prodierunt, qui ecclesiis administrandis deindè admoti, in nullâ sui muneris ignoratione versari poterant. Ac proindè planè compererant Timotheum fuisse à S. Paulo vocibus hisce compellatum: "Tu vero vigila, in omnibus labora, opus fac evangelistæ, ministerium tuum imple."[76] Statuit nimirum apostolus, ut episcopi perpetuas excubias agant, et sollicitos se pastores exhibeant, ne innoxios agnos, ferox lupus furtim abripiat. Monet igitur ut otio quamvis laudabili præsules se vel intra monasterii torpere non patiantur, imo potius ut labores prompte obeant, et ad opus se studiose accingant, "ad opus" scilicet "Evangelistæ:" nimirum ut populorum aures assiduis episcoporum hortationibus personent: tum demum "ministerium eos suum" duntaxat "impleturos," et officio episcopali ad unguem functuros.[77] Etenim "ab angelo ecclesiæ Sardis plena opera" Deus exigit. Nam episcopi Angeli sunt, utpote missi ad salutis consilia hominibus enuntianda; quorum in operibus si vel minimum quid desideretur, si debitam perfectionis integritatem non attingant;[78] "veniet ad eos Deus tanquam fur, et nescient qua hora." Episcopos etiam in evangelio Christus alloquitur dicens: "Vos estis sal terræ, vos estis lux mundi, non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita, neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio."[79] Illi vero episcopi "sal terræ non sunt, qui corda audientium non condiunt: quod profecto condi-

[74] Top. d. 3, cap. 29. [75] Ib. c. 28. [76] 2 Tim. 4. [77] Apocal. 3. [78] Ibidem. [79] Math. 5.

And "as almost all the prelates of Ireland were elected into the clerical body from the monasteries, and confined themselves to the enclosures of their churches, according to ancient custom, devoting themselves almost exclusively to contemplation," were they not almost reckless of their salvation, in never allowing a single thought of the duties of their state to cross their minds during their protracted and attentive meditation on heavenly things, as if it could be lawful for them to be awake to their own interests alone, and lose sight of the salvation of their flock, though they were bound as strictly not to neglect the latter as they were to perform the former duty.

Ireland, as I have already proved, could boast of various schools, which were attended by great numbers of scholars, and in which sacred learning was zealously cultivated both by the masters and their pupils. These schools, like the Trojan horse, sent out men of varied erudition and consummate piety, who could not be ignorant of any part of their duty, when they were subsequently raised to the government of churches. The words of St. Paul, addressed to Timothy, were perfectly familiar to them, "but be thou vigilant, labor in all things, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry." Here the Apostle ordains, that the bishops shall keep perpetual watch, and be careful shepherds, lest the fierce wolf should privately carry off the innocent lambs. He intimates, therefore, that they should not indulge in the ease of monastic seclusion, however laudable it be, but should rather execute their labors with alacrity, and gird themselves manfully for their work—the work of an evangelist; that is, that the episcopal preaching should be for ever in the ears of the people, as by that means alone could they fulfil their ministry and discharge perfectly the office of a bishop. God demanded "full works from the angel of the church of Sardis." For bishops being sent to announce to men the words of salvation, are angels; and if there be the least imperfection in their works, if they do not attain to unblemished perfection, "God shall come to them as a thief, and they shall not know at what hour." In the Gospel also Christ addresses the bishops, "you are the salt of the earth; you are the light of the world, a city seated on a mountain cannot be hid, nor do they light a candle and place it under a bushel." Now, those bishops are not the salt of the earth who do not preserve the hearts of their hearers: that seasoning

mentum ille veraciter proximo impendit, qui prædicationis verbum non subtrahit."[80] Qui vero poterit Antistes ille lux esse, qui doctrinæ facem gregi suo ad virtutem non præfert, ac eam potius eorum oculis subducit, dum in cœnobii recessus ultro se abdit; ubi potius in latibulo reconditur, quam in excelso loco, pro ac debuit collocatur, ubi ad eum prospectus omnium, et accessus pateret? Consilium est episcopis optimum, ut rerum cælestium contemplationi; præceptum ut virtutibus hortatione disseminandi sedulo incumbant. Nec par est credere Hibernos episcopos tam mordicus illud amplexuros, ad quod minus astringebantur, et quod iis unice injunctum est penitus neglecturos fuisse.[81] Cum præsertim eos non lateret, "quicunque totam legem servaverit, offendet autem in uno, factum esse omnium reum." Certè in latina [340] Dionysii | Areopagitæ versione à cive suo Joanne Erigenâ elaboratâ legere poterant, "bonum esse ex integrâ causâ, malum ex singulis defectibus."[82] Quare dimidiata illa sui muneris adimpletione Deum non acquiescere: Et "non sufficere Christiano" (ut ait S. Hieronymus) "si partem unam justitiæ impleat, cui utrumque præcipitur."[83] Cum non ignorarent, non erant à ratione tam alieni, ut in ejus offensam scientes incurrerent, dum abjectâ sui gregis curâ, quieti suæ toti vacarant. Imo suprà passim exposui è cænobiis eos se crebrius extulisse, et suæ ditionis fines frequenter obivisse, vitia incolarum extirpasse, ac virtutes eorum animis naviter inseruisse, spartam denique quam nacti sunt pro viribus adornasse. Ita ut dicere potuerint;[84] "Justitiam tuam non abscondi in corde meo veritatem tuam, et salutare tuum dixi."[85] Giraldi ergo "dentes sunt arma et sagittæ, et lingua gladius acutus:" qui episcopos Hiberniæ tot convitiis immerito lacerat, et laniat.

Quid autem attinuit Giraldum in episcopis reprehendere quod "intrà ecclesiarum septa se continuerint," cum id (ipso fatente) "Vetus consuetudo" tulerit: Certe longus usus alibi comprobaverit, Themidum consilia decreverint, sanctorum exempla confirmarint.[86] "Nec potest negari fuisse monachismum seminarium in ecclesiâ Dei sanctissimorum

[80] S. Greg. hom. 17, in 10 Luc. [81] Epist. S. Jac. c. 2. [82] De divinis nomibus. [83] Epist. ad Celantiam. [84] Psal. 32. [85] Psal. 56. [86] Epit. Baron. an. 328, nu. 5.

is truly conferred on our neighbours by him who does not deny to them the preaching of the word." How can a bishop be a light who does not hold up the beacon of virtue to guide his flock, but conceals it from their eyes, by deliberately burying himself in the solitude of a monastery; where they are rather shut up in a lurking hole, than placed as they ought to be, in a conspicuous position, where all could see and have access to them? Contemplation on heavenly things is an excellent thing; but to labor by preaching in promoting virtue, is their strict duty. It is incredible that the Irish bishops would embrace, with such tenacity, a less strict obligation, and totally neglect their peculiar duties, especially when they knew "that whosoever keepeth the whole law, but offends in one, is become guilty of all." Certainly, they could read in the Latin version of the Areopagite, made by their own countryman, John Erigana, "that complete perfection is required for good, but evil arises from any defect," and, therefore, that God could not be content with that discharge of only half their duty; and, as St. Jerome says, "that it is not sufficient for a Christian to fulfil one part of justice, as both are commanded." Knowing these principles, they could not be so foolish as to expose themselves knowingly to the wrath of God, by renouncing all concern for their flock, and consulting only for their own ease. But, as I have already proved they went out frequently from their monasteries and visited the districts committed to their care, eradicating the vices of the inhabitants, diligently implanting the seeds of virtue, and cultivating, to the best of their abilities, the plot over which they had been placed. Thus they could say with truth, "I have not hid thy justice within my heart, I have declared thy truth and thy salvation." Truly are "the truth of Giraldus weapons and arrows, and his tongue a sharp sword," when he vituperates and lacerates the Irish bishops by so many calumnies.

But with what propriety could Giraldus censure the bishops for confining themselves within the enclosure of their churches, when (as himself confesses) such was the ancient custom. The long experience of other countries, the voice of oracles, and the example of saints, have proved, beyond contradiction, that monachism has been the nursery of

episcoporum." In Angliâ diù non erant in aliquibus episcopatibus aliæ cathedrales ecclesiæ quam cœnobia monachorum, aut alii canonici quam monachi.[87] Nec quicquam magis obviam in historiis Angliæ habebis, quam, exclusis canonicis secularibus, monachos in ecclesias cathedrales introductos, et vice versâ. Et Ordricus Vitalis ait: "Augustinum et Laurentium aliosque primos prædicatores Anglorum monachos fuisse, et in episcopatibus suis vice canonicorum (quod vix in aliis terris invenitur) monachos pie constituisse." Scriptoris antiqui à Reynero producti verba sunt: "Hodie in Walliis quatuor episcopatus, in Anglia septemdecem sunt, in octo eorum sunt monachi in episcopalibus sedibus. Hoc in aliis provinciis aut nusquam aut rarò invenies: sed in omni Anglia hoc reperitur;[88] quia primi prædicatores Anglorum scilicet Augustinus, Mellitus, Justus, Laurentius monachi fuerunt." Harpsfildius quoque scribit, "nullum ante Stigandum Guillelmo Conquestori synchronum Cantuariæ ab Augustino primo initiatore et dedicatore illius sedes Episcopum sedisse,[89] qui monasticam prius non fuisset professus." Hancque consuetudinem asserit à summis Pontificibus confirmatam fuisse. Imo in Concilio Rupensi statutum est,[90] ut Arragonii Episcopi sumerentur ex monasterio S. S. Joannis. S. Gregorius Papa S. Augustinum Anglorum Apostolum monuit, "quia monasterii regulis eruditus fuit,[91] seorsim vivere debuisse à clericis, et hanc debere conversationem instituere, quæ initio nascentis, Ecclesiæ fuit patribus nostris, in quibus nullus eorum ex his quæ possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia."[92] Et Synodus Theodoro Cantuariæ Archiepiscopo habita decrevit ut "Episcopi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est, de monasterio ad monasterium,[93] nisi per dimissionem proprii Abbatis, sed in ea permaneant obedientiâ, quam tempore suæ conversionis promiserunt." Quædam etiam apud Reynerum decreta statuunt,[94] ut "qui ordinatus fuerit

[87] Renerus de Apost. Benedict. in Anglia, pp. 10, 16, 17, 77, et alibi. [88] Apud eundem, p. 10. [89] Sec. II. c. 11. [90] Ibid. c. 13. [91] Epit. Baron. an. 1062, n. 7. [92] Beda, lib. 1, c. 27. [93] Idem. l. 4, c. 7. [94] Pag. 16.

[t] And not unfrequently of the greatest statesmen of the middle ages

the most perfect bishops in the church of God.[t] For many centuries monasteries were the only cathedral churches in many dioceses in England, and all the bishops were monks. Nothing is more common in the history of England, than to read of the substitution of monks for the secular canons in the cathedrals, and vice versa. Ordric Vitalis states "that Augustinus and Laurentius, and the other primitive teachers of the English, were monks, and had piously established monks in their dioceses, in the place of canons, a thing almost unknown in other countries." An ancient writer cited by Regner, says that "there are four bishoprics in Wales, and seventeen in England, and that in eight of these episcopal sees, the bishops were monks." This is seldom or never the case in other provinces: but it is common through all England; because the apostles of England, that is Augustinus, Mellitus, Justus, and Laurentius, were monks." Harpsfeld also states, "that before Stigand, who was a contemporary of William the Conqueror, the see of Canterbury, originally founded and dedicated by Augustinus, had never been filled by any person who had not previously made his monastic profession." This custom, he also says, "had been confirmed by the popes." Moreover, it was decreed in the council of Rupen, that the bishops of Arragon should be elected from the monastery of St. John. Pope St. Gregory admonished St. Augustine, the apostle of the English, "that as he had been brought up under the rules of a monastery, he ought to live apart from the clergy, and establish that mode of life which was common among our fathers in the infancy of the church, when all things were common amongst them, and no person could say that anything he possessed was his own." It was decreed, too, in a synod under Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, "that bishop monks should not be changing from place to place, that is from monastery to monastery, unless with the consent of their own abbot, but remain in that obedience which they had promised at the time of their conversion." Other canons cited by Regner, declare

—men who loved the interests of their kingdom or province with the single-minded devotion of a monk for his order; and who had the tact and prudence which genuine zeal and good sense never fail to acquire.

Episcopus in omnibus eundem morem regularem, quem Abbas tenet regularis, diligenti curâ, et magnopere excellenti, jugiter sine intermissione custodiat: Nec Episcopatus occasione regulæ præcepta tumidus vel obliviosus temere intermittat, sed quantum excellit honore, tantum et opere."

Plures Sancti, qui domicilium ac sedem in monasteriis collocarunt, itineribus quam sæpissimè per suos fines habitis, religionem et virtutem latè propagarunt.[95] Aidanus noster, "primus Lindisfarnenis Episcopus fuit cum monachis, illuc et ipse monachus veniens monachicam conversationem instituit." Ille autem "locus accedente et recedente reumate his quotidiè instar insulæ maris circumluitur undis,[96] his renudato litore contiguus terræ redditur."[97] Imo "monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat." Idem tamen "discurrere per cuncta et rustica loca solebat, quatenus ubicumque aliquos vel divites vel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos divertens vel ad fidei suscipiendæ sacramentum, si infideles essent invitaret, vel si fideles, in ipsâ eos fide confortaret, atque ad eleemosynas, bonorumque operum exercitium et verbis excitavit et factis."[98] Is ad "insulam Farnæ sæpius secrerè orationis et silentii causa secedere consueverat."[99] Et "in villa regia habens Ecclesiam et cubiculum sæpius [341] ibidem diverti ac manere, atque inde ad | prædicandum circumquaque consueverat exire. Quod ipsum et in aliis villis regiis facere solebat, utpotè nihil propriæ possessionis, excepta Ecclesiâ et adjacentibus agellis habens."

Nec alia successoribus ac civibus Aidani Finnano, et Colmanno "vicos adeundi, quam prædicandi, baptizandi, infirmos visitandi,[100] et ut breviter dicam, animas curandi causa fuit." Et "Cedd à Finnano factus Episcopus elegit sibi locum monasterii construendi in montibus arduis ac remotis,[1] in quibus latronum magis latibula, ac lustra fera-

[95] Beda, l. 4, c. 26. [96] Lib. 3, c. 3. [97] Idem in vita S. Cuthber. c. 16. [98] Lib. 3, c. 3, et 5. [99] Cap. 16, et 17. [100] Gap. 16. [1] Cap. 23, 23.

[u] Similar localities were ordinarily selected for the ancient Irish monasteries: they combined both security and retirement. Hence the common prefixes to names of Irish churches, cluain, inis, &c.

"that whoever was consecrated bishop should diligently and perseveringly observe in everything, with the greatest and most rigorous care, the same rule of life which the regular abbot observes. Nor should his episcopal rank make him, either through contempt or forgetfulness, rashly omit the precepts of his rule, but oblige him to excel others by his works as much as by his dignity."

Many saints who lived in monasteries, fixed their sees, and propagated religion and virtue by frequently travelling through the districts entrusted to them. "Our countryman Aidan, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, was a monk, and came there with his monks, and established the monastic mode of life." The place itself "was twice during each day surrounded like an island, by the ebb and flow of the waves of the sea, and twice it was accessible by land, while the strand was dry."[u] Nay "he always observed the monastic rule with his brethren;" and yet "he was accustomed to traverse the country in all directions; and whenever, during his journeyings, he met any person, rich or poor, he immediately accosted them, and exhorted them, if they were pagans, to receive the sacrament of faith, but if Christians, he confirmed them in the faith itself, and, both by word and example, excited them to almsgiving and the practice of good works." He frequently retired secretly to the Isle of Farna to enjoy solitude and prayer. "His church and sleeping apartment were in the royal city, where he often went and remained, making it the centre whence he went out on every side to preach. It was his custom to do the same in the other royal cities, as he had no private property, except the church and the adjoining little farms."[v]

Finan and Colman, the successors and fellow-countrymen of Aidan, never visited the towns except for the same purposes, namely, to preach, to baptize, to visit the sick, and, in one word, to save souls. Cedd also, "who was appointed bishop by Finan, selected a site for the erection of a monastery among high and solitary mountains, where

[v] See in Petrie's Round Towers, p. , a short description of the original establishment at Lindisfarne. The remains of others precisely similar may still be seen in parts of Ireland.

rum, quam habitacula fuisse videbantur hominum, quod monasterium nunc Lestingben vocatum religiosis moribus juxtà ritum Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat instituit."[2] Eadmerus S. Lanfranci assiduam in claustro cum monachis conversationem, et paternam dulcedinem narrat. Et idem, in vita S. Anselmi, quam dulcis illi fuerit etiam tunc Archiepiscopo cláustri custodia, pulchra similitudine declarat Noctuæ,[3] cui malè est, quandò inter reliquas aves versatur, omnibus videlicet ipsam insectantibus, benè autem est, quandò in nidulo suo sola cum pullis suis quiescit: Ita (inquit) et mihi conversatio cum sæcularibus est molestissima, cum vobis autem filiis et fratribus in claustro sedens benè mihi esse intelligo.

Nec monasteria sic ascetica fuerunt, quin plures non sòlum Antistites; sed etiam monachi ex iis egressi, excursionibus per regiones habitis, populum salutaribus institutis studiosissimè informaverint.[4] "Sic Hiense monasterium in cunctis penè Septentrionalibus Scotorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat." Ipsum autem "habere solebat rectorem semper Abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis Provincia,[w] et ipsi etiam Episcopi ordine inusitato debebant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus, et gentem, dictorum verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit."

Sanctus etiam Malachias noster in disciplinam se tradidit primum Imarii,[6] deinde Malchi monachi, tum "præfuit" cænobio Benchorensi "ipse rector, ipse regula fratrum," quod primo "de lignis levigatis" construxit, et postea in eo "lapideum oratorium" fecit, et in Saballino cænobia, "non modo oratorium, sed monasterium totum" è saxo condidit.[7] Et jam Episcopus cum "centum viginti fratribus" ivit in

[2] Hist. novorum lib. 8. [3] Reyner. p. 17. [4] Beda, lib. 3, c. 3. [5] Cap. 4.
[6] S. Bern in vita S. Malachiæ c. 2, lib. 3, 5. [7] Cap. 9.

[w] Many foreign writers erroneously state that all Irish bishops were subject to the successor of St. Columba. There is not the shadow of truth in that assertion; nor does it appear that the subjection of any bishops to him

you would expect the dens of robbers and the lairs of wild beasts, rather than the dwellings of men. This monastery, which is now called Lestingben, he governed by the monastic rule of Lindisfarne, where himself had been educated." Eadmer describes St. Lanfranc as spending much of his time in the monastery with the monks, and treating them with all the mildness of a father. The same author, in his life of St. Anselm, illustrates the delight that archbishop took in the solitude of the cloister, by the appropriate image of the owl, which is never at ease when among other birds, all of which attack it, but which is happy when it rests in its nest alone with its young. "Even thus," said he, "conversation with men of this world is very irksome to me, but sitting in a cloister among you, my sons and brethren, I feel myself at ease."

The monasteries were never so purely ascetic as not to send out both bishops and monks, who made many journeys through the country and diligently instructed the people in the saving maxims of truth. "Thus during a considerable time the monastery of Hy was the head of almost all the northern monasteries of the Picts and of the Scots, and was the chief authority in governing their people." Its superior was always an abbot priest, to whose jurisdiction the whole province, and even the bishops[w] themselves, were subject, a law very unusual, but founded on the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a monk and priest, and had converted that people to the Christian faith, by his preaching and example.

Our own St. Mael-maedhog had placed himself under the discipline first of St. Imar, and then of Malchus, a monk: next he presided as superior, and a living rule for his brethren over the monastery of Bangor, which he erected first of planed planks, and subsequently adorned with a stone oratory.[x] In Saul he erected not only an oratory, but the whole monastery of stone. After his elevation to the episcopacy he went to Munster, with one hundred and twenty of his bre-

was more than an obligation of paying certain tribute to the Columbian monasteries.

[x] For a refutation of the absurd opinion that these were the first Irish ecclesiastical *stone* buildings, see Petrie's Round Towers, p.

Momoniam, et ejus "occasione monasterium Ibracense constructum est."[8] Cum autem Armachano se Archiepiscopatum abdicaret, et Dunensis tantum Episcopus exstiterit,[9] "curavit asciscere ad solatium sibi de filiis suis convuentum regularium clericorum, et ecce rursus accingitur quasi novus Christi tyro ad spirituale certamen,[10] rursus induitur arma potentia Dei, sanctæ paupertatis humilitatem, rigorem disciplinæ cænobialis, otium contemplandi, orandi assiduitatem. Attamen ipse interdum exibat seminare semen suum, disponens et decernens totâ authoritate de rebus Ecclesiasticis tanquam ex Apostolis unus.[11] A die primo conversionis suæ usque ad extremum vitæ suæ sine proprio vixit, nonservos, non ancillas, non villas, non viculos, non denique quicquam, reddituum Ecclesiasticorum sæculariumvè vel in ipso habuit Episcopatu. Mensæ Episcopali nihil prorsus constitutum vel assignatum unde Episcopus viveret, nec enim vel domum propriam habuit. Erat enim penè incessanter circumiens paræcias omnes Evangelio serviens et de Evangelio vivens. In Scotiâ locum qui Viride stagnum dicitur fecerat præparari, ubi statueret Abbatiam, et reliquit de filiis suis monachorum conventum."[12]

Quid quod ipsi Apostolo nostro "S. Patricio S. Martinus masticum habitum, et ejus instituta tradiderit observanda, quæ ille devotè suscepta actibus habitui respondentibus adornavit, et in eisdem perseveravit."[13] Semper enim "super cætera indumenta cucullâ candidâ amiciebatur, ut ipse habitus forma et color monachatus sui speciem, et candidatum humilitatis et innocentiæ repræsentare videretur."[14] Hæc igitur documenta convincunt et Episcopos intrà monasteriorum septa se non illaudabiliter continuisse, et Giraldum hinc iniquè statuisse, quòd "contemplationi solum ferè semper indulserint, et quæ Prælati sunt ferè universa prætermiserint."[15]

Et ut eorum criminandorum aviditate se capi ostenderet, minutiora etiam errata iis authoribus, vel approbatoribus fieri contendit. Ut ad infamiam illis comparandam minutias etiam quasque undique, cor-

[8] Cap. 12. [9] Cap. 6. [10] Cap. 9. [11] Cap. 10. [12] Cap. 14. [13] Jocelin. c. 22. [14] Cap. 185. [15] Top. d. 3.

thren; and it was on that occasion that the monastery of Ibracken was constructed. "Having resigned the archbishopric of Ardmacha, and being only bishop of Down," he took care to bring with him for his consolation some of his sons from the convent of regular clerics: and behold him then girding himself once more for the spiritual contest, like a young soldier of Christ; once more in the might of the Most High, he buckled on his armour, the humility of holy poverty, the vigor of monastic discipline, contemplative retreat, and constant prayer. Nevertheless himself sometimes went out to scatter his seed, regulating and deciding ecclesiastical matters with full authority, like one of the apostles. From the first day of his conversion to the last moment of his life, he lived without any private property, not possessing, even during his episcopacy, either man servant or maid servant, or manor-house or little farm, or any portion either of ecclesiastical or temporal revenues. There was nothing allocated or assigned for the episcopal table to support the bishop: he had not so much as a house of his own. For he was almost constantly in motion, visiting all the parishes, serving the Gospel, and living by the Gospel. He is said to have selected in Scotland a site for a monastery, called Viride Stagnum [Loch Glas], and to have established there a community of monks from his new order.

And with regard to our apostle "St. Patrick himself, he received from St. Martin the monastic habit, and the monastic rules which he was to observe;" and after having devoutly embraced them, honored them by virtues in character with his habit, and persevered in them. "For he always wore over his other clothes a white cowl, that the habit itself, its form and color, might represent both his profession as a monk and his stainless humility and innocence." These authorities prove both that the bishops did not ingloriously confine themselves to the monastic enclosure, and that Giraldus was calumnious in inferring "that they devoted themselves almost exclusively to contemplation, and neglected nearly all the duties of a prelate."

To prove the strength of that appetite by which he was goaded to calumniate the bishops, he contends that minor abuses were either introduced or encouraged by them. All trifles, however inconsiderable,

radere videatur. Etenim inquit, "In quibusdam Hiberniæ partibus [342] avibus istis quæ Bernacæ | vocantur, tanquam non carneis, quia de carne non natis, Episcopi, et viti religiosi jejuniorum tempore, sine delectu vesci solent."[16] Quæ ales qua ratione gignatur ipse narrat his verbis. "Bernacas mirum in modum contra naturam, natura producit: ancis quidem palustribus similes, sed minores. Ex lignis namque abieginis per æquora devolutis primo quasi gummi nascuntur. Dehinc tanquam ab alga ligno cohærente conchilibus testis ad liberiorem formationem per rostra dependent, et sic quò usque processu temporis formam plumarum vestituram indutæ, vel in aquas decidunt, vel in aëris libertatem volatu se transferunt, ex succo ligneo, marinoque occultanimis admirandique seminis ratione alimenta simul, incrementaque, suscipiunt. Vidi multoties oculis meis plusquam mille minuta hujusmodi avium corpuscula in litore maris ab uno ligno dependentia testis inclusa, et iam formata. Non ex harum coitu (ut in avibus assolet) ova gignuntur, non avis in earum procreatione unquam ovis incubat, in nullis terrarum angulis vel libidini vacant, vel nidificare videntur."

Nostra quoque memoriâ ejusmodi aviculæ non solum abieti, sed etiam pinui rostris, infixis adhærent. E Navium enim diu mare sulcantium carinis in litus subductus, magnum earum numerum pendere cernuimus, quæ testis clausæ è ligno diuturna humectatione penè putrescente, succum rostris hauriunt, quo alitæ sensim sine sensu crescunt, testâ semper pro earum incrementi accessione magnitudinis etiam augmentum sumente: tandem pinu semel et testa exutæ primum natationum; paulò post volatum inchoant: adultæ anatem palustrem similitudine referunt, mole superant, anseres magnitudine non exæquant.[17] Has Hiberni Durridinas, Scoti Clates, et Solandgeese appellant. Nec enim avis istæ solum in Hibernia, sed etiam in Scotia visuntur. Æneas Silvius, posteà Pius secundus Pontifex maximus, in itineris quo Scotium Legatus sub ann. Dom. 1448 peragrabat narratione "Audiveramus (inquit) nos olim, arborem esse in Scotia,[18] quæ suprà ripam fluminis enata fructus produceret, anatecum formam habentes, et eos quidem, cum maturitati proximi essent, sua sponte

[16] Top. d. 13, cap. 11. [17] Camden. p. 713. [18] De Europa c. 46.

are collected from all sources to overwhelm the bishops with infamy. "In some parts of Ireland," he says, "those birds which are called barnacles are eaten, without scruple, by the bishops and ecclesiastics, on the ground that the birds are not flesh, as they are not born of flesh." He then gives an account of the mode in which these birds are produced. "Barnacles are produced by nature in a wonderful way and against nature: they are like wild geese, but of smaller size. At first they spring out like gum or pine-wood floating on the sea. Then to develope their forms with more ease, they hang in shells, by their beaks, like sea-weed clinging to wood, and having, in due course of time, acquired a firm clothing of feathers, they either drop into the sea, or wing their way to the open fields of air, having, by a secret and wonderful mode of generation, received both their food and growth from the humors of the timber and the sea-water. I often saw, with my own eyes, more than a thousand small animals of this kind, shut up in their shells, perfectly formed, and hanging from one plank of timber. Eggs are not produced by these, in the ordinary way of other birds, by coition. Nor does any bird ever mature them by incubation, in no corner of the land are they known either to build nests or to copulate." Birds of this kind are known, in our own days, to cling by their beaks not only to the fir-tree, but also to the pine. Swarms of them may be seen hanging from the keels of vessels, drawn up on shore, after long voyages. Locked up in their shells they draw their food with their beaks, from the wood which is becoming rotten by the long action of the water, and on this nourishment they gradually grow, the shell always expanding in proportion with the increase of their bulk, until at length they abandon both the shells and the pine, and begin first to swim in the sea, and then to fly. When full grown they are not unlike wild ducks, but larger; they are smaller than geese. The Irish call them Durridin, the Scots, Clates, and Solandgeese; for these birds are found in Scotland as well as in Ireland. In the narrative which he has left us of his legatine mission to Scotland in 1448, Æneas Silvius, who was afterwards pope Pius II., states "that he had heard long ago, there was a tree in Scotland, which, if planted on the bank of a river, produced fruit having the shape of ducks, and that when they were nearly

decidere, alios in terram, alios in aquam, et in terram projectos putrescere, in aquam verò demersos mox animatos enatare sub aquis, et in aëre plumis pennisque evolare. De quare cum audivimus, et investigaremus, didicimus miracula remotius fugere, famosamque arborem non in Scotia, sed apud Orcades inueri."[19] Iisdem etiam avibus ininsulam Monam, Camdenus ait esse "abundantissimam, et Puffins" ab incolis vocari. Easdem Angli Bernaclas appellant;[20] "quas" ait Camdenus "ex vetustis et putrefactis navium carinis procreatas, eos testarii posse qui navem qua Franciscus Drake orbem circumnavigavit in Tamisis vipam seductam viderunt, cujus carinæ exterius ejusmodi aviculæ, magno numero inanimes et implumes adhæserunt. Quorum tamen semina non fuisse è truncis, sed ab Oceano, quem rerum parentem dixere poëtæ, opinari libet." Certè naves in litus Gallicum, post longam navigationem appulsæ, ejusmodi aviculas carinis pendulas gestant. Ut singulare illud Giraldi miraculum, et ab eo Hiberniæ soli adscriptum, jam vulgare sit, et aliis quoque nationibus familiare. Quamobrem non injuria Camdenus dixit: "Vix opere prætium esse illarum meminisse."[21]

In hoc uno Giraldo de Hiberniæ Episcopis tantum non malè meritus est, quod ab eorum aliquibus, et non omnibus, esum Bernacæ in jejuniis obsonii vice visitatum esse scribat, cum "in quibusdam" tantum, et non in omnibus "Hiberniæ partibus" eam pro pisce habitam jejunii tempore mensis comedendam impunè apponi dicat. In quibus autem Hiberniæ partibus ejusmodi cibationis indulgentia usurpata fuerit indeò non nominatim expressisse credendus est, quod Hiberniæ regiones à se frequentatas eo ritu immunes viderit. Ut in remotiores Hiberniæ partes Ultoniam scilicet, et Connaciam, quarum neutram nec oculis ille, nec pedibus unquam obivit, eam criminationem ab illo rejectam fuisse mihi persuadeam; gyrovago aliquo qui oras tantum, et non intima provinciarum illarum loca pererravit hominem novitatibus avide inhiantem de tali re certiorem faciente; cui leviter narratæ, nec oculis sed auditu

[19] Pag. 839. [20] Pag. 713. [21] Pag. 713.

ripe, they fell of their own accord, some into the water, others on the ground; but those which fell on the ground rotted, while those which were plunged into the water, immediately became alive and swam under the water, or rose in the air, fully winged and feathered. Having heard of this matter, we made some inquiries about it, and learned that the miracles were retreating farther away from us, and that this famous tree was not found in Scotland, but in the Orkneys." Camden states that birds of this kind are found in very great abundance in the island of Mona, and are called puffins by the inhabitants. The English call them barnacles, "and they are produced," says Camden, "from the old and rotten planks of ships, as every one knows who saw the ship in which Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe drawn up on the bank of the Thames. Great numbers of these little birds, but dead and featherless, were found clinging to the outside of the keel. We may conjecture that the seed from which they sprung, was not produced by the planks, but by the ocean, which the poets have styled the parent of things." Such birds are certainly found hanging from the keels of vessels returning to the shores of France after a long voyage. Thus this singular miracle, which Giraldus would confine to Ireland alone, is very common and well known in other countries. Camden has truly observed, "that it was not worth the trouble to have noticed them."

In one point alone Giraldus has treated the bishops of Ireland with some little kindness; he does not accuse all, but some only, of eating those barnacles on fast days; for it was only in some, not in all parts of Ireland, that they were taken to be fish, and could be lawfully served to table on a fast day. His reason for not specifying the parts of Ireland where this food was allowed very probably was, that the custom did not prevail in those districts with which he was acquainted. I am convinced that his calumny was intended for the more remote regions of Ireland, namely, Connacht or Ulster, on neither of which he ever set either foot or eye; and that the story was given him by some vagrant, who was acquainted only with the borders, and knew nothing of the interior of those provinces, but yet imposed on the gaping credulity of Giraldus, who, in his zest for novelty, rashly believed the flimsy narrative, on the report of another, without any ocular

compertæ, fidem ille temerè adhibuit. Ut illud ecclesiastici apposite in illum cadat: "qui cito credit levis est corde."[22]

Earum vero regionum "Episcopos aut religiosos" in jejunando tam [343] remissos | fuisse non censeo, ut habenas sibi ad ejusmodi cupedias laxaverint. Dixit enim Giraldus:[23] "Fere omnes Hiberniæ prælatos de monasteriis in clerum electos fuisse." Moxque subjecit eosdem "quæ monachi sunt sollicite complere omnia." In Hibernia vero (ut Camdeno placet) "qui religioni se consecrant,[24] religiosa quadam austeritate ad miraculum usque se continent, vigilando, orando, et jejuniis se macerando." Imo subdit etiam idem, "ipsæ etiam adeo mulieres, et puellæ jejunium per totum annum, die mercurii et sabbati observant," et cleri "abstinentiam" ipse Giraldus extollit.[25] Hinc accedit quod Rathranus Corbiensis monachus scribat: "Scotorum nationem quæ Hiberniam insulam inhabitat,[26] consuetudinem habere, per monasteria monachorum seu canonicorum, vel quorumcunque religiosorum, omni tempore, præter dominicam, festosque dies jejunare, nec nisi ad nonam vel ad vesperam corpori cibum indulgere."

Præstantissimus enim fidei apud nos propagatæ author S. Patricius, monachatu semel inito, posteà semper toto vitæ decursu carnibus abstinuit. Quam etiam consuetudinem plerique Hiberniæ sancti ultrò amplexi rigidè observarunt. "S. Columba integrâ hebdomadâ non tantum alimenti sumebat, quantum uni mendiculo pro una refectione sufficeret, semperque à vino,[27] et omni sapido delicatovè edulio abstinuit: ordinarius illi potus aqua pura, cibus panis ex farina avenæ permixta." Et porcum sibi comitibusque appositum, ne ipse, suique jejunii violatione contaminarentur, in piscem vertit. S. Fintanus Cluanednechensis mortuus an. Dom. 560 maximam sibi ac discipulis austeritatem indixit.[28] Ita ut "auditâ asperitate conversationis eorum, nemo auderet eis carnem afferre." S. Aidus episcopus an. Dom. 588 extinctus quadam vice apud S. Riochum in Innisbofinnia Lochriensi diversatus, carnes appositas quia gustare noluit,[29] sacrâ precatione, adhibitâ, pisces, mel, et panem fecit. S. Finnianus Cluanerardensis an.

[22] Cap. 19. [23] Top. d. 3, c. 29. [24] Pag. 789. [25] Top. d. 3, c. 27. [26] Apud Usherus de primord. p. 731. [27] Odonell in ejus vita lib. 3, c. 34. [28] Ibid. lib. 2, c. 6. [29] Colg. 17 Feb. c. 6, 7.

evidence of its truth. The censure of Ecclesiasticus may be truly applied to him, "he that is quick to believe is light of heart."

But I cannot believe that the bishops and religious of those provinces were so lax in the observance of fasting, as to indulge in such delicacies. "Almost all the prelates of Ireland were," according to Giraldus himself, "taken from monasteries into the secular clergy;" and, as he observes immediately after, "they punctually discharged all the duties of a monk." Camden also states "that those who consecrate themselves to religion in Ireland embrace an almost miraculous austerity in piety, by praying, watching, and incarcerating themselves with fasts." "Even the women and young girls," he says again, "fast on Wednesdays and Saturdays the whole year round." Giraldus himself eulogizes "the abstinence of the clergy." To these we may add the testimony of Rathan, a monk of Corbie, "that the nation of the Scots who inhabit the island of Ireland have a custom in all their monasteries, whether of monks or canons, or other religious, to fast at all times except Sundays and festival days, and to allow no food for their bodies before noon or vespers."

St. Patrick, the ever glorious apostle of our faith, abstained from flesh meat during the whole course of his life, from the time in which he embraced the monastic profession. The same custom was adopted and observed rigorously by most of the Irish saints. "St. Columba used not to take, during an entire week, as much food as a little beggar boy would consume in one meal, and he never tasted wine or any agreeable and delicate food: his ordinary drink was pure water, and his food was bread made of flower mixed with oats." When swine's flesh was served up to himself and his companions, he changed it into fish lest he and his companions should be contaminated by the violation of their abstinence. St. Fintan of Cluainedhneach, who died in the year 560, imposed the most rigorous austerities on himself and his disciples; "so that their extraordinary mortification being known, no person would dare to bring meat to them." St. Aid, bishop, who died in the year 588, happening to remain some time with St. Rioch in Innisbofinn of Loch Ribh, would not taste the flesh meat served up to him, but offering up a holy prayer, he changed it into fishes, honey and bread. St.

Dom. 548, in cœlum elatus,[30] "Non manducabat nisi panem et olera, et pro potu aquam bibebat. Diebus vero festivis panem de frumento licet raro, et partem piscis manducabat, et pro potu cælicem cervisiæ, sive de sero lactis bibebat. Sed de carnibus taceo, qui nec unquam alicujus animalis comedit, nisi tantum partem piscis assi."

S. Kiaranus Segriensis episcopus sanctorum Hiberniæ primogenitus, "à juventute sua usque ad obitum carnibus,[31] et potibus inæbriantibus carebat." S. Kieranum Clonmacnosensem episcopum, carnis sibi etiam esu interdixisse è supérioris Kierani "vita" colligo.[32] Ubi legitur: Hic "carnem coctam" sibi appositam "benedixisse, quæ coram fratribus facta est piscis, olus, et mel et oleum."[33] S. Maidocus Fernensis Episcopus carnes sibi à S. Molua Lothrensi appositas consecratione pisces fecit.[34] Monachis insulas quasdam maris incolentibus "nihil aliud cibi ministrabatur, nisi poma et nuces, et cætera genera herbarum."

Quid multis? priscus religiosorum Hiberniæ jejunandi ritus non aliunde quàm è Beda purius hauriri potest,[35] qui jejunandi rationem Ceddæ Lichfeldensi episcopo ab Hibernis instituto usitatam enarrans dicit: S. Ceddam "Quadragesimæ diebus cunctis (exceptâ Dominicâ)[36] jejunium ad vesperam juxta morem protelantem, nec tunc nisi panis modicum,[37] et unum ovum gallinaceum, cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percepisse. Dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum à quibus normam disciplinæ regularis didicerat."[38] Adamnannus etiam monachus Hibernus in Colodanæ urbis monasterio nihil unquam cibi vel potus, exceptâ die Dominicâ, et quinta Sabbati percipiebat. S. Egbertus Anglus in monasterio de Rathmoelfigni (quæ in agro Kierrensi videtur extitisse, in qua regio est Hidfignite dicta) religiosis disciplinis excultus,[39] "in quadragesima semper non plus quam semel in die reficiebatur, non aliud quam panem et lac tenuissimum, et hoc cum mensura gustaret. Quod videlicet lac pridie novum in fiala ponere solebat, et post noctem, ablata superficie crassiore, ipse residuum cum modico ut diximus pane bibebat." S. Aidani "exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique viri, ac fœminæ consuetudinem

[30] Ibid. 28 Feb. c. 31. [31] Ibid. 5 Mar. c. 40. [32] Lib. 33. [33] Idem 31 Jonu. c. 2. [34] Append. Colg. 22 Mas. p. 921. [35] Lib. 3, c. 21, 23, 25. [36] Lib. 4, c. 3. [37] Lib. 3, c. 3. [38] Lib. 4, c. 25. [39] Lib. 3, c. 23.

Finnian of Clonard, who passed to his crown in 548, "eat nothing but bread and herbs, and drank nothing but water. On festival days he eat wheaten bread (though seldom), and a part of a fish, and drank a cup of ale or whey. But of meat I say nothing—he never eat the flesh of any animal, nothing but a piece of roasted fish."

St. Kieran, bishop of Saigir, the first born of the saints of Ireland, "abstained during his whole life, from his youth to his death, from flesh meat and all intoxicating drinks." From the life of the same saint, I infer that St. Kieran, bishop of Clonmacnoise, also denied himself the use of flesh meat: for we read, that "when boiled meat was served up to him, he blessed and changed it, in presence of his brethren, into fish, herbs, and honey and oil." St. Maidoc, bishop of Ferns, also blessed meat, served up to him by St. Moelma of Lorrah, and changed it into fish. "Apples and nuts, and other sorts of vegetables, were the only food used by monks," who inhabited certain islands of the sea.

Why dwell on this point? the ancient discipline of monastic fasts in Ireland cannot be learned from a better authority than Bede, who gives the following description of the fasts practised by Cedd, bishop of Litchfield, who had been educated by the Irish. "Every day in Lent, except Sundays, St. Cedd protracted his fast until evening, according to his custom, and then eat only a small piece of bread and one hen-egg, with a little milk mingled with water. This, he said, was the custom of those from whom he had learned his rule of regular discipline." Adamnan, an Irish monk of a monastery in the city of Colodana, "never took any food, either meat or drink, except on Sunday and Thursday." St. Egbert, an Englishman, who was trained to monastic discipline in the monastery of Rathmoelfigni (situated probably in the district of Hi-Figinte, in the county of Kerry,) "never took food more than once a day in Lent, and then only bread, and a very weak milk and even that in a small quantity. The milk he placed in a bottle the night before, and in the morning he skimmed off the rich cream, and used the rest, as I have already said, with a small portion of bread." "Some religious men and women, following the example of St. Aidan in those times, adopted a custom of protracting their fasts until noon on all Wednesdays and Fridays through the year, except during the fifty days after Easter." We read, moreover, "that

fecerunt, per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimæ Paschalis, quarta, et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare."[40] Huc accedit quod "procurante rege Ceolulfo monacho" sub an. Dom. 738, "Lindisferniæ effecto, data est monachis Lindisfernensis Ecclesia licentia bibendi vinum vel cervisiam. Ante enim non nisi lac, vel aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem S. Aidani Episcopi." Quis vero arbitrabitur posteros, horum in- [344] stituta ultro | amplexos, ab eorum vivendi ratione adeò desciivisse, ut etiam aucupum misisterio ad oppiparas volucrum escas sibi comparandas uterentur? non vulgaribus, et obviis contenti alitibus, nisi etiam raras aves, et visui aut usui hominum sese infrequenter exhibentes anxiè indagarent. Imo vero non erant adeo cibi delicatioris appetentes, ut exquisitis potius cupidiis, quam parabili cibo famem sedarent.

Quod si usus ejusmodi alite vescendi apud eos etiam invaluisset, non erat unius sacerdotis tot Episcopos, et plures religiosorum virorum cætus illos sibi dignitáte, hos pietate, utrosque si non sejunctos, saltem conjunctos literis ac doctrina longè superiores tam acriter carpere? Cum præsertim consuetudine à prima religionis in Hibernia institutione repetitâ se fortassè tueri potuerint. Videmus lacticiniorum, et ovorum esum legibus Ecclesiæ hodiernis, nobis in Quadragesimâ vetitum, prisciis illis viris, sanctitatis etiam splendore illustribus fuisse familiarem, eos tamen in apertâ legis ab Ecclesia latæ violatione, nec levi quidem reprehensione à venerabili Beda læsos non videmus. Ejusdem autem ordinis homines, quod ab Ecclesiæ decretis, specie, non re, vel transversum unguem deflectere visi fuerint, Giraldus genuino mordet.[41] Monitorum divi Pauli planè oblitus jubentis, ut is "qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat, manducantem non judicet, Deus illum assumpsit. Tu quis es qui judicas alienum servum? Domino suo stat aut cadit." Ea est vis consuetudinis, ut leges ab homine conditas validè antiquet, ita ut quamquam primi deterioris cujuspiam consuetudinis authores delicto se inquinent, posteri tamen longo temporis decursu corroboratam citra culpam amplecti possint.[42] Laridum et sanguinem in Sicilia, in Hispania pecorum

[40] Capgravias invita S. Cutbert, c. 8, 3. [41] S. Th. p. 2, q. 97, ar. 3. Diana, p. 2, tract de jejunio resol, 21. [42] Diana, ib.

by the influence of king Ceolwolf, who became a monk in Lindisfarne, A.D. 738, the monks of the church of Lindisfarne were allowed to drink ale and wine; milk and water had been hitherto their only drink according to the ancient tradition of St. Aidan the bishop." Is it credible that the successors of those men, after voluntarily embracing the monastic institute, would depart so far from the ancient mode of life, as to employ fowlers to procure for them the luscious flesh of birds? nay, not to content themselves with common birds which could be had everywhere, but to make a rigid search after those rare birds, which are seldom seen or made subservient to the use of man. No, no; they certainly were not so solicitous for delicate dishes as to require exquisite sweetmeats, and not common food, to satisfy their hunger.

But, though the custom of eating those birds had prevailed in Ireland, a single priest had no right to inveigh so severely against so many bishops and so great a number of convents of religious men—the former, his superiors in rank; the latter, in piety: and both, if not separately, at least conjointly, his superiors in doctrine and erudition. Perhaps they could plead in their defence a custom handed down to them from the primitive days of the Irish church. Thus, milk diet and eggs are prohibited during Lent by the modern laws of the church, though they were used by those saints of old, many of whom had attained the glory of eminent sanctity, and yet the venerable Beda does not hint the least censure on them, as being guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of the church. But Giraldus aims his fangs at men of equal character, when he finds them violating apparently, not really, not even by one hair's breadth—the laws of the church. He has completely forgotten the admonition of St. Paul, who says, "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and he that eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth. Who art thou that judgeth another man's servant? To his own lord he standeth or falleth." Such is the authority of custom, that it can validly antiquate human laws; and, though the first authors of any improper custom sin by introducing it, yet, when it has been confirmed by long usage, people are not guilty of any sin in embracing it, in after times. In Sicily, lard and blood, and in Spain the heads of cattle, are not prohibited on fast days. Such

ilia et capita salvo jejunio manducantur. Patria nostra, et finitimæ circumquaque regiones talem indulgentiam nunquam retulerunt.[43] Laridum quoque et sanquinem Cluniacenses inter edulia jejuniis accommodata adhibent, Cistercienses arcent; non tam quod pinguetudinem non esse carnem Aristoteles dixerit, quam quod ritum illum à majoribus per manus traditum acceperint. Imo aliqui Benedictinorum cætus qui hac tempestate carnium sibi esum ultrò ademerunt, Mergo, alii etiam Fulicâ vescuntur, ut quos in piscium numerum referunt, quod in undis assidue versentur, et pascant. Nonne longè potiori jure Bernaca piscibus testæ inclusis annumeranda est? quam mare generavit, et aluit, vix alia præter litus loca frequentantem?[44] Theologorum enim sententia est: "Nomine carnium intelligi eas quæ sunt animalium, quæ extra aquam diu naturaliter vivere queunt: Pisces dicuntur qui extra aquam diu naturaliter vivere non possunt. Hinc patet quid jucicandum sit de limace, et cochlea, rana, locusta, testudine." Ut Bernaca in piscium testa septorum ardine collocari debere videatur, cujus pullus in testa procreetur. Quod si è nostrorum temporum consuetudine judicium in hac controversia ferre liceret, Giraldus causâ protinus caderet. Nostrâ enim memoriâ ipsi Carthusiani, qui carnium esu sibi usque adeo interdixerunt, ut quamvis ea comestio è mortis eos faucibus eriperet, eam tamen neutiquam gustant, religioni minimè ducunt Bernacis vesci, Ecclesia annuente ut avem illam in edulium jejunantes adhiberent. Ac proinde videtur per Ecclesiam semper licuisse ut Bernaca tum non abstineretur, cum solus piscium ejus licitus esset.

Cæterum ratiotinationis quâ morem illum præsulum, et religiosorum Hiberniæ Giraldus infirmare nititur nervos valide Stanihurstus elisit. Nam ille contendit sicut è carnium genere ideo Bernaca excluditur quod ortum è carne non habeat,[45] sic Adamum, quia è carne non prodiit, carneæ conditionis expertem esse. Pari ergo jure utriusque caro dierum jejunio destinatorum esca esse potest. Sed Stanihurstus hoc sensu non his verbis, retorquet homines vel usitata vel inusitata ratione progeneratos ejusdem esse speciei. Quod si supra

[43] Azor. p. 1, lib. 6, c. 21. [44] Azor. ubi sup. c. 10. [45] Anglica descript. Hib. c. 2, appendex Latinæ Historiæ, p. 232.

an indulgence was never tolerated in our country or in any of the neighbouring nations. The monks of Cluny also allowed lard and blood in their food or fast days. The Cistercians prohibited them, not on the principle of Aristotle that fat is flesh, but because their new custom has been handed down to them from their predecessors. Even some of the Benedictines, who have in those days voluntarily renounced the use of meat, eat cormorants, and sometimes moorhens, which they say must be classed among fishes, as they constantly live and feed in the water. Now is there not a far stranger reason for classing the barnacle among those fishes ?—a bird shut up in a sea-shell, generated and nourished by the sea, and never frequenting any place but the sea shore ? It is the opinion of Theologians "that under the term flesh meat is to be included the flesh of those animals, which by their nature can live a long time out of water. But those are called fishes, which cannot live, by nature, a long time out of water. From this it is evident what opinions we are to form of the snail, the cockle, the frog, the locust, and the turtle." The barnacle can be classed among shell-fish, as its young is generated in a shell. But if the judgment of the present day be decisive on this controversy, there can be no doubt that Giraldus is defeated ; since, within my own memory, the Carthusians, whose rule does not allow them to use meat, even to save their lives, make no scruple to eat barnacles, and, with the consent of the church, use that bird among their fasting fare. Hence it would appear that the church has always allowed the use of barnacles, when fish alone was allowed.

But Stanihurst himself refutes irrefragably the train of reasoning by which Giraldus endeavours to condemn that custom of the bishops and religious of Ireland. The argument of Giraldus is, that if barnacles are not to be considered as flesh because they are not born of flesh, then Adam himself was not flesh, because he was not born of flesh ; and therefore that the flesh of both could be equally used as food on fast days. But Stanihurst retorts the argument to the following effect, though not in those precise words : that man, in whatever way produced, whether by the ordinary or an extraordinary way, are of the same species ; and that, though our Redeemer and Adam came into life in a supernatural way, they should not be considered as not partaking the

naturæ ordinem salvator noster, et Adamus generationem sortiti sunt, [345] non ideo tamen illos à communi hominum | conditione segregatos esse. Ut qui carnes Adami pro jejunii edulio devorarent, non solum jejunii violatores, sed antropophagi audire debeant. Itaquè Stanihurstus in multis aliis Giraldi sectator, ab ejus in hac re sententiâ longè discedit. Etenim Giraldo familiare fuit non modo cum quibuscunque aliis sed secum ipse sententiarum discrepantiâ plerumque pugnare.

Vidisti Lector ut Giraldus sordibus undique arreptis præsulum Hiberniæ famam oblinere conatus est. Nunc vide quomodo ut eos magis adhuc deprimeret, ad dignitatis ornamenta iis detrahenda sedulam, sed inanem operam confert, dicens:[46] "Archiepiscopos in Hibernia nullos fuisse, sed tantum episcopos se invicem consecrasse, donec Joannes Papiro Romanæ sedis legatus quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit," an. Dom. 1152. Pace tamen Giraldi Jocelinus Ardmachiam "sedem archiepiscopalem et metropolim:"[47] deinde "Cathedram archiepiscopalem et primariam metropolim" appellat: et S. Patricium à summo pontifice "pallio decoratum" fuisse affirmat, quæ res explorata fuit archiepiscopi tessera.[48] Vita S. Declani S. Patricium "gloriosum archiepiscopum" nuncupat. Et S. Kerani vita eum ait à "Cælestino Papa ordinatum fuisse archiepiscopum." Qui vero tribus libris latinis vitam S. Patricii complexus est. "Ardmachæ omne esse archiepiscopatum Hiberniæ" scripsit. Marianus Scotus, Sigibertus Gemblacensis S. Antoninus et Trithemius S. Patricium "archiepiscopum" vocant. Gotcelinus in vita S. Laurentii Cantuariensis S. Trenanum archiepiscopum Armachanum "Archipontificem Hiberniæ" nominat. S. Bernardus S. Celsum archiepiscopum, et quemcunque Armachanæ sedis Antistitem "Archiepiscopum" et "Metropolitanum."[49] S. Malachiam "totius Hiberniæ metropolitanum," ac "Archiepiscopum Hiberniensium" nuncupat.[50] Præterea dicit sedem Armachanam "in tanta ab initio cunctis veneratione habitam fuisse, ut non modo episcopi et sacerdotes,[51] et qui de clero sunt, sed etiam regum ac principum universitas subjecta sit metropolitano in omni obedientiâ,[52] et unus ipse omnibus præsit." Baronius an. 1124, Metropolim Armachanam "Primæ sedis archiepiscopatum" an. 1137, Antistitem Armachanum "Archiepiscopum et metropolitanum" appellat.[53] Ita ut crediderim

[46] Top. d. 3, c. 17. [47] In vita S. Patricii, cap. 143. [48] Cap. 163 et 166. [49] In vita S. Malach. c. 7, 10, 7. [50] Cap. 8. [51] Epist. 315. [52] Cap. 7. [53] Top. d. 3, c. 16.

common nature of man. The person therefore who would eat the flesh of Adam on a fast day, would not only violate the fast, but be justly stigmatized as a cannibal. Stanihurst himself, though a supporter of Giraldus on many other points, is totally opposed to him on this subject. As for Giraldus, nothing is more common than to find him contradicting not others, but himself.

My readers have seen how he has labored to scrape together from all points his filthy charges against the fair fame of the bishops of Ireland. Let us hear him now attempting, with all his might, to disparage them still more, by robbing them of the ornaments of their dignity, but in vain. "There were no archbishops in Ireland," he says, "but the bishops consecrated each other until John Paparo, legate of the Roman see, brought the four pallia into Ireland" in the year 1152. With your permission, Giraldus! Jocelyn styles Ardmacha (Armagh) an archiepiscopal see and "metropolitan;" and again, "the archiepiscopal chair, and chief metropolitan." St. Patrick, he also says, "received the honor of the pallium" from the pope, which was an undoubted emblem of an archbishop. The life of St. Declan styles St. Patrick "a glorious archbishop," and the life of St. Kieran records "that St. Patrick was consecrated archbishop by pope Celestine." Marianus Scotus, Sigibert of Gombly, St. Antoninus, and Trithemius, also style St. Patrick "an archbishop." Gotcelin, in his life of St. Laurence of Canterbury, calls St. Trenan, archbishop of Armagh, "the archpontiff of Ireland." St. Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, and all the prelates of that see, are styled by St. Bernard, "archbishops and metropolitans," and St. Maelmaedhog [Malachy] is styled by him "metropolitan of all Ireland," and "archbishop of the Irish." He observes, moreover, "so great had been the veneration in which the see of Armagh was universally held from the beginning, that not only bishops, and priests and clergy, but even all the princes and kings, were subject to the metropolitan in all obedience, and he alone was superior of all." Baronius, at the year 1124, styles the metropolis of Armagh "the archbishopric of the first see," and at 1137 he styles the prelate of Armagh "archbishop and metropolitan." Giraldus's object, therefore, in calling it "a sort of metropolitan," evidently must have been to expose it to the contempt of

Giraldum eam sedem "quasi metropolim" nominasse ut contemptum ei lectoris compararet. S. Fiecho Sliebhtensi totius Lageniæ archiepiscopatus collatus fuit. Kildaria quoque metropolis Lageniæ dicta, et ejus præsul archiepiscopus appellatus est.[54] Etiam Fernæ "Archiepiscopatus omnium Lageniensium" constitutus est: et Maidocus "Archiepiscopus Laginensium" dictus.[55] Certe S. Bonifacius Moguntinus archiepiscopus "Menalchum archipontificem," et "Levinum Hiberniensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopum" fuisse narrat. Dublinienses scilicet, ut scriptores affirmant, et Molanus S. Romualdum, "Archiepiscopatu Dubliniensi" deserto,[56] Romam petiisse affirmat. Simonem Dubliniensem Antistitem S. Anselmus, sub annum 1100, acriter increpavit, quod nondum pallio insignitus crucem sibi per provinciæ suæ fines præferri curaverit.[57] Cum ejusmodi crucis gestatio archiepiscopis tantum pallio potitis per leges licita fuerit. Certè crux Antisti per vias incedenti prælata indubitatum archiepiscopi symbolum est. Morem autem illum Simon sibi familiarem proculdubio non reddidisset, nisi tam à decessoribus suis, quam ab aliquibus aliis Hiberniæ Præsulibus crebro ante frequentatum fuisse comperisset.[58] Proinde hoc documento perspicuum fit Hiberniam ante quatuor pallia illo à Papyrone cardinali delata, archiepiscopis non parce floruisse.[59] "Nec Hiberniæ tantum archiepiscopi pallio nondum insigniti metas officii sui transgressi sunt, sed et Joannes Papa octavus redarguit errorem quem reperit, quod ante pallii susceptionem archiepiscopi Galliarum consecrationem facerent episcoporum."[60] De quatuor memoratis Lageniæ archiepiscopatibus Usherus meminit. Quod autem ad Momoniam attinet. "Rex Eugus et Patricius ordinaverunt ut in civitate et cathedra S. Albei esset archiepiscopatus omnium Momoniensium semper."[61] Quatuor Magistri S. Albeum "Archiepiscopum de Imleach" appellant. Et in vita S. Declani, "Rex Eugus et S. Patricius cum omni populo ordinaverunt archiepiscopatum Momoniæ in civitate et in sede S. Albei, qui tunc ab eisdem archiepiscopus ordinatus est:" in sede scilicet Imelacensi, in [346] qua Momoniæ archiepiscopatus diu floruit. | Eamne, an Casseliensem sedem S. Cathaldus insederit, nondum comperi.[62] Id certe constat S. Cathaldi sedem in Momoniæ archiepiscopalem evectam fuisse. Et

[54] Usher. de primor. p. 864. [55] Trias Thaum, p. 307, 808. [56] Apud Usherus de primor. p. 965. [57] In vita S. Lovini Nat. SS. Belgii 1 Julii. [58] Usher. in Syllog. ep. 38, 39. [59] Epit. Bar. an. 878, nu. 3. [60] De prim. p. 965. [61] Vita S. Albei, an. 41. [62] Usher. de primor. 757.

the reader. The archbishopric of all Leinster was conferred on St. Fiach of Sliebhte. Kildare was also styled metropolis of Leinster, and its prelate "archbishop." The same dignity is accorded to Ferns, which "was made the archbishopric of all the Lagenians," and gave the style "of archbishop of the Lagenians" to Maidoc. St. Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, clearly states that "Menalchus was archpontiff and Levinus archbishop of the Irish church," namely, bishops of Dublin, as writers assure us, which archiepiscopal see of Dublin St. Romuald also had occupied before his resignation and pilgrimage to Rome, according to Molanus. In the year 1100 St. Anselm severely reproves Simon, bishop of Dublin, for having the cross borne before him within the limits of the province, without having previously been honored with the pallium; this bearing of the cross being by the canons reserved exclusively for archbishops who had the pallium. To have the cross borne before him in procession is certainly an unequivocal prerogative of an archbishop; and Simon would not have adopted the custom, had he not certainly known it to have been used frequently both by his own predecessors and other prelates of Ireland. From this authority the inference is clear, that there must have been several archbishops in Ireland before the pallia were brought over by cardinal Paparo. "The Irish archbishops who had not received the pallium, were not the only persons who went beyond the limits of their authority, for pope John III. condemned the error of the archbishops of the Gauls, who consecrated bishops before receiving the pallium." Ussher mentions the four archbishops of Leinster recorded above. Now, with regard to Munster, "king Ængus and St. Patrick ordained that the archbishopric of all the men of Munster should be fixed for ever on the city and chair of St. Ailbe." The Four Masters style St. Ailbe "archbishop of Imleach," and in the life of St. Declan we read "that king Ængus and St. Patrick, with the approbation of all the people, established the archiepiscopal see of Munster in the city and chair of St. Ailbe, who was thereupon ordained bishop by them" in the see of Emly, which was, during a long time, the archiepiscopal see of Munster. I have not as yet ascertained whether it was of that see or Cashel that St. Cathaldus was bishop; he was certainly archbishop of Munster. Hildebert, who, according to Trithemius, was archbishop of the Scots

archiepiscopus in Momonia fuisse putatur Hildebertus, qui "Scotorum archiepiscopus" et Sedulii presbyteri præceptor à Trithemio fuisse refertur;[63] et S. Albertus Casseliensis archiepiscopus fuisse à scriptoribus narratur.[64] In insulâ etiam Cathai sedem episcopalem "archiepiscopali honore aliquando nobilitatem enituisse incolarum fert traditio." A Warræo tres Donati Olonorgani Casseliensis archiepiscopi (cui pallium cardinalis Papyro contulit) decessores archiepiscopi nomen in historiis nostris retulisse perhibentur. E quibus forsan archiepiscopus ille Casseliensis fuit,[65] apud quem Ratisbonensis Abbatis pecunias Ratisbonense chronicon à me suprà, cap. 21, prolatum depositas fuisse memorat. Fusius hanc rem Colganus prosequitur in Triade Thaumathurga, pag. 308, et in Actis Sanctorum Hiberniæ 8 tom. pag. 40, et ultimo Jan. pag. 217.[66] De Tuamensibus Præsulibus nihil modo dicendum occurrit, nisi quod eorum aliquos archiepiscopi Connaciæ titulum,[67] ante Hiberniam à Papirone aditam, à scriptoribus nostris retulisse Warræus animadverterit, et Colganus uberius confirmaverit.

Sicut autem Hiberniam archiepiscoporum inopiâ laborasse, sic eorundem copiâ majorem Britanniam abundasse Giraldus affirmavit. Utrobique allucinatus,[68] et immoderati in Hibernos odii ac in suos studii reus. "De tribus totius insulæ" Britannicæ "Metropolitanis," inquit Harpsfeldius, "frequens est in nostrorum historiis mentio." Solus Giraldus Cambrensis quinque metropolitanas Lucii temporibus ponit, quàm in dignitate archiepiscopali Hiberniæ detrahendâ solers, tam in patriâ suâ laudibus non suis cumulandâ profusus.[69] Cum enim testium torrentem Usherus producat Britanniam tribus tantum archiepiscopis instructam fuisse asserentium quorum singulis episcopi duodecem à suffragiis fuerint; ille duos archiepiscopos, et viginti quatuor episcopos ex ingenii sui penu ei numero adjicit. Qui non magis veri limites transiliit, in tantâ archiepiscoporum et episcoporum abundantiâ Britanniæ attribuendâ, quam Newbrigensis nullum Archiepiscopum Britanniæ ante suppetiisse, quam S. Augustinus disseminandæ fidei Catholicæ causâ illuc appulerat audacius quam verius pronuntians, dum "de unum quidem archiepiscopum habuisse Britannos" asserit,[70] tam irrito conatu adeo numerosum testium cuneum impugnans, quam Giraldus Hiberniam archiepiscopis ornatam fuisse negavit, tot scriptoribus à me supra

[63] Ibidem, p. 769. [64] Colganus 3 Janu. Usher. de primor. p. 873. [65] De Præsul. Cassel. p. 3. [66] Ibidem p. 34. [67] Eriade Thaum, p. 308. [68] C. 3, p. [69] De prim. p. 57. [70] In proœmio.

and preceptor of the priest Sedulius, is also supposed to have been archbishop of Munster. From other authorities, it appears that St. Albert was archbishop of Cashel. There is a tradition of the natives that the bishopric of Iniscathy "had formerly enjoyed the dignity of an episcopal see." The three predecessors of Donat O'Lonergan (who received the pallium from cardinal Paparo) are styled archbishops by our native historians, according to Ware. Perhaps one of these was that archbishop of Cashel with whom the money of the abbot of Ratisbon was deposited, as I have already shown (c. 21), from the chronicle of Ratisbon. Colgan discusses this subject at great length in his Trias. Thaum., p. 308, and Act. Sanct. Hiberniæ, 2 tom. p. 40, and 31 Jan., p. 217. Of the bishops of Tuam all that need be said at present is, that some of them were styled archbishops of Connaught before Paparo came to Ireland, as Ware observes, and Colgan proves at length on the authority of native writers.

But Giraldus has asserted not only that there were no archbishops in Ireland, but that there was a great number of them in Great Britain. Both assertions are erroneous, and dictated by his immoderate hatred of the Irish and his love of his own countrymen. "Our annals," says Harpsfeld, "frequently mention the three metropolitan sees of the whole island" of Britain. Giraldus Cambrensis is the only authority for the existence of five metropolitan sees in the time of Lucius. Thus Giraldus is as liberal in conferring unmerited honor on his own country, as he has been solicitous to deprive Ireland of her archiepiscopal sees. For while Ussher proves by a host of authorities that there were only three archbishops in Britain, each of them having twelve suffragan bishops, Giraldus draws on his fancy and gives an accession of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops. But in thus exaggerating the number of archbishops and bishops in Britain, he has not committed a more grievous error than William of Newbridge, who pronounces, with more insolence than truth, that there had been no archbishop in Britain before St. Augustin arrived there to preach the Catholic faith. His assertion "that the Britons had not a single archbishop," is of as little avail against so numerous a phalanx of authorities, as is the assertion of Giraldus, that Ireland had no archbishopric, against the direct testimony of so many writers, whom I have already cited. But as he

prolatis diserte refragantibus.[71] Qui sicut sententiam in memoratâ præsulum superjectione mutavit, dum dixit "de sedibus Britanniæ majoris se magis famam publicam et opinionem, quam historiæ cujuspiam certudinem secutum fuisse" Non video cur fateri non teneatur in errore se versatum fuisse, cum Hiberniam archiepiscopis caruisse scripsisset?

Porro quemadmodum aliquos Antistites in Britannia majori, antè Anglos à Augustino fide Christianâ illustratos, "Omni dignitate archiepiscopali usos fuisse, excepto pallio" scriptores affirment:[72] sic similis saltem potestas archiepiscopis Hiberniæ non est deneganda. Nec honor etiam pallii Armachanis archiepiscopis auferendus est, quorum conditor, et antesignanus S. Patricius à summo pontifice "pallio decoratus" fuerit. Qui in tribus successoribus suis SS. Benigno,[73] Jarlatho, et Cormaco, quos sibi adhuc superstiti substituit, tantum dignitatis vel ornamentum, vel integritatem, stabilitatamuè desiderari (ut par est credere) non pateretur.[74] Nec archiepiscopi titulum apud nos olim consecuti eo inde spoliari debent, quod episcopi tantum à nonnullis scriptoribus audiant. Cum summus pontifex archiepiscoporum apex se duntaxat episcopum in diplomatibus nuncupet;[75] et in Patrum Concilii Arelatensis nomenclaturâ nullus nisi episcopi nomine designetur; quamvis illi Concilio archiepiscopi plures interfuisse dignoscuntur.[76]

Hactenus in nobilissima ecclesiæ Hiberniæ culmina nimis acriter Giraldus desevit. Unde proclivè illi ad contumelias in universam mili- [347] tantem | ecclesiam petulanter evomendas præcipitium patuit. Ausus est enim sponsam Christi "Gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam,[77] neque rugam, sed sanctam, et immaculatam," nævo non ferendo deturpare, dum asserit episcopos Hiberniæ sanctorum cultum per plura jam sæcula consecutos officia sua "semper negligentius executos, sanctorum honorem ex errore retulisse: dum "potiorem" erroris hujuscè causam ait esse quod "Ecclesia militans in multis decipitur,[78] triumphans vero non irridetur. Undè et nonnullos quos recipit hæc, decipit illa, quos prædicat hæc, abdicat illa, et è diverso." Antistitum Hiberniæ odio se scriptor iste inflamari prodit, dum vile habet universam militantem ecclesiam lacerare, modo præsulum Hiberniæ famam per

[71] In lib. Retrac. Apud. Usher. de primor. p. 6. [72] Hoveden, an. 1199. [73] Jocelinus, c. 166. [74] Warræus in præfat. opus. S. Patricii. [75] Tom. 1, Conc. Gal p. 9. [76] Usher de primor. p. 98. [77] Ephes. 5. [78] Top. d. 3, c. 31.

retracted his exaggeration of the number of bishops, "when he says that conjecture and public report, rather than the evidence of history, had been his guides regarding the British sees," I am at a loss to know why he should not also be bound to admit that he was wrong in asserting that there were no archbishops in Ireland.

Now, as historians affirm that long before the English were converted to the Christian faith by St. Augustin, there had been some prelates in Great Britain "who enjoyed all the prerogatives of the archiepiscopal dignity except the pallium," a similar dignity, at least, cannot be denied to the archbishops of Ireland. Even the pallium itself cannot be refused to the archbishop of Armagh, whose predecessor, the great founder of that see, had been honored with the pallium by the pope; and who would not allow his three successors during his own life time, SS. Benignus, Jarlath, and Cormac, to want the honor, or plenitude, or power of the pallium. Those who were formerly styled archbishops in one country, must not be deprived of that title on the grounds that some writers style them simply bishops; because the pope himself, the head of archbishops, signs himself in his bulls merely as bishop, and in the roll of the Fathers of the Council of Arles, none but bishops are mentioned, though that council was certainly attended by several archbishops.

Hitherto Giraldus has been ferociously assailing the noblest dignitaries of the Irish church, and, by a natural transition, he indulges his headlong propensity to disgorge his calumnies on the whole church militant. He is audacious enough to hurl an intolerable stigma against "a glorious church, not having spot nor wrinkle, but holy and without blemish," by asserting that those Irish bishops who had been venerated as saints during many centuries, had been always negligent in discharging their duties, and had no solid claims to the honor of saints; the principal cause of this error being, according to him, that the church militant is deceived in many things; but the church triumphant cannot be made a fool of. Hence many persons received by the latter are not known to the former; whom the latter canonizes, the former condemns—and conversely. How virulent the burning hatred of this writer against the Irish prelates, when he has not the least scruple

ejus latera confodiat. Non tantum est inter duos advocatos pro tribunali pugnaciter altercantes dissidium, quantum huic plerumque secum est. Multis laudibus Hiberniæ sanctos initio extulit: nunc eosdem sic deprimit, ut eadem cum illis ruinâ ecclesiam universam obvolvere nitatur. Statutum illi tum erat præclara quæque de illis preferre, cum dixit: "Secundum Topographiæ distinctionem depromere virtutibus inclyta, ægregiis quoque, et inauditis à sæculò declarata miraculis sanctorum Hiberniæ præconia."[79] Et eandem rem postea iterans; "quæ" ait: "sanctorum meritis ægregiè nimis et valdè miraculosè gesta sunt,[80] quorumque memoria ex certis quibusdam indiciis perenniter extant memoratu dignissima, stylo perstringere non superfluum duxi." Deinde nimis exiguum sanctorum numerum, præ sanctorum Hiberniæ multitudine recenset, et eorum quos enumerat plerique episcopi sunt:[81] quorum ordini sanctum Coemgenum, quem ille "Keiwinum" appellat adscribendum esse judicio, quandò pro Glindalacensis episcopatus "Patrono,"[82] colatur; et consuetudo Hiberniæ tulerit, ut quæ sedes episcopalis suum quondam episcopum qui sanctitate floruerat,[83] patronum adsciverint, quemadmodum Diœcesis singulas cogitatione obeunti patebit. Nec obstat quod Abbatis quoque; nomine passim Coemgenus denotetur, cum plures Abbatis et episcopi munere unà functa fuerint. "Sic enim S. Nennidius simul cum Abbatis munere, episcopi functiones obivit." Et S. Suarlius Abbas Foverensis "episcopus creatus, illud munus in suo monasterio piè obivit."[84] Lagenius etiam Domenani filius Abbas Saigrensis etiam episcopus erat.[85] Imo vero in annalibus nostris Hiberniæ Primatibus Abbatis nomen haud rarò inditur, illis fortassè scriptoribus episcopum et Abbatem eandem referre significationem sentientibus.[86]

Non pigeat unam S. Coemgeni audire miraculum, ut qua sanctitate fuerit insignitus palam perspiciatur:[87] Divus Coemgenus cum verni jejunii sanctimoniam mortalium subductus oculis Christi exemplo montanis filius arboribusque operiret, die quadam de mapalis sui fenestrâ dexteram veteri precantium ritu supinatam, tanquam è cælo beneficium

[79] Præfat. 1. Topogr. [80] Præfat. distin. 2. [81] Vita S. Laurentii, cap. 6. [82] Top. d. 2, cap. 28. [83] Vita S Laurentii, cap. 6. [84] Colganus 18 Janu. [85] Idem. 18 Martii. [86] Annales, an. 739. [87] Trias Th. p. 292.

in attacking the whole church militant, if he can thereby send home his deadly thrusts against the character of the prelates of Ireland. Two lawyers obstinately disputing a point in a court of justice are not so much opposed as this man generally is to himself. In the commencement he lavishes extraordinary eulogies on the Irish saints; now he disparages them in such a way as to involve the whole church, if possible, in their ruin. At first he proposed to second some of their brilliant actions. "The second distinction of the topography contains the panegyrics of the Irish saints, so eminent for their virtues, and their stupendous and unparalleled miracles." Respecting the same promise he says, "I have considered it appropriate to my subject to publish the very stupendous and very miraculous works wrought by the merits of the saints, as they are well worthy of being recorded, and are authenticated by indubitable and still living memorials." He then enumerates some of the saints, but very few, compared with the multitude of Irish saints; and most of those whom he mentions were bishops. St. Coemgin (Kevin) whom he calls Keiwin, must, in my opinion, be classed in that order, because he was honored as patron of the bishopric of Glendaloch; and a glance at all the dioceses in Ireland proves that it was a custom among the Irish to select as patron of each episcopal see some one of its sainted prelates. Coemgin, it is true, is commonly styled abbot; but that circumstance can be easily explained, as several persons were at the same time abbots and bishops. "Thus St. Nennidh united in his own person the functions of a bishop with his duties of abbot;" and St. Suarle, abbot of Fobhar (Fore), "who was created bishop, piously discharged that office in his monastery." Lagnen, son of Domenan, and abbot of Saighir [Serkieran], was also a bishop. Even the primates of Ireland are not unfrequently styled abbots by our annalists, perhaps because the words abbot and bishop were synonymous in the estimation of those writers.

Let me take the liberty of recording one miracle of St. Kevin, which gives a striking attestation of his sanctity. Withdrawing, after the example of Christ, into the wooded recesses of the mountains to conceal under their covert the austerity of his vernal fast from the eyes of man, he one day stretched out from his covet cell his hand, with the palm turned upwards, as if asking for some favour from heaven. Imme-

aliquod petiturus protendit.[88] Advolavit illico familiariter avis merula fœtu gravida, sensimque non repugnantis manui per securrissimæ quietis occasionem incubans, primi veris partum, et ova exclusit, nec ille manum quoad merula eniteretur subtraxit. Hujus insolentis prodigii fidem templorum imagines retinebant, quæ nunquam sine Merucula Divum Coemgenum repræsentabant.

Sed ut reliquos episcopos ab ipso memoratos dicendo percurram. Non dubito quin in episcoporum numerum referendi sint[89] S. Colemannus, et[90] S. Nannanus. Indubitati vero episcopi fuerunt[91] S. Ivoris,[92] S. Finnanus,[93] S. Beanus[94] S. Brendanus,[95] S. Maidocus, et[96] S. Finbarrus. Ut importunus iste censor Aristarchum induere videatur, et hos solos asterisco insignire, alios vero episcopos quoscunque, ipsos etiam quos jam in cælitum numerum relatos, summa veneratione prosequimur obelo defodicare; ac viros virtute, signisque claros, sanctis annumerandi potestatem ecclesiæ Catholicæ abripere, sibique arrogare audeat, qui è sanctorum albo pro libidine quoslibet expungit, licet illos, vel apotheosi celebratâ, inter sanctos ecclesia retulerit, aut in suâ patriâ, et alibi pro sanctis coli non invita patiatur. Itaque temerarius homuncio, jure merito exsibilari debet, [348] | qui spretis ecclesiæ decretis, judicium de cultu quibusdam sanctis exhibendo, et aliis eximendo, ad cerebelli sui tribunal revocet, et ecclesiam erroris impudenter arguat, quod quosdam decepta sanctos renuntiet, qui vitæ puritate cultum ejusmodi non promeruerunt.

Sed quis episcopus à Giraldo sanctorum consortio exclusus,[97] editis miraculis, non obscurum suæ sanctitatis indicium vivus et mortuus non præbebit? sanè "opera quæ" singuli "fecerunt testimonium de illis perhibuerunt."[98] Ut jam "si ipsis credere non velimus, operibus saltem credere debeamus." S. Joanni Baptistæ salvatorem nostrum per discipulos sciscitanti, non verbis sed facto respondisse legimus:[99] "Euntes renuntiate Joanni, quæ audistis, et vidistis, cæci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui resurgunt," &c. Qui autem similia miracula "Domino cooperante,[100] et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis" patrant saluatori quam simillimi sunt, ac proindè

[88] Cambr. d. 2, cap. 28. [89] Cap. 29. [90] Cap. 31. [91] Cap. 32. [92] Cap. 33. [93] Cap. 40. [94] Cap. 43. [95] Cap. 47. [96] Cap. 49. [97] Joan. 5. [98] Idem. c. 10. [99] Math. ii. [100] Marc. 16.

diately a blackbird, which was going to lay its eggs, perched familiarly on the hand, and not meeting with any molestation, nestled there in the most tranquil security, and hatched its first spring brood of eggs; the hand never being drawn away during the period of the bird's incubation. The certainty of this extraordinary prodigy is attested by the images in the churches, which never represent St. Coemgen without the blackbird.

Proceeding now to other bishops mentioned by Giraldus, I have no doubt that St. Coleman and St. Nannan were bishops, as were certainly SS. Ivor, Finnan, Bean, Brendan, Maidoc and Finbar; so that our squeamish censor appears to act the Aristarchus, and prefix his asterisk to those alone, to the exclusion of all other bishops, whom he overwhelms with the dagger, though they have been enrolled in the calendar of saints, and are highly venerated by us: he presumes to arrogate to himself and deny to the Catholic church the power of canonizing men famed for sanctity and miracles, and would expunge at his good pleasure from the calendar of saints, those whom the church has solemnly canonized, or at least does not prohibit to be honored as saints in their own and foreign countries. What contempt can be a meet recompense for the rash mortal, who tramples on the decrees of the church, by subjecting to the tribunal of his own little wits, her decisions on the honors that are to be given or denied to certain saints, and who audaciously accuses her of error, in having falsely canonized some persons who had no claims to that honor by the sanctity of their lives?

But which of those bishops excluded by Giraldus from the company of the saints, cannot produce many miracles worked during their life and after their death, as the incontestable evidence of their sanctity? The works performed by all of them have truly borne testimony of them. When St. John the Baptist sent his disciples to inquire of our Lord, he was answerd not by words, but by facts: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen—the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, &c." Those who work similar miracles, "the Lord working withal and confirming the word, with signs that followed," are like our Saviour, and therefore are justly pronounced by the church to be enjoying his society in

contubernio ejus in cœlis frui ab ecclesia non immerito pronuntiantur, solitâ nimirum eorum quos indigitibus addunt, non modo vitæ integritatem, sed etiam facta miranda pensiculatè discutere; ut eorum imitatione vivi ad similem virtutem excitemur, et admiratione ad cultum iis deferendum adducamur.[1] Non enim frustra monuit Paulus Apostolus: "Mementote præpositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis imitamini fidem."

Quis scit annon ex hac semente à Giraldo jactâ hæresis illa Wiclefi pullulaverit? qua dixit:[2] "SS. Augustinum, Benedictum, Bernardum fuisse damnatos, si pœnitentiam" in fine vitæ "non egerint." Ut qui ritum viderit venerationem sanctis indicentem semel improbari, in majorem ipse audaciam prorumpens, primipilos ut ita dicam ecclesiæ sanctos ab honore cæteris sanctis deferri consueto removerit; quarè necesse est ut cui ducem se Giraldus ad peccandum præbuit, eidem se in delicto comitem addat. Quod si Wiclefo in hæresi socius esse detractaverit certè impedire non potest quominus sententia ab illo prolata "hæresim sapiat,[3] ac temeraria impiaque" à Theologis habeatur.

Porrò Giraldum tanta maledicendi aviditas incessit, ut non satis habuerit terrestres Angelos episcopos scilicet ac sacerdotes convitiorum grandine obtegere. Nisi et in Ecclesiam militantem inveheretur quam "in multis decipi" pœne dixerim hæretice pronunciavit. Nam (ut ait Theophilus Reynandus societatis Jesu; cum aliis multis Theologis) quamvis non sit ex fide certum eum cœlitem esse ac sanctum qui Canoniso vindicatus est, tamen assertio beatis totis ejus, jura miraculis ad ejus interpellationem editis non nutat, nec est inepta. Ac etiam arrogantiâ gigantea cœlum adoriretur, et purissimas animas ei dudum insidentes nigrâ vindictæ maculâ inhonestaret dicens:[4] "Sanctos" Hiberniæ "in morte vitali meritis jam excelsos, præ aliarum regionum sanctis, animi vindicis esse." Nimirum gradus fit à magnis flagitiis ad majora. Quem in terris nec pudor à sacerdotibus, nec pietas ab episcopis injuria afficiendis deterruit, eumdem religio à cælitibus maledicentiâ impetendis non avocavit.[5] Etenim non modo "posuit in cœlum os suum" sed etiam "lingua ejus transivit in terram"

[1] Ad Hæbreo 13. [2] Concil. Constan. sec. 8. [3] Candid. pag. I, disq. 21, art. 3, dub. 8, cap. 4. [4] Top. d. 2, cap. 55. [5] Psalm 72.

heaven; because in the process of canonization the church not only examines the virtues of the saint, but also subjects his miracles to a rigid inquiry, that by proposing them to ourselves as our models, we may be excited to imitate their virtues, and be impelled by admiration to pay them religious honor. The Apostle St. Paul seriously admonishes us: "Remember your prelates who have spoken the word of God to you, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."

Who will say that this germ deposited by Giraldus has not been the parent stock of that heresy of Wickliffe, "that SS. Augustin, Benedict and Bernard, were damned, if they did not do penance in the end of their lives." For when once the ceremony by which religious honor is decreed for a saint was condemned, he broke forth into greater audacity, and denied (if I may so speak) to the princes of the saints the honors usually paid to the other citizens of heaven. The inference is inevitable; if Giraldus gave the scandal and led Wickliffe into sin, both must be classed as accomplices in the same crime; or, though Giraldus disclaim all complicity in the heresy of Wickliffe, he certainly cannot avert the theological censure, "that the opinion propounded by him is rash, impious, and savouring of heresy."

So insatiable was the appetite of Giraldus for calumny, that he was not content with directing the torrent of his invectives against the angels of this earth, namely, the bishops and priests, without attacking the church militant, by declaring that "she is deceived in many things," an opinion which is little short of heresy. For, according to Theophilus Reynand, of the society of Jesus, and many other Theologians, though it is not an article of faith, that a canonized person is really a saint and inhabitant of heaven, yet the assertion that all the blessed canonized by the church are not saints, is audacity in the extreme. Nay, he has assailed heaven itself with titanic audacity, by imputing the black crime of revenge to the pure souls, who have long enjoyed the eternal mansions. "The saints of Ireland," he says, "so eminent for virtue during their mortal lives, are, beyond the saints of other countries, of a revengeful temper." Here we find great crimes growing into greater. Not deterred by shame from attacking the priests, nor by reverence from attacking the bishops, religion itself cannot now deter him from hurling his calumnies against the saints. "He has

id est ut interpretes indicant, linguæ virulentiâ et justos terræ, Deumque ac cœli incolas momordit. Memini cujusdam arrogantis scioli, quem Cassianus refert, primum dixisse de veneratione sanctis exhiberi sollitâ multum detrahendum esse; deindè plures mortales prestantiâ sanctos adæquasse, denique Deum ipsum abnegasse. Non absimilem huic Giraldum esse contendo, quod de minori contemptu in grandiorem uterque ruerit. Parum etiam abest quin censeam posteriori humuncionis istius scelere Giraldum se contaminaturum, et ipsi Deo exprobaturum fuisse qui dixit:[6] "Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam," si ea criminatio ad aliquam Hibernis infamiam redundaret. Flagitium enim unum ansa illi fuit alterius, et unam ille impietatem alii, ac majorem minori assidue accumulans,[7] in profundum impietatis barathrum tandem delapsus est. Utpotè: "Impius cum in profundum venerit peccatorum contemnet." Nam sicut pii "eunt de virtute in virtutem;" sic perversi de malo ad malum progrediuntur. Ut non ineptè Giraldus illi bestiæ conferendus sit "cui datum est os quod aperuit in blasphemias,[8] blasphemans nomen ejus, et tabernaculum, et qui habitant in cœlo."

Quid amentius à quopiam emotæ mentis homine cogitari potest quam sentire quod levissimâ quavis culpâ cœlis exulante, in indigetum Hibernorum animis jam cœlo fruentium aliquid invidiæ resideat? Nimirum [349] qui aliis | omnis penè generis scriptoribus plurima contraria protulit, non potuit etiam sacræ paginæ non adversari.[9] Hæc enim asserit: in cœlos "aliquid coinquinatum non intraturum." Ille plures Hibernos excussâ nondum inimicitiâ, sedes ibi jam fixisse. Hæc affirmat Deum sic mortales alloqui. "Si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum: dimittet et vobis pater vester cælestis delicta vestra. Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, nec pater vester dimittet vobis peccata vestra."[10] Ille contendit eos adhuc cœlis includi, qui ulciscendi voluntatem mordicus retinent. Hujus verba sunt: "Diligite inimicos vestros, et benefacite

[6] Deut. 32. [7] Prov. 13, psal. 85. [8] Apoc. 13. [9] Apoc. 2. [10] Math. 6.

not only set his mouth against heaven, but his tongue has also passed through the earth," that is according to the interpreters, he has disgorged the virulence of his tongue, both against the just men of the earth and the God himself, and the saints of heaven. I remember reading of an arrogant sciolist, who, as Cassian relates, stated first—that the veneration paid to the saints was far too excessive; next, that many mortals were not inferior to the saints in holiness; and finally, that God himself did not exist. Giraldus, I contend, resembled that man, because both rushed headlong from the less heinous to the more enormous acts of contempt. I am, moreover, strongly inclined to believe that Giraldus himself would contaminate himself with the crime of that other wretch, and reproach God himself for having said, "revenge is mine, and I will repay," if that blasphemy could lend any force to his calumnies against the Irish. He used one crime as a means to another; and by constantly accumulating impiety on impiety, the last more exaggerated than its predecessor, he at length plunged into the deep abyss of impiety, "for the wicked man when he is come into the depth of sin contemneth." As the just advance from virtue to virtue, so the wicked descend from depravity to depravity. Giraldus may therefore be truly compared to that beast "to which was given a mouth which he opened into blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven."

Could any disordered imagination conjure up a more delirious dream than that a particle of revenge could dwell in the souls of the Irish who are in heaven, where nothing defiled with even the slightest sin can ever enter? But in truth, after his numerous contradictions of writers of all kinds, he should in the end contradict even the sacred Scriptures themselves. They assert "that nothing defiled shall ever enter heaven;" he asserts that many Irish enjoy their mansions there, though they had not yet renounced their revenge. They assert that God addresses man in the following words: "if you will forgive men their offences, your heavenly Father will also forgive you your offences; but if you will not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive you your offences." He contends that there are persons now in heaven who obstinately harbour their desire of revenge. The Scripture

his qui oderunt vos."[11] Ille sanctos Hiberniæ cælorum etiam gaudiis potitos de male de se meritis pœnas sumere testatur. Hæc prima superbiæ semina è cœlo deturbata; ille vindictæ locum in cœlo reliquum esse narrat.

Sed quâ de causâ putas Giraldum censere cur cælites Hiberni tanta vendicandi cupiditate teneantur, ut corporis ergastulo egressi, et cœlo etiam illati, eam non ponant; cum in cæteris mortalibus "livor post fata quiescat?" an livoris expertes esse negabit, qui cœli deliciis dudum circumfluunt?[12] illos refert odium suum in homines exercere solitos esse, qui templis sibi sacris vel vim, vel irreverentiam inferunt. Austin ea tanquam ad Asyla se recipientes damno afficiunt. Distortissimæ fuisse Giraldum indolis oportuit, qui à genuino sensu verba tam remote distorsit, ac gravissimas pœnas à templorum profanatoribus ac expilatoribus dari solitas ad vindictam potiùs sanctorum Hiberniæ, quàm ad justitiam divinam referat. Ingenti sane Hibernorum odio flagrare se indicat, dum non solum Hibernos hanc vitam adhuc spirantes, sed hac etiam vita functos, et cœlo etiam exceptos convitiis proscindat et id in iis, præ cæteris cælorum incolis inesse prædicat, quod cœlum incolentes odium retineant, et ejus stimulos è cœlis in mortales demittere consuescant.

Annon ex justitia potius quam ex vindicta Nabuchodonozori "ob templum Salomonis expilatum" obvenit,[13] quod humana formâ exutus, bestiarum convictu septennio toto uteretur?[14] Quid quod filius ejus Baltazar, ob vasa sacrorum usui addicta profanata, vitæ, regnique jacturam passus fuerit? Non frustra S. Paulus dixit:[15] "Si quis templum Dei violaverit disperdet illum Deus." Rex Anthiochus Hierosolimitanum templum expoliatum,[16] morte turpissimâ vermibus corrosus luit.[17] Ipsa ejusdem templi expilandi aggressio maximum Heliodoro terrorem incussit,[18] et flagra plurima infixit. Vis eidem templo illata, cruciatus magnos et horribilem interitum Alcimo peperit.[19] Lisimachus "multis sacrilegiis in eodem templo commissis," à multitudine lapidibus obrutus est.[20] Menelaus "multa erga aram delicta commissit." Quare

[11] Math. 5. [12] Top. d. 2, cap. ult. [13] 4 Regum 24. [14] Daniel 4. [15] Daniel 5. [16] 1 Cor. 3. [17] Mach. l. 1, cap. 9. [18] Ibid. c. 3. [19] Ibid. lib. 1, cap. 9. [20] Ibid. lib. 2, cap. 4.

says, "love your enemies, do good to them that hate you." He asserts that the Irish saints, who are now enjoying heaven, gratify their revenge on those who offend them. The first seeds of pride were, according to the Scriptures, cast out of heaven; but Giraldus reserves a place in heaven for revenge.

But what imaginable reason can Giraldus assign for the Irish indulging such inveterate hatred that, even after departing from the prison of this body and ascending to heaven, they should retain it still; though in all mortals "anger ceases after death?" Can he assert that they are not free from anger, who are immersed in the ocean of heavenly joys? "Their anger," he says," is directed against him who inflicts injury or irreverence on the churches dedicated to them, or who molests any person flying to them as a sanctuary. What a cross-grained temper a man must have to pervert words so far from their true meaning, and to attribute the judgments which usually fall on those who profane or pillage temples, not to the justice of God, but to the revenge of the saints of Ireland. Striking, indeed, are the manifestations of his hatred of Ireland, when he assails her sons not only living but dead, and now in the enjoyment of heaven, and makes them an exception to all the other inhabitants of heaven, by charging them with still harbouring revenge, and sending down its shafts from heaven against poor mortals.

Was it from revenge or justice that Nebuchodonozor, after pillaging the temple of Jerusalem, was condemned to lose his human shape and to live, during full seven years, among beasts? Why did his son Baltazar forfeit his kingdom and his life for profaning the vessels consecrated to sacred uses? Is there no force in the words of St. Paul, "if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy?" Antiochus was devoured by worms, and died a most loathsome death, for having plundered the temple of Jerusalem. The mere attempt to plunder the same temple drew down the most awful terrors on Heliodorus, and subjected him to many punishments. The profanation of that temple brought down great torments and a horrible death on Alcimus. Lisimachus, after having committed great sacrileges in it, "was stoned to death by the people." Menelaus, "who committed great crimes against the altar," was cast from a high tower, and died

ex edita turri præceps datus miserè periit.[21] Pompeius magnus templum Hierosolimitanum profanavit,[22] et funesto postea sine vitam ad Cassium Ægypti montem, in ipso quasi Judeæ conspectu terminavit. Marcus Crassus avaritiæ gurges et abissus inexplebilis, post idem templum sacris thesauris expoliatum,[23] à Parthis apud Carram ejus exercitu profligato peremptus est. Nec integram ejusdem templi eversionem Hierosolimâ à Vespasiano Titoque expugnatâ, impunè Romani tulerunt, eorum Imperio paulo post, Honorio, et Arcadio Imperatoribus discisso, et in varias ditiones dissecto. Roma etiam ab Attillâ capta, et miserabilem in modum direpta est Quid multis? in templorum expilatores sacri scriptores vehementer invehuntur;[24] S. Hieronymus,[25] S. Chrysostomus, et[26] " Prosper nempe" omnia ut ait Livius " prospera eveniunt colentibus Deum, adversa spernentibus." Sicut enim aquilarum pennæ aliarum avium plumis immistæ illas corrodunt; sic spolia templorum alias direptoris fortunas absumunt, et vitam infælici fine claudunt; instar eorum qui olim aut equum Sejani, aut aurum Tholosanum habuerunt; utpotè quibus id contigit, quod aquilæ illi, quæ ex sacrificiis Jovi faciendis partem carnis assæ furtim abripiens, simul quoque carbonem ignitum tulit,[27] ex quo natum incendium quod non modo nidum, sed et pullos adhuc implumes adussit.[28] Nimirum sacræ literæ aiunt: " Sanctuarium meum metuite ego Deus:" Et " sanctum est templum [350] tuum, mirabile in æquitate." |

Hinc Nicephoro Imperatori obtigit ut quia ex ecclesiasticis vectigalia collegit, sacraque vasa in militiæ usum transtulit,[29] et legem tulit de bonis ecclesiasticis utendis ægentissimus factus interfectus fuerit à Cruno Balgarorum rege, qui et de ejus calva Scyphum fecit. Isaacius quoque Comenus, quia multa ab ecclesiis, et monasteriis abstulit, à Diaboli spectro occisus est.[30] Decius Imperator qui thesauris ecclesiasticis à S. Laurentio in pauperes collatis inhiavit fuso exercitu fugiens palludis voragine absorptus nunquam postea inventus est.[31] Diocletianus qui quatuor annos continuos in Christianos debacchatus, templorum ruinam edicto indixit, veneno hausto sibi mortem conscivit, nè ignominiosâ nece plecteretur.[32] Maxentius Imperator Pharaonem factis

[21] Ib. c. 3. [22] Joseph. lib. 5, c. 5. [23] Plutarch. in ejus vita. [24] In Ezec. [25] Babyl. [26] Lib. de promis. cap. 34. [27] Leu. c. 19. [28] Psal. 64. [29] Zonoras. [30] Idem. [31] Exitus Aurelia. [32] Paulus diac. i. 10.

miserably. Pompey the Great profaned the temple of Jerusalem, and afterwards met with a tragical end, near Mount Cassius, in Egypt, in the sight, as it were, of the Holy Land. Marcus Crassus, that insatiable abyss and sink of avarice, plundered that temple of its sacred treasures, but in the end lost his life in the defeat of his army by the Parthians at Carra. The Roman State itself did not escape the penalty of the total ruin of the temple when Jerusalem was destroyed by Vespasian and Titus. The Roman empire was partitioned in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, and was cut up in fragments. Rome itself was taken by Attila, and frightfully pillaged. But why dwell on this point? The holy writers, SS. Jerome, Chrysostom, and Prosper, inveigh vehemently against the pillagers of temples. In truth, as Livy says, "all things turn out prosperously with those who worship God, but all evil befals those who despise him." As the eagle's feathers, when mixed with those of other birds, corrode them, so the spoils of temples waste the other wealth of the plunderer, and conduct him to an unhapppy death; like those who held in days of old either the horse of Sejanus or the gold of Toulouse. They meet with the same fate as the eagle, which secretly snatched a piece of roasted meat from the sacrifice prepared for Jove, but carried with it a burning coal, which set fire to the nest, and consumed it and the unfledged brood. In the words of sacred Scripture, "Fear my sanctuary; I am God:" and "holy is thy temple, wonderful in justice."

Hence it happened to the Emperor Nicephorus, that after imposing a tax on ecclesiastics, and converting the sacred vessels to military purposes, and enacting a law for the appropriation of the property of the church, he was reduced to the utmost need, and at last slain by Crunus. king of the Bulgarians, who made a drinking cup of his skull. Isaac Comnenus was also slain by a spectre of the devil, after having taken much property from churches and monasteries. The emperor Decius, who greedily coveted the ecclesiastical treasures given by St. Laurentius to the poor, was defeated, and swallowed up in some morass, and never afterwards found. Diocletian, who discharged his unbridled fury against the Christians during four years, and issued an edict for the destruction of all their churches, put an end to his existence by poison, in order to escape an ignominious death. The emperor Maxentius,

imitatus,[33] submersionis quoque supplicio mulctatus est. Maximum vero ut ait Eusebius, "Supplicium divinitus illatum corripuit.[34] Etenim subita illi accidit in mediis corporis arcanis suppuratio, deinde in imis illorum ulcus fistulosum, et ex his vis quædam mali interiora viscera depascens, et indicibilis multitudo vermium ebulliens,[35] et læthiferum odorem exhalans, toto alioqui corporis tumore ex abundantia cibi etiam ante morbum in nimiam pinguedinem mutato, quæ tum suppirata intolerabile ac horrendissimum appropinquantibus spectaculum præbuit, ut medici fætorem incredibilem ferre non valuerint."[36] Tandem "subita plaga Dei per totum corpus percussus est, et gravibus cruciatibus et doloribus exagitatus, ut carnibus illius invisibili ac divinitus immisso igne prorsus labefactatis, et disfluentibus, omnem prisce formam amiserit, et sola illi arida ossa instar simulachri longo tempore exsciccati reliqua fuerint; nec aliud ab astantibus corpus ejus esse judicatum sit quam sepulchrum animæ in mortuo jam, et prorsus deciduo corpore defossæ."[37] Nimirum "potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur." Licinius quoque Imperator impietatis et sacrilegiorum pœnas victoriæ ac vitæ jacturâ justissimas dedit.[38]

Sed mihi fortasse quispiam retorquebit exempla hactenus adducta, eo tantum tendere, ut evincant vel templi Hierosolimitani, vel aliorum templorum ipsi Deo non sanctis sacrorum expilatores memoratus malorum cumulis afflictos fuisse. Verum importunus interruptor ediscat, Deum honorem sibi, ac sanctis exhibitum pari æstimatione, injurias utrique irrogatas simili pœna prosequi solere. Ait enim ipse: "Quandiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis."[39] Quod si beneficia suis in terra cultoribus præstita vel denegata, inter munera sibi aut illata aut ablata Deus enumeret: Quo honore de sanctis Dei consortio jam potientibus bene meritos, aut qua indignatione malè de iisdem meritos Deum putas affecturum? utpote de quibus dicit: "Qui mihi ministrat honorificabit eum pater meus."[40] Et "qui vos spernit, me spernit." Hinc fit ut in spernentes divorum templa, nec non eadem diripientes, evertentes,[41] aut quavis ratione profanantes, suæ

[33] Paul diaconus, ib. [34] Euseb. lib. 6, c. 9. [35] L. 8, c. 17. [36] Idem. lib. 10, cap. 10. [37] Sapien. 6. [38] Euseb. in vita Constant. [39] Math. 25. [40] Joan. 12. [41] Lucæ. 10.

who imitated the example of Pharoe, met with a similar death by drowning. Maximus also, according to Eusebius, "was visited by God with a terrible punishment. For a sudden suppuration set in in the hidden centre of his body; then an ulcerous fistula below; and with these was some unknown and terrible disease, which fed on his vitals; an incredible number of worms swarmed out of him, inhaling the most deadly stench. The whole of his corpulent frame, which before his sickness had been swollen by luxurious living into excessive obesity, now presented in its suppuration a most loathsome and revolting spectacle to all who approached him, so that the physicians could hardly bear the intolerable stench." "At last God struck his whole body with a sudden plague, and scourged him with grievous pains and tortures, so that all his flesh crumbled completely, and melted away under that invisible fire which God had sent down on him. His whole appearance was changed, and nothing now remained on him but the dry bones alone, like a picture shrivelled by age; nor could the bystanders form any other opinion of his body than that it was the grave of a soul, buried in a dead and utterly decomposed frame." "In truth the mighty shall be mightily tormented." The emperor Licinius also, by his defeat and death, suffered the just penalties of his impiety and sacrileges.

But perhaps it may be objected to me that the examples already adduced tend to prove only that the plunderers of the temple of Jerusalem, and other temples, dedicated not to the saints, but to God, have been afflicted with those accumulated miseries. But the importunate objector must know that God estimates the honor paid to the saints as what is paid to himself, and usually inflicts the same punishments for injuries offered to both. For he declares "that as long as you did it to one of those my least brethren, you did it to me." Now if God regards favors given or refused to his servants on earth as favors given or refused to himself, what honor do you think will he not confer on those who deserve well of the saints who are enjoying his company? what wrath will he not send down on those who dishonor them?—them, of whom he says, "he that ministers to me, him shall my father honor;" and "he that despiseth you despiseth me." Hence he has in all ages and in all countries frequently inflicted the severest

punitionis asperitatem, omni ævo, et in omnibus regionibus crebrius exercuerit.

Anno Christi nati 963 Saraceni in Hispaniam acciti, majorem Compostellanæ S. Jacobi ecclesiæ partem demoliti,[42] ventris fluore sic infestabantur, ut plerique animas exhalaverint ac proinde dux eorum Almonzor in fugam versus, in itinere repentinâ morte sublatus fuerit. Anno post Christum natum 429, Gundericus rex Wandalorum, Hispali captâ, cum impie elatus, manus in civitatis ecclesiam injecisset;[43] mox Dei judicio à dæmone correptus interiit. Sæculo septimo in urbis Conveniensis ecclesiam S. Vincentio martyri sacram accollæ bello per finitimas regiones circumquaque grassante, bona sua custodienda retulerunt: sed milites in eam per vim irrumpentes, in illâ clausos, et vitâ et bonis spoliarunt. Verum "non diu" (inquit Gregorius Turonensis) "hæc remanserunt inulta.[44] Nam alii à dæmone correpti, nonnulli in flumine Garumnæ necati, multi etiam à frigore occupati, diversis in partibus diversorum morborum genere vexabantur.[45] Nam vidi ex iis multos in Turonico territorio, qui in hoc fuerunt mixti scelere graviter cruciari, et usque ad vitæ præsentis amissionem, intolerabilium dolorum cruciatu torqueri."

Anno à Christo nato 1286, Gerundâ per Carolum Siciliæ et Philippum Francorum reges captâ, milites vi templis illatâ, sancti quoque [351] Narcissi | Patroni et tutoris illius urbis sepulchrum diripuerunt. Sed egressa inde muscarum inauditæ formæ, ac magnitudinis examina, magno impetu, in multitudinem involantia, venenatis, et acutis morsibus plurimos vulneraverunt, ut intra paucos dies, hominum plus quadraginta, equorum plus viginti quatuor millia illa pestis absumpserit. Ut videas minutiora quoque animalcula tortores ad sacrilegos supplicio plectendos à Deo adhiberi;[46] qui minores in militem bonorum sancti Clementis abreptorem immisit, quos ille nec fuste, nec gladio abigere potuit, imo nec impedire quominus ipsum in arca pendulaclausum roderent.[47] Nimirum "infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia."

[42] Uaseus in Chron. Hispa. [43] Sigebert. [44] De gloria martyrum. [45] Ribad. lib. 1, de principe Baron. in notis Matt. ad 18 Martii. [46] Baronius an. 1011 [47] 1 Cor. 1.

chastisements on those who despised or plundered, or destroyed or injured in any way the temples of the saints.

The Saracens who had been invited to Spain having, in the year 963, demolished the greater part of the church of St. James of Comportella, were scourged with a bloody flux, so fatal that it swept off the greater numbers of them; and in the retreat of the survivors, their general, Almanzer, was cut off by a sudden death. In the year 429 Gunderic, king of the Vandals, having sacked Seville, impiously raised his hand, in the flush of his victory, against the church of that city, but was, by the judgment of God, instantly taken possession of by a devil, and perished. In the seventh century, when the flames of war were raging all around, the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Convene carried their property to the church of St. Vincent, in that town; but the soldiers forced an entrance, and rushing in, robbed and massacred all who had taken refuge there. "But," says Gregorius of Towrs, "that deed did not pass long unavenged. Some of them were possessed by the devil; others were drowned in the river Garonne; many perished from the cold; and in all quarters they fell victims to various diseases. For I myself saw in the territory of Towrs many of those who had been concerned in that crime, suffering frightful pain, and tortured even to the loss of life by the visitation of intolerable agonies."

In the year 1286, when Gerunda was taken by Charles, king of Sicily, and Philip, king of France, the soldiers pillaged the temples, and plundered the shrine of St. Narcissus, the patron and tutelar saint of the town. But myriads of flies, of unusual size and shape, swarmed out of the shrine, and driving furiously against the multitude, committed such dreadful havoc with their sharp and poisonous bites, that in a few days that scourge swept off more than forty thousand men and twenty-four thousand horses. Here you behold God employing even diminutive creatures as the ministers of his vengeance against sacrilege; as he employed things weaker still against the soldier who stole the property of St. Clement. They could not be driven away either by club or sword, nor prevented from biting him even when he was shut up in his wigwam. Truly "doth God select the weak things of this world to confound the strong."

Certè quælibet orbis terrarum plaga sexcenta ejusmodi exempla suppeditare potest. In Anglia, Analatus genere Norwegiensis bellum Anglis intulit, cum quibus postea pacem iis legibus inivit,[48] ut maxima pars Angliæ suo subjaceret imperio. "Dum vastaret templum S. Bacteri, et Tuningam igne cremaret, mox. Dei judicio correptus, vitam miserabiliter terminavit." Nec impune fuit Guillelmo conquestori "triginta et eo amplius milliaria, desertis villis, subrutis ecclesiis, in saltus, et lustra ferarum redigere, infando prorsus spectaculo,[49] ut, ubi ante, vel humana conversatio, vel divina veneratio fervebat, nunc ibi cervi et capreoli, et cætera id genus bestiæ petulanter discursitent nec illæ quidem mortalium usibus communiter expositæ. Unde pro vero asseritur, quod in eadem sylva Willelmus filius ejus, et nepos Richardus, mortem offenderint severo Dei judicio, ille sagittâ pectus, iste collum trajectus."

Sed cur in re pervulgatissima, verba et exempla profundo? Constantinus Copronymus Imperator dicere solebat,[50] sicut crumenam nummis fartam plurimi, iisdem ejectis, flocci facimus, sic Christi matrem, Christum uterò gestantem summa veneratione, illo effuso, nullâ prosequi debemus: sed gravissimas blasphemiæ pœnas ab eo, sanctissima virgo brevi exegít, carbunculi morbo illum in pede torquens, et in ejus morbi cruciatu vitam illi paulo post extorquens.

Bardas Imperator visus est sibi per quietem vidisse S. Petrum[51] certum sibi mortis genus indicentum, ac præcipientem ut in frustra discerperetur; quæ sententia effectum brevi sortita est, nam in hostis potestatem ille deveniens, frustatim ab iis concisus est.[52] S. Hieronymus Sabinianum hæresiarcham contumelias in eum petulantius evomentem divinitus obtruncarit.

Quid rem hanc decantatissimam verbosius prosequor? ante me tempus, quam exempla huc spectantia deficeret. Quis autem scriptor unquàm dixit: Beatissimam Virginem, S. Petrum, S. Hieronymum, aut alium è cælitibus quempiam ulciscendi potius aviditate, quam jus-

[48] Westmon. an. 941, [49] Malmb. de gesti regum, l. 3, p. 111. [50] Surius 3 Aprilis. [51] Baronius, an. 867. [52] Sabellic. l. 5, c. 4.

A thousand similar examples could be found in every quarter of the globe. In England, Anlath, who was of Norwegian descent, made war against the English, but finally concluded a peace on condition that the greater part of England should acknowledge his sceptre. "When he was plundering the temple of St. Bacter, and burning Tuninga, he was suddenly struck with God's vengeance, and died a miserable death." Neither did William the Conqueror escape with impunity, "his having reduced more than thirty miles of country to a desert and haunt of wild beasts, depopulating the towns and destroying the churches—a most horrid spectacle; so that where there was formerly the glow of social intercourse, or the fervor of God's worship, nothing was now to be seen but deer and goats, and other wild animals of the kind running in savage liberty, and even these not generally subservient to the uses of man. Hence it is stated as a fact, that it was in that very wood his son William and his grandson Richard lost their lives by a severe judgment of God, the former being shot with an arrow in the breast, the latter in the neck."

But why, in a matter of such notoriety, waste either words or examples? The emperor Constantine Copronymus used often to say, that as we value the purse when it is full of money, and despise it when it is empty, so we should give the greatest honor to the mother of Christ while she bore Christ in the womb, but pay her no respect after his birth; but the most Blessed Virgin soon visited him with an awful punishment of his blasphemy: an ulcerous sore struck him in the foot, and he died shortly after under the violent torture of that disease.

The emperor Bardus dreamed that he saw St. Peter in a vision condemning him to a certain kind of death, and ordering him to be cut up in pieces. The sentence was afterwards really carried into effect, for he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was hewn in pieces by them. St. Jerome, by a miracle, cut off the head of the heresiarch Salinianus, for disgorging insolent contumelies against him.

But it is needless to dwell at greater length on so plain a subject. It is time, and not examples, that fails me here. And yet, what writer ever accused the Blessed Virgin, or St. Peter, or St. Jerome, or any other saint, of a desire of revenge for having, in their love for justice,

titiæ studio, animadversione in sui nominis violatores usos, aut magis ultionis suæ, quam justitiæ divinæ administros fuisse?

Itaque cum vindicationis ignominia ab omni superorum cœtu alienissima sit, Giraldus ineptissimè dicit indigites Hibernos eo vitio etiam in cœlis laborare, cujus omnes illi quorum consortio fruuntur expertes sunt.

Quare quia Giraldus secundam Topographiæ[53] distinctionem ab Hiberniæ sanctorum elogio inchoans, et eorum vituperio eandem clausit, "melle, et felle" (ut loquitur Plautus) "fæcundissimus," et quia clerum opprobriis, episcopos calumniis, ecclesiam militantem contumeliis, sanctos blasphemiis oneravit, in clerum petulantissimus, in Antistites procacissimus, in militantem ecclessiam irreligiosissimus, et in cælites iniquissimus et impiissimus fuisse non injuria dicendus est.

[53] In Cistillari.

visited with severe chastisements the profaners of their name, who says that they gratified their own revenge, and were not rather the ministers of the justice of God.

The foul imputation of revenge being therefore utterly inapplicable to any member in the choir of the elect, Giraldus has acted most absurdly in accusing the Irish saints of that crime, with which none of their associates in heaven are contaminated.

As he commenced the second distinction of his Topography by eulogizing the saints of Ireland, and closed it by calumniating them—for, in the words of Plautus, "he is very rich both in honey and gall," as he has insulted our priests, calumniated our bishops, insolently assailed the church militant, and vomited his blasphemies against the saints, it is no injustice to stigmatize him as insulting to clergy, irreverent towards the bishops, irreligious towards the church militant, and most wicked and impious towards the saints of God.

CAPUT XXXII.

OPERIS EPILOGUS PLERORUMQUE HACTENUS DICTORUM SUMMAM COMPLECTENS, ET PAUCORUM ELUCIDATIOREM EXPRESSIONEM.

EXPETITAM attigisse me nunc metam existimo, et veritatem centenorum aliquot annorum situ obductam in apricum eduxisse, quæ sæpenumero contra solertiam calliditatemque hominum se ipsa tuetur. Neque vel obteri calumniæ magnitudine, vel diuturnitate temporis obrui, vel ullo violentiæ impetu opprimi patitur; sed quo gravius ac validius vexatur, eo firmior, velut palma pondere pressa, ipsa se erigit. Ut illam Giraldus calumniarum sordibus inficere frustrà contenderit; quandoquidem disceptatio nostra scoriam omnem ei sic absterserit, ut nunc multo quam antè splendidius eniteat.[1] "Magna enim est vis veritatis, quæ contra omnium ingenia, calliditatem, solertiam, et contra fictas hominum insidias facilè se per se ipsam defendet." Ipso primi operis titulo veritatem ementitus "Topographiam" illud inscripsit; cum rei titulo significatæ vix levem adumbrationem toto operis decursu exhibuerit.

Suum etiam alterum opus pari nævo fœdare non erubuit, "Expugnatæ Hiberniæ" inscriptionem illi præfigens, cum rei quam præ se titulus fert liber sit prorsus inanis: quandoquidem expugnatio Hiberniæ, non nisi centenos aliquot annos, post Giraldum è vivis ablatum peracta fuerit. Itaque in portu Giraldus impegit, quæ res suæ per Hibernicarum rerum Oceanum velificationi naufragium portendit. Cum præsertim armamentis ad susceptam fabricam peragendam accommodatis apprimè instructus non fuerit. Chronologiam enim neglexit, cujus cum abest cynosura, cæca est in historiarum pelago navigatio. Nam accuratam temporum sectionem unicum historiæ oculum aliqui appel-

[1] Seneca. in Epist.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EPILOGUE OF THE WORK, GIVING A SUMMARY OF THE GREATER PART OF THE CONTENTS, AND A FULLER EXPOSITION ON SOME FEW POINTS.

The object of my labor has, I think, been now obtained. Truth, which can often defend herself without aid against the craft and ingenuity of man, has been brought to light from under the hoar of centuries which enveloped her. She cannot be crushed by the might of calumny, nor overwhelmed by the length of time, nor extinguished by all the efforts of violence; the more vehemently and bitterly she is assailed, the more majestically does she rise, like the palm tree which has been weighed to the ground. In vain has Giraldus endeavored to defile her with his bitter calumnies; these dissertations have removed all his foul colorings, and she rises on our view with more than her pristine brilliancy. "Great is the power of truth, which can easily and without aid defend herself against all the intellect and craft, and cunning and concocted conspiracies of men." The very title of his first work—"Topography," was a lie. Through the whole course of his work there is not even a shadowy sketch of the subjects signified by that title.

He had the audacity to commit a similar disgraceful error in entitling that other work of his "The Conquest of Ireland," the book itself not containing the least realization of what its title promises. The conquest of Ireland was not completed for several hundred years after the death of Giraldus. Thus he sticks in the very port which portends certain shipwreck, when he launches out into the great ocean of Irish history, especially when he was not well provided with those aids which would enable him to construct his projected fabric. Chronology he neglected; and where its cynosure is wanting, there can be but blind sailing on the deep of history. For some persons maintain that accu-

lant; quo oculo cum Cambrensis historia careat, nihil aliud erit, quàm monstrum horrendum, immane, ingens, cui lumen ademptum. Nec obscurum est ejus in Chronologia erroris documentum quòd dixerit fuisse "contemporaneos S. Patricio S. Columbam et S. Brigidam," cum ipse ante dixisset "Beatum Patricium in Domino quievisse anno ab incarnatione Domini" 458, quem anno Domini 493 vita excessisse probat Colganus, et aliunde constet sanctum Columbam non ante annum 519 natum, et anno 596, aut paulo secus denatum fuisse, divamque Brigidam sub annum 523 ad cœlos migrasse.[2] Quando enim alienigena ad rerum Hibernicarum, aut Hibernicæ linguæ ignarus, ad monumentorum Hibernicorum cognitionem, non nisi biennio ad scribendi segetem comparandam, insulæ ternione vix interim peragratâ commoratus? suis tantum civibus in narrationum testes adhibitis, quorum primores quia ære alieno domi oppressi fidem creditoribus datam fefellerunt, ut non frustrà omminemur fidem in eorum dictis peregrè desiderari. Plurima etiam ab aliis suis civibus nautis, gregariis militibus, raptoribus, incendiariis, scortatoribus, et homicidis, ac demum è macello, et fece plebis, purgamentisque, ac postremis mortalium hausta suis scriptis inseriut. Mendacis quoque famæ rumusculos patulis crebro auribus exceptos, tanquam è trypode perceptos hominibus credendos obtrusit. Aliqua etiam oculis ab ipso comperta literis mandavit. E monumentis quoque Hibernicis præstantissima quæque missa faciens, deteriora decerpsit. Instar sangisugæ quæ saniem non sanum humorem sorbet. Quis opificium tam vitiosis fulchris innixum in ruinam propendere non videt? opifice illo machinam historiæ moliente, qui turbulentus, vitiligator, ariolator, somniis, et auguriis credulus, immodicus suarum laudum ostentator, æque amatorum immoderatus laudator, ac exosorum vituperator accerrimus, sibi aliisque contrarius, à [353] probis authoribus | illaudatus, et Hibernorum infestissimus hostis extiterit. Quid enim sedatum à turbulento? non contentiosum à litigioso, stabile ab ariolatore, solidum à somniatore, non vanum ab augure,

[2] Hiberniæ expugn. l. 2, c. 31.

rate chronology is the only eye of history; and as that eye is wanting in the history of Cambrensis, it must be "a horrid, shapeless, and sightless monster." An evident proof of the defectiveness of his chronology is, that he makes "St. Columba and St. Brigid contemporaries of St. Patrick," though he had previously stated that St. Patrick had rested in the Lord in 458 (which Colgan proves ought to be 493), that St. Columba, who died in or near the year 496, was not born before the year 519, and that St. Brigid departed to heaven about the year 523. What could be expected from a stranger who knew nothing of Irish affairs nor the Irish language, without which a knowledge of the records of Ireland could not be acquired, and who spent only two years in collecting the materials for his work, without visiting, in the mean time, hardly one-third of the island? The only witnesses cited as his authorities were generally his own countrymen, the principal of whom were overwhelmed in debt at home, and had broken faith with their creditors, and therefore may be fairly pronounced unworthy of much credit abroad. Many of the statements in his book were taken from a different class of his countrymen, namely, sailors, common soldiers, robbers, incendiaries, debauchees, and murderers, and, in fine, from the dregs and refuse of the people, the outcasts and disgrace of human society. He caught up with greedy ears the rumours of lying report, and proposed them to the belief of mankind as gravely as if they had been pronounced by oracles. Other facts he records, to which he says he was himself an eye witness. He culled the most discreditable facts from the Irish annals, and suppressed those that eminently deserved to be recorded—like the leech which sucks out corruption, but leaves the sound humours untouched. Is not a work raised on such frail foundations obviously tottering to ruin? especially when he who attempted to raise the structure was turbulent and quarrelsome, and a diviner, and crediting dreams and auguries, shamefully parading his own panegyric, and immoderate in his eulogy of his friends, as he was merciless in vituperating his enemies, and contradicting himself as well as others, and never recited with praise by any respectable author, and the most valid enemy of the Irish. What calm sense could be expected from a firebrand, or fair statement from a litigant, or consistency from a diviner, or solidity from a dreamer?—what

sincerum ab ostentatore, verum ab affectuum consectatore, firmum ab inconstante, præstans ab illaudato, aut æquum ab hoste sperabimus? qui causæ integritatem variis æquitatis coloribus, ut carnes rancidas embammate condivit. Ante profecto junceæ columnæ marmoreum palatium fulcient, quam quis iis contaminatus maculis, justam historiam condat. Cujus animum persuasio pervasit somniorum vanitati Pythonumque divinationibus veritatem inesse: Quis narrationes ejus simili lapsu à veritate recessisse non suspicabitur?

Verum non hæ tantum notæ à proborum historicorum ordine illum excludunt. Æquè vetitum est historicis, res memorabiles tacitas præterire, ac falsimoniam in historiâ proferre. Giraldus totam Hiberniæ historiam literis tradere pollicitus, non quid infimum, aut mediocre, sed ipsum historiæ caput missum fecit. Regum enim Hiberniæ nè nomina quidem, nedum facta edidit. Ratus nimirum instituto suo obfuturum, si opus quod quisquiliis, et Hibernorum spurcitiis infarcire constituit, vel nominibus regum radiaret, in id totus incumbens, ut quæ apud illos probrosa videbantur, undequaque sedulò excerpta, in unum acervum congereret, calumniam in illos à cœlo, solo, saloque derivans, aërem falso aiens nimiâ intemperie, salum assiduis tempestatibus, ac terram inauditâ humiditate infestari. Quid quod tanta convitiandi prurедine titillaverit ut ipsi pecori exiguitatem, ovibus nigredinem probro dederit? A teneriori etiam infantium ætatulæ educatione, nationi maledicentiæ spicula infigens, dum cunarum iis quietem vel balnearum lotiones exhiberi, aut nutricum admoveri ubera impudenter denegat? perinde ac si belluas ejusmodi ministeria suis pullis natura duce præstantes, à mulieribus Hibernicis feritate superari contenderet, pectus suum liberis, contra naturæ institutionisque impulsum fugendum præbere detrectantibus, malentibus (si diis placet) lac uberum in terram, quam in suæ prolis os infundere? Si aliqui oculorum lippitudine, alii colli inflectione, nonnulli pedum torpedine corripiantur, turpitudinem indè cotinuò

[a] *A complete history of Ireland.* It is to be regretted that Giraldus, imbued as he was with prejudices, did not attempt a complete history of Ireland, as he informs us that there were copious materials for such a history in his time. Our own Adamnan is likewise to be censured for not having written such a history of the Irish church as Beda has of the English. [J. O'D.]

but visionary folly and insincerity from a soothsayer and a boaster?—what truth could be expected from the slave of prejudice—what consistency from the fickle—what worth from the contemptible—what justice from an enemy—a man who labored to patch up his case with variegated shreds of equity, like the seasonings of rancid meat? When bulrush columns support a marble palace, then you may expect a fair history from a man blasted by such defects? If the vanity of dreams and the divinations of augurs can command the implicit belief of an historian, must not every one suspect that a similar weakness destroys all the credit of his narratives?

But these are not the only blemishes which exclude him from the rank of creditable historians. Historians are bound as strictly not to suppress things worthy of record as to state falsehoods in their history. Now Giraldus, after promising a complete history of Ireland,[a] suppressed not trifles merely or inconsiderable events, but the most capital points of history. He has suppressed not only the deeds but even the names of the kings of Ireland. It would not suit his purpose to have even the names of kings glittering in the pages of a work, which was intended to be filled with the filthy and discreditable practices of the Irish; his sole object being to collect from all quarters into one mass whatever was disgraceful to them, and to find matter for calumny in their soil, and sea and climate, asserting falsely that the climate was excessively severe, the sea torn by eternal tempests, and the land swamped by extraordinary humidity. So inveterate was his lust for calumny, that he should reproach us with the small size of our cattle, and the black color of our sheep. The education and nursing of the children also supplied him with a pretext for discharging the shafts of calumny against the nation, where he impudently denies that they were strangers to the rest of the table and the cleansing of the bath, and even to the breasts of their nurses, and thereby intimates that the very beasts of the field, which, by an instinct of nature, take this care of their young, were less savage than the women of Ireland, who, in defiance both of duty and nature, would not allow a child to suckle their breasts, but let the milk fall to the ground from their bosom, rather than pour it into the mouth of their infants. If a few persons were blear-eyed, or had crooked necks, or had not the use of their legs,

universæ genti Giraldus per injuriam oblinet. Quorsum autem asserere Giraldum attinebat quod Hiberni sic otio capiantur, ut omne negotium aversati, nullum opificium agriculturam, aut mercaturam exerceant? quos ipse interim vestes, et arma gestasse, importato vino, coria pellesque mutasse, ac arva segete, horrea frumento cumulatè instructa habuisse ultro fassus, ac proinde nentium, textorum, sartorum, fabrorum ferrariorum et agricolarum operis usos fuisse demonstravit?[3] nimirum ejus "pugnat sententia secum," aurei etiam argenteique calices, et aurea argenteaque librorum, ac reliquiarum operamenta aurifabrorum, lignariorum, et latomorum copiâ illos abundasse arguunt.

Hactenus levibus tantum velitationibus Giraldus, et rariori, ac ludicra missilium ejaculatione futuro mox certamini prolusisse videtur, nunc densa convitiorum grandine in Hibernos non guttatim, sed valido impetu torrentis instar irruit; iis improperans quod sint non solum barbari, sed barbarissimi, inhospiti, bestialiter viventes, otiosi, spurcissimi, vitiis involutissimi, in fidei rudimentis incultissimi, matrimonia spernentes, incestibus assueti, ecclesiam minimè frequentantes, adulteri, incesti, illigitimè nati, et copulati, impatientes, ad vindictam precipites, proditores, perfidi, perjuri, inconstantes, versipelles, instabiles, infideles, malitiosi, immoderati. Malitiosumnè Giraldum dixero, quod hoc improperiorum carcinonia sub pectore cumulaverit? An furiosum, quod illud uno ructu evomuerit? Quæ mens progenerare? quæ lingua tam uberem calumniarum segetem profusiori fæcunditate fundere potest? quarum author non aperiendæ veritatis ut probus historicus, sed simultatis eruendæ studium, ut maledicus obtrectator expressit; iis è nullo scriptore, verum è trivio desumptis, aut sicut araneæ casses, et filamenta mira arte è suo corpore gignunt, sic iste fraudum argutos laquos [354] suopte | ingenio nexuit: ut illi criminationum probatio incumbat, nos nuda inficiatio tueatur. Circumforaneos vulgi rumores, et à cursore desultorio vel à nuncio quopiam lavissime disseminatos avidè proculdubio captavit, et auxit, extulitqne malitiosè. Ac ut convallium ille sonus, quem Echo dicimus, pro una voce acceptâ, duas tresque reddit,

[3] Horat. lib. 1, Epist. 1.

these defects are instantly made by Giraldus a reproach to the whole nation. But why has he stated that the Irish were so indolent that they hated all labor, and neglected the mechanical arts, and agriculture and commerce, when himself expressly states that they used clothes and arms, and imported wine in exchange for skins and hides, and had their fields and granaries stocked abundantly with corn and wheat, and consequently must have employed both sewers and weavers, and tailors and smiths, and agricultural laborers? "His statements are, in truth, irreconcilable;" and the gold and silver chalices, the gold and silver covers of their books and relics prove that they must have been well supplied with goldsmiths, and carpenters and masons.

But these charges appear to have been only light skirmishing, and occasional and random shots, preparatory to the grand onslaught in which the thick hail of his invective descends no longer in drops, but rushes with the impetuosity of a torrent against the Irish: he stigmatizes them not only as barbarous, but most barbarous, inhospitable, living like beasts, idle, most filthy, plunged deeply in vice, very ignorant of the rudiments of faith, without respect for marriage, habitually guilty of incest, seldom frequenting the churches, adulterous, incestuous, unlawfully begotten and unlawfully cohabiting, choleric, prone to revenge, traitorous, perfidious, perjured, fickle, crafty, unsteady, faithless, malicious, and immoderate. Shall I say that Giraldus was wicked in hoarding such cancerous venom in his heart? or delirious in disgorging it at one breath? What ingenuity could invent, what tongue could utter so rank a mass of calumnies with such flippant eloquence? This is not the honest historian writing for truth, but the malignant calumniator indulging his rancorous enmity by statements which rest on no authority, but were either picked up in the byways, or strung together by the crafty devices of his own fancy, like those threads which the wonderful art of the spider spins out from its own body. A simple denial is therefore a sufficient refutation, for the onus of proof rests on him. The straggling reports among the vulgar, circulated either by the hasty traveller or some light-headed newsmonger, were no doubt picked up greedily, and amplified and maliciously exaggerated. Like the sound in the valleys, or echo which repeats the same word two or three times, he has reiterated beyond counting the reports which

sic ille audita pluries ingeminavit. Si barbari ab aliquo Hiberni audierunt, barbariem illis ad nauseam improperat; nec S. Bernardum barbariem S. Malachiæ operâ illis excussam fuisse talpa cætior videt. Ac surdo surdior non audit. Qui cum illos matrimonia ritè iniisse, confessione delicta sæpius eluisse, ecclesiam numinis colendi causâ frequenter adiisse, tam leges priscas denuò instauratas, quam alias a S. Malachia recenter conditas sanctè coluisse affirmaverit. Quis Giraldum in his ei refragantem non spernet ? et reliquam convitiorum struem in Hibernos ab illo congestam corruere non aseverabit ? cum falsimonia in ejus plerisque calumniis perspecta, cæteras falsitatis arguat ? Porrò frustra inhospitalitatis eos insimulat: quorum primores splendidè, mediocres copiosè, infimi abundè obvios quosque tecto et mensâ excipiunt, et ubi plebeiorum ipsorum januæ qnibuscunque advenis continuo patent. Nec quicquam autem infamia Hibernis inde accersitur, quod impensius pecori pascendo incubuerint: cum pleræque cultæ gentes ei studio, citra vituperium vacaverint. Nec in "fidei rudimentis" hospites et peregrini fuisse censendi; sed penitissima quaque religionis adyta penetrasse judicandi sunt, qui "Ardericum Barbosum miræ religionis virum,[4] quod pueros et puellas more clericorum tonderet," patriæ finibus exterminarunt. Illos igitur singula fidei capita apprimè calvisse oportuit, quos levior in ritibus error tantopere commovit. Quomodo autem inconstantes illi dicendi sunt ? qui mortalium in fide Catholicâ mordicus retinendà constantissimi sunt ? à qua ne latum unguem illos vel præmia abducere, vel blanditiæ flectere, vel minæ deterrere, vel pænæ avellere unquam potuerunt ? perfidia vero, ac infidelitas quo pacto in illos cadere potuit ? inter quos mediocris collactaneorum ordinis, summum in alumnos studium enitescit ? ei non impar quod Scipioni cum Lelio intercessit.

[4] Marianus Scotus, n. 1053.

[b] *Banished that barbarism*. St. Malachy, who was called by the Irish Mael-maedhog, made great efforts to reform the church during his time, but no one could believe that such a reformation could have been effected by any one man, if long rooted abuses had previously existed. There is every reason to believe that the general mass of the Irish were uninstructed in Giraldus's time, and so were every other people in Europe. [J. O'D.]

he received. If the Irish are charged with barbarism, Giraldus takes up the charge, and sickens his readers by repeating it; but if St. Bernard declares that St. Mael-maedhog [or Malachy] banished that barbarism,[b] Giraldus is blind as a toad and deaf as an adder to such a statement. But as St. Bernard records that the Irish celebrated marriage according to the rites of the church, and had frequent recourse to the sacrament of penance, and were constant in attending divine worship in the church, and faithfully observed the old laws, which had been revived, and the new laws enacted by St. Mael-maedhog, is the assertion of Giraldus entitled to the slightest weight against such an authority? Must not the whole mass of his other charges at once fall to the ground? For, if most of his assertions are manifestly calumnies, must not the others be of the same character? He falsely accuses the Irish of being inhospitable. Every stranger was welcome at all times to the house and table of all Irishmen, and was entertained with magnificence by the noble, with abundance by the middle, and with plenty by the humbler classes. Even the poor man's door was never shut against the stranger. Neither is it any disgrace to the Irish that their attention was directed chiefly to the feeding of cattle, as the same custom has not been considered a disgrace by most of the civilized nations. The accusation that the Irish were ignorant, and strangers to the rudiments of faith, is equally false; they must, on the contrary, have been intimately acquainted with all the profound doctrines of religion, "as they banished from their country" Arderic Barlosus (though a man of wonderful piety) because he shaved the heads of boys and girls in the fashion of the ecclesiastical tonsure. If they were so sensitive to the slightest departure from ritual discipline, they must have been profoundly versed in all the articles of faith. But what pretext is there for accusing them of inconstancy?—a people the most constant on this earth in their deathless adherence to the Catholic faith?—whom neither rewards could seduce, nor flattery cajole, nor punishments force into the least compromise of their creed? Why are they to be accused of perfidy and treachery, when even the middle ranks of foster kindred had a most devoted attachment to the foster child, strong as that bond of affection between Scipio and Lelius.

Quod si Giraldus ad aëris amænitatem, soli ubertatem, indolem incolis à natura datam rarius exornandam deflexerit, tenues illas laudes mox vituperium excipit, ut laudum illecebris, et verborum comitate illos demulcere videatur, quos linguâ mox sauciaturus erat. Ut scorpium si manu teneas, ludere paulisper videtur, mox obliquâ te cauda, et sopiente quodam ac fallente morsu feriet. In ratiocinatione propositio et assumptio ad vim complexioni addendam tendunt; sic blanda omnis Giraldi oratio id unicè molitur, ut lividum dentem Hibernorum famæ tandem infigat. Hic nimirum illi restabat actus, in hoc elaborabat, ut acerbitatis suæ venenum in Hibernos sermonis ejus exitus semper exerceret. Et Bullis Adriani IV., et Alexandri III. maledicentiæ materiem sibi subministratam esse frustra ratus, ut quæ vel prorsus fictæ, vel certe clanculâ calumniantium operâ per fraudem surreptæ fuerunt. Spurcitias in his falso Hibernis adscriptas, immodicâ Giraldus aliarum accessione cumulavit, è musca elephantem, et ex atomo montem faciens, dum enim commentis istis calumniarum suarum molem sufflaminare contendit, super arenam ædificat, quod eæ Bullæ vanissimis narratiunculis, et à veritate quam alienissimis intexantur, et penitius inspectæ jus divinum, et humanum conculcare, innocuos gravissima pœnâ inauditos plectere, aliisque vitiis non ferendis scatere deprehenduntur.

Hactenus in Hibernos Giraldus tam acribus maledictis intonuit, ut omnia maledicentiæ spicula jam illum exhausisse putaverim. Verum de ulcere adhuc unguem ille non sustulit, et convitiorum telis jam productis, in Hibernos quosvis indiscriminatim contortis, omnes Hiberniæ ordines sigillatim adoritur. Ac primum reges impetit quorum tamen aliqui bello fortes, de hostibus sæpe triumpharunt; nonnulli Rempub. institutis optimis à se informatam ad justitiæ normam scienter administrarunt, alii literarum scientiis se impensius excoluerunt, multi [355] piis operibus addicti, alia cænobia | viris, alia fæminis sanctioris vitæ

[e] *False documents*. These documents are genuine; but it is highly probable that they were surreptitiously obtained by the fraudulent and secret machinations of the King of England and those politicians who wished to obtain the permission of the Pope to add Ireland to his dominions. [J. O'D.]

If Giraldus occasionally changes his tone, and extols the salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the gifts of nature lavished on the inhabitants, his faint praise is quickly succeeded by invective, as if his kind words and treacherous praise was designed to allure those whose reputation he was about to wound. Just as when you hold a scorpion in your hand, it appears at first to play, but then strikes you with its twisted tail, and its treacherous and stunning bite. In argumentation, the proposition and the assumption both tend to establish the conclusion: so the sole object of all the kind words of Giraldus is to bury his rancorous fangs in the fair fame of the Irish. This was the ever recurring drift and tendency of his labour, that the close of his dissertation should have disgorged the poison of his virulence against Ireland. The bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III. he falsely imagined gave grounds for his calumnies, those bulls being either entirely spurious or surreptitiously obtained by the fraudulent and secret machinations of the calumniators. The filthy practices falsely imputed to the Irish in the bulls were exaggerated and multiplied by Giraldus, who magnified flies into elephants, and atoms into mountains; but he was building on sand when he labored to rear the fabric of his own calumnies on those false documents,[c] the bulls being one tissue of unfounded stories, utterly at variance with truth, and, if attentively examined, outrageously opposed to the laws both of God and man, because they condemned the innocent without a hearing to the most frightful punishment, and one full of many other intolerable defects.

So terrible had been the thunders of the invectives of Giraldus down to this point, that I imagined he had exhausted all the bolts of his malignity. But his claws are still buried in the wound, and drawing still on the army of calumny, he makes an indiscriminate charge against all the Irish, and then assails each order separately. The kings are the first victims, though many of them were brave in war, and often triumphed over their enemies; others prudently governed the kingdom by admirable laws, enacted by themselves on the soundest principles of justice; others devoted themselves with ardor to the cultivation of learning; many gave themselves up to works of piety; founding and endowing with ample revenues some monasteries for men

institutum amplexis incolenda condiderunt, amplisque redditibus locupletarunt; plures dignitate regiâ ultrò se abdicantes, diadema cucullo permutarunt. Deinde in clerum acrius invehitur quos ubi jejuniis sedulò vacasse, precationes in ecclesia indies ad vesperam produxisse, castitatem sanctè coluisse narravit, mox potu se de nocte ingurgitasse adjungit. Ea est nimirum calumniæ conditio, ut si domum tuam claudas penetret; si linguam contineas, pectus inspiciat. Tiberium Imperatorem ea oculorum indole fuisse ferunt, ut noctu pariter atque interdiu cernat: Giraldus simili dote præditus fuisse videtur, qui diurna in clero scelera deprehendere non valens, nocturna venatur, vel noctuæ speciem indutus commesatores intuitus, vel è combibone aliquo caupone, aut mediastino sciscitationibus illa rescire contendens, et quæ iis authoribus compererat, lectoribus obtrudens. Tum non levibus convitiis præsules perstringit, sed quam gravissimis discerpit, eos gregum suum, è vitiorum luto nunquam verbis extraxisse, et virtutum nitore nunquam imbuisse vehementissimè conquestus. Cum plurium Episcoporum vitæ scriptis traditæ gregibus rectâ institutione informandis plurimum laboris, et verborum impendisse nos apertè doceant. Nec dubitandum est quin eorum vestigiis illi Episcopi quorum acta majores ad posteritatem non transmiserunt sedulo instituerint. Hibernia quondam ad exteras gentes religionis et virtutum luce perfundendas multa præclarorum virorum examina effudit; qui munus susceptum, verbo, et exemplo cumulatè adimplerunt,[5] "Columba Britanniam prædicaturus verbum Dei Provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum venit, et gentem illam verbo et exemplo, ad fidem Christi convertit."[6] A quibus insula Hy "monachis Scotorum tradita est, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem Christi perceperunt."[7] Etiam "Aidano Antistite Evangelizante, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non noverat, rex Oswaldus ducibus ac ministris interpres verbi extitit cælestis."[8] Scoti cœperunt Provinciis quibus regnavit "Rex Oswaldus magna devotione verbum Dei prædicare, confluebant ad audi-

[5] Beda, l. 3, c. 4. [6] Ibid. c. 3. [7] Ibidem. [8] Ibid. c. 5.

and others for women, who wished to devote themselves to a more holy life; a great number also voluntarily abdicated the royal dignity, and exchanged the diadem for the cowl. Next he makes a virulent attack on the clergy; for, after stating that they were vigorous in fasting, and daily protracted their prayers in the church until evening, and were of unsullied purity—" Yet they indulged," he says, " during the night, in excessive potations." Such is the power of calumny: shut your doors, and yet it will break through them; set a seal on your lips, yet it will scrutinize your heart. It is said that by a singular quality of his eyes, the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar could see as well by night as by day; and Giraldus appears to have been endowed with a similar faculty, for, after failing to detect any faults in the clergy in the light of day, he mopes like the owl for some nocturnal delinquency, mingling in the festive meetings, or endeavouring to gather up stores from kitchen boys or tippling shopkeepers, and then obtruding on his reader what he heard on such authority. He next charges the bishops not with slight negligence, but the most grievous crimes, for he complains vehemently that they never endeavored, by preaching, to raise their flocks from the mire of vice, or impart to them the brilliant purity of virtue; though the written records of the lives of several bishops bear manifest testimony to their great labors, both by word and work, in establishing pure morals among their people. There can be little doubt that the bishops whose lives have not been handed down to posterity were equally faithful in the discharge of their duties. In the olden times Ireland sent forth hosts of celebrated men to diffuse the light of religion and virtue among foreign nations; and successfully did they execute their glorious mission, both by preaching and example. " Columba came to Britain to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, and by his preaching and example he converted that people to the faith of Christ." They granted the island of Hy " to the Scottish monks, because it was by the preaching and example of Scottish monks they had received the faith of Christ." When Bishop Aidan was preaching the Gospel, as he was not well acquainted with the English language, King Oswald interpreted the heavenly word to his nobles and ministers. " In the Provinces, over which King Oswald reigned, the Scots began to preach the word of God with

endum verbum Dei populi gaudentes. Aidanus ad fidem et bonorum operum executionem verbis excitabat et factis."[9] Qui præcessit Aidanum in Britannia "cum aliquandiu genti Anglorum prædicans nihil proficeret;" Aidanus "ad prædicandum" missus est. "Ceadda opida, rura, casas, vicos, castella propter Evangelizandum non æquitando, sed Apostolorum more pedibus incedendo peragrare" consuevit.[10] "Erat enim discipulus Aidani eisdemque actibus, ac moribus juxtà exemplum ejus, instituere curavit auditores."

Cum igitur præsules illi peregrè profecti, ad exteras regiones rectâ institutione imbuendas ora reserarint, citra dubium qui domi præcones hæserunt, in suis meliore disciplina instituendis non elingues erant. Non enim illi ad circumfusam alieni populi concionem è rostris verba facerent, nisi concionandi tyrocinio prius apud suos posito, ac nobilis illius scientiæ præceptis, et exemplis à suis exculti. Quis crederet viros non solum ratione, sed etiam eruditione cumulatos in fide virtuteque alienigenis pandendâ operas collocasse, nemine in patriâ simile suis popularibus officium exhibente? Quatuor ex Hiensi monasterio in Angliam disseminandæ fidei causa emissi, ille qui prædicando nihil profecit, Aidanus, Finnanus, et Colmannus, primum Monachi postea Episcopi injunctum concionandi munus ægregiè obierunt. Quis negabit ex ejusdem instituti per Hiberniam cænobiis monachos ad Episcopi dignitatem[11] evectos parem informationem, et educationem nactos, pari quoque concionandi facultate prædicatos erasisse? Nec è sodalitii S. Columbæ monasteriis in Hibernia tantum, sed et ex aliis quoque monasteriis Hiberniæ, fieri oratores omnibus numeris absoluti prodierunt.[12] S. Fursæi è S. Brendàni monasterio emissi concionibus Hibernia, Anglia, et Gallia personuit. Benchorense cænobium multis laudibus Antonius Yepes cumulat dicens: "Illud esse unum è majoribus quæ nostra sacra religio habuit, vel etiam sicuti credo maximum omnium quæ in Europa tota condita fuerunt, et in occidente aliud nec

[9] Ibieem. Ibid. c. 28. [10] Ibid. c. 28. [11] Monast. Benedict. t. 1, cent. 1, an. Dom. 556. [12] In vita S. Columbæ, c. 3. Vita S. Galli.

great devotions, and the people flocked with joy to hear the word of God. Aidan excited them, both by word and example, to embrace the faith, and to practise good works." Aidan's predecessor in Britain having preached for some time to the English, but without success, it was then that Aidan himself "was selected." Ceadda went about the towns, and country, and villages, and huts, and castles, to preach the Gospel on foot, after the manner of the apostles, but never on horseback, because he was a disciple of St. Aidan, and made his example a model for himself in all his conduct and mode of life, while laboring for the salvation of his auditors.

Those prelates who departed for foreign countries, having employed their eloquence to instruct a foreign people in the sacred doctrine, the prelates who remained at home certainly could not have been dumb dogs, neglecting to instruct their own countrymen in the ways of perfection. The former would not attempt to preach to the thronged assembly in a strange land, if they had not been practised in sacred eloquence in their own country, and instructed in that noble art by the precepts and example of their countrymen. Is it credible that men who were not only men of sense, but of profound erudition, would have devoted all their time to instruct foreigners in faith and virtue, while there was no man at home to do the same good work for their countrymen? Four persons were sent from the monastery of Hy to preach the faith in England, namely, the first missioner who was unsuccessful: then Aidan, Finnan, and Colman, all monks, but afterwards bishops, and all eminently faithful in the chief function of a bishop, preaching. Can any man deny that the same monastic institute did produce in Ireland bishops as learned, as religious, and as distinguished for sacred eloquence? It was not in monasteries of the order of St. Columba alone that great sacred orators were produced. The other Irish orders also could boast of many such. The divine eloquence of St. Fursa, a monk of St. Brendans, was famed throughout Ireland, England, and France. The monastery of Bangor is extolled in the highest terms by Antonius Yepes. "It was," he says, "one of the greatest that our institute ever possessed. I should rather say the greatest, in my opinion, ever founded in Europe; for in all my reading I have never found in the West one superior or equal to it." From that monastery St.

majus, nec par fuisse legendo comperi."[13] Ex hoc S. Congellus Columbanum duodecem sociis ac inter cæteros SS. Gallo, [356] | et Deicola fratribus comitatum in Gallias dimisit, qui religionem ac pietatem per plurimas regiones longè latéque diffuderunt. Unus "S. Gallus populum ab errore idolatriæ revocavit, signorum effectu prædicationem suam audientibus commendavit.[14] Eum divina pietas genti Alemaniæ Apostolum fecit, qui nationem quam paganismo involutam reperit, fidei veritate imbutam de tenebris ignorantiæ ad solem justitiæ qui Christus est reduxit."[15] Ejusdem S. Congelli monasterium in Hiberniâ "Archimandrita Kelius fuit, qui Episcopus, scriptor, præco verbi Dei, et Doctor celeberrimus, peregrinationis causa Romam profectus ibi obiit an. Dom. 927." Quæ res intolerabilem Giraldi errorem pandit aientis:[16] "Ferè omnes Hiberniæ prælatos de monasteriis in clerum electos esse, quæ monachi sunt sollicite complere omnia; quæ vero clerici vel prælati, ferè prætermittere universa.[17] Sui enim tantum curam agentes, et tanquam sibi solliciti, pro grege sibi commisso sollicitari negligenter omittunt, et postponunt." Dicebat enim supra Hiberniæ "prælatos intra Ecclesiarum septa, de antiqua consuetudine se continentes, contemplationi solum ferè semper indulgere.[18] Ubi et Rachelis pulchritudine sic delectantur, ut Liæ lippitudinem fastidio ducant. Unde accidit ut nec verbum Dei populo prædicent, nec scelera eorum eis annuntient, nec in grege sibi commisso vel extirpent vitia, vel inferant virtutes." Superioribus scriptoribus palam obsistere ausus, asserentibus monachos Episcopi gradum non adhuc adeptos, ad longinqua trans Oceanum ultrò progressos, viam salutis gentibus, à patriâ longè remotis pandisse. Ut minimè dubium sit monachos domi Episcopali ordine initiatos, et popularium suorum administrationem assecutos, iis religione, ac virtute sedulo informandis animum naviter appulisse.

Porrò Ecclesiæ hierarchis jam impudenter laceratis, pernix erat ad genuinum ipsi militanti Ecclesiæ infigendum lapsus, quo Giraldus præceps latus asserere non est veritus eam in multis allucinari, et aliquos

[13] Deicolæ vita. [14] Martyrologium 8. [15] Notkeri 17 Kalen. Novemb. [16] Colg. 15 Jan. p. 107, nu. 18. [17] Top. d. 3, c. 39. [18] Ibid. c. 38.

Congall sent out to France St. Columbanus, and his twelve associates, amongst whom were SS. Gall and Deicola, who diffused religion and piety far and wide through a great number of nations. "St. Gall won over the people from the error of idolatry, his miracles having given effect to his preaching with his auditors. His divine piety made him the Apostle of the Alemanni, for he found that nation buried in paganism, but imbued it with the truth of faith, and brought it back from the darkness of ignorance to the sun of justice, which is Christ." In the same monastery of St. Congal, in Ireland, "there was an abbot named Ceallach (Kelly), a bishop, writer, preacher of the word of God, and a very celebrated doctor, who went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and died there in the year 927." These facts confute the intolerable assertion of Giraldus, "that nearly all the prelates of Ireland being taken from monasteries into the clergy, faithfully discharged all the duties of a monk, but almost totally neglected all the duties of the priest and prelate. They take care of themselves alone, and, as if solicitous for themselves, they defer, or negligently omit any solicitude for the flock committed to their charge." He had already asserted "that the prelates confining themselves, according to ancient custom, within the precincts of their churches, devoted themselves almost continually to contemplation alone. They were so charmed with the beauty of Rachael, that they had a loathing for the lippitude of Lia; and hence it happened that they neither preached the word of God to the people, nor announced their crimes to them, nor labored to extirpate vice and plant virtues among the flock entrusted to their care." Thus he audaciously contradicts the writers already cited, who assert that monks, even before they were advanced to the episcopal dignity, had departed voluntarily to distant regions beyond the ocean, far from their native land, to reveal the ways of salvation to the nations. Can there be a doubt that the monks who were raised to the episcopal dignity at home, and entrusted with the spiritual government of their own people, had zealously applied themselves to diffuse the blessings of religion and virtue?

After his audacious calumnies against the dignitaries of the church, the transition to a rancorous attack on the church militant herself was inevitable; and Giraldus, hurried along by his fury, has impudently

cœlo jam exceptos sanctorum cultu per errorem honestare, magis frustrà nævum in agni sponsa quam in scirpo nodum quærens, ut quam gratiæ suæ aura spiritus sanctus afflans per veritatis semitam perpetuo ducit.

Vulgo dicitur quod gravioris author sceleris in gravius ruit. Ita Giraldus spretæ terrestris Ecclesiæ reus, ad cælestem criminandam mox advolat, quam nec levissimâ usquam labeculâ tinctam non modicâ macula contaminatam esse affirmat, quod Hibernis indigentibus in eâ triumphantibus, ardentissima ulciscendi cupido adhuc hæreat. Ut jam non mirer si profana Hibernorum, aut sacra dignitas, ab ejus maledicentiâ perfugium non præbeat; cum ipsum cælum à dentium ejus acie sanctos tueri non possit.

Itaque nunc æqui lectoris arbitrio stet, si scriptis ejus fidem merito derogandam esse hactenus contenderim, qui morosus, litigiosus, ariolator Pythonum cultor, adulator, sui, suorumque laudator extitit, qui studiis suis in scribendo, non veritati servivit; reticenda locutus, loquenda reticuit; adversarios opprobriis, hostes convitiis proscidit, pugnantia copulavit, falsa evulgavit, vera quandoque celavit. Qui gentem Hibernicam spurcitiis oblinivit, tenellam ætatulam perstrinxit, muliebre genus pupugit, plebeios irrisit, nobiles momordit, reges ac principes despicatui habuit, clerum vellicavit, præsules laceravit, militantem ipsam Ecclesiam fodicavit, et in ipsum denique cœlum sanctos Hiberniæ maledictis insectatus fuit. Nimirum ea rerum omnium natura est, ut ubi semel in præceps ire cæperint, nusquam antè consistant quam in imum ruinæ fundum prolabantur.

Cæterum patriæ tuendæ studio non sic abripior, ut non majori ardore obsequii Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Apostolicæ, et Romanæ deferendi tenear, è cujus utpotè nutu totus pendeo. Quarè si quid in hoc opere toto

[a] We have already observed, that Giraldus was equally censorious or blasphemous in his remarks on some of the Welsh saints. In lawless times when the dread of supernatural visitations was the sole check on violent passions and the only defence of the weak, many churches recounted instances of the signal protection given to them by their patron saint; these punishments of sacrilege were considered by the robber associates of Giraldus, proofs of the revengeful temper of the saints.

asserted that she is deceived in many things, and awards without grounds the honors due to saints to many who are not in heaven. But it would be easier to work impossibilities than to find a stain on the spouse of the Lamb, guided as she is at all times in the ways of truth by the inspiring grace of the Holy Spirit.

It is a common saying, that the more criminal a man is the more prone he is to commit still greater crimes. Thus Giraldus, after pouring his contempt on the church militant, proceeds immediately to attack the church triumphant, which, though free from even the least defilement, is accused by him of a very grievous crime, namely, that the Irish saints[d] who are now reigning in glory, are still actuated by an inextinguishable desire of revenge. Is it surprising that no dignitary in Ireland, secular or ecclesiastical, was safe from his slanders, when heaven itself could not shield the saints from the venom of his tongue ?

I appeal now to the judgment of every candid reader, whether I have not established, that no credit can be given to the writings of a man who was morose and quarrelsome, a diviner and a believer in soothsayers, a flatterer, and vainglorious panegyrist of himself and of his friends: who consulted his prejudices and not truth in his writings; who recorded what should have been suppressed, and suppressed what should have been recorded; who was opprobrious to his adversaries and calumnious against his enemies; who reconciles impossibilities, publishes falsehoods, and has often concealed the truth; who disgorged his filthy calumnies against the whole Irish people, sparing neither the tender years of the child, nor the sex of the woman; ridiculed the commonalty, libelled the noble, insolently despised the princes and kings, carped at the clergy, lacerated the prelates, aimed a mortal blow at the church militant herself, and hurled his calumnies, even to the court of heaven, against the saints of Ireland. Such, alas! is the fate of all things; when they once begin to totter, there is no stay to their fall till they sink to the lowest depths of ruin.

But my zeal for the defence of my country is not so predominant as to exceed the fervor of my obedience to the Roman Catholic and Apostolical church, to whose decisions I submit myself without the slightest

patrocinandi patriæ fervor mihi eliquit, cui Ecclesia nigrum theta præfiget, id prorsus indictum volo; id tantum modo gratum habens quod albo calculo illa notabit. Ac proinde me, et omnia mea, ad ejus judicium non invitus refero, et fascibus lubens subjicio. Ut quam immaculatam esse Dei sponsam columnam, et firmamentum veritatis semper vivus agnoscam: cum certo certius habeam me mortuum non nisi ex ejus sinu ac complexu cœlis exceptum iri.

reserve. If, therefore, the ardor of my zeal in defence of my country have elicited from me, in any portion of this work, anything which the church may condemn, I retract it unconditionally, my sole desire being to adhere to whatever may merit her approbation. Accordingly, I hereby heartily refer myself and all that are mine, to her decision, and I shall gladly bow to her authority. May I ever acknowledge her during my life as the immaculate spouse of Christ, the pillar and ground of truth, being firmly convinced that it is only from her bosom and communion that I can be received into heaven after my death.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO CLEMENTI OCTAVO

PONT. MAXIMO,

JACOBI VITI, PRESBYTERI HIBERNI, DOCTORIS THEOLOGI.

DE REBUS GESTIS A CATHOLICIS UTRIUSQUE ORDINIS IN REGNO HIBERNIÆ, STATIM A MORTE ELIZABETHÆ QUONDAM ANGLIÆ REGINÆ, SUMMARIA, BREVIS, ET VERA NARRATIO.

"A solis ortu uqne ad occasum, laudabile nomen Domini."—*Ps.* 112.

SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO CLEMENTI OCTAVO PONTIFICI MAXIMO JACOBUS VITUS PRESBYTER HIBERNUS.

Pestilens admodum, et inficiens est febris illa B[me] P[er], quâ Regna aquilonaria à plurimis laborant annis; cui caro et sanguis originem dedit, eandemque hactenus in illis partibus impia illa nutrix maledicta hæresis sævientem, et furentem fovit. Cujus vel sola consideratio cum satis sciam quantopere pietatis tuæ viscera, mentemque percellat: ideo misericordias Domini non ita pridem in Hibernia factas quanta potui festinatione, cur inde huc venerim, causa precipua fuit, ut de rebus a Catholicis ibi gestis, certissimum S[ti] Tuæ referrem nuncium. Quis enim magis dolet, aut lætatur de gregis infirmitate, aut valetudine,

* This document was transcribed for the Editor from a MS. in Stonyhurst library; it illustrates the history of Ireland at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to which reference has been repeatedly made in the course of this work. The substance of the document was published by the editor in Duffy's Catholic Magazine. For the English account of the proceedings of Dr. White at Waterford, and his conference with the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, see Fynes Moryson's *Rebellion of Hugh Earl of Tyrone*, part II., book I., ch. i., p., 47, and part II., book III., ch. ii., p. 292.

quam qui illius proprius, et verus est Pastor? ejusdem omnino est gaudere de drachma, et ove inventa, cujus est tristari de errante et amissa.

Quocirca pro consolatione spirituale B^nis Tuæ, compendiariam hanc, et verissimam narrationem de rebus gestis à Catholicis, statim a morte Elizabethæ, quondam Angliæ Reginæ, eidem offero; Tu vero qui Pastor es ovium, balatum, vocemque ovium tuarum facile cognosces. Vere te Patrem, ergo filios recognosce: oves, Pater Pastorque Opt^e ad umbram alarum tuarum uti pulli ad gallinam vulture conspecto recurrunt: ad pedem tuum pastoralem ut protegantur, uti oves inermes, viso rapaci lupo ad pastorem properant.

Nunc novas, et alienigenas voces in rebus fidei, plane rejiciunt, nec alias unquam, Deo dante, quam quas loquitur scriptura sacra, Romanus pontifex, et ecclesiastica traditio, admittere statuerunt.

Certè, hoc Hibernorum Catholicorum facto, in aquilone, nihil hæreticis unquam ingratius, Catholicis vero, nihil optatius contigit; quippe qui capita levarunt, et S^tae Rom^ae Eccl^ae purissimam et salvificam publicè sunt professi fidem, ut ex hac narratiuncula S^tas Tuæ manifestè constabit. Quod si hoc ipsorum factum S^ti Tuæ gratum, et acceptum fore intellexero, ad paria et majora aggredienda animum, viresque adjiciat: semperque, Deo favente, conabor docere iniquos vias tuas, et pedum tuorum vestigia ut impii ad Deum convertantur. Quod ut præstem (nunc eò unde veni ad Dei gloriam statim reversurus) B^nis Tuæ favore fretus, ut verbum Christi absque offendiculo currat, advolanti vulturi, lupoque venienti, pro salute gregis, mihi a S^te Tua commissi, in potentia virtutis Christi, me ipsum opponam, ut cum eisdem, uti hactenus, animosè decertem, qui illius populi in vitam æternam profectum, non minus quam propriam salutem, esurio, et sitio. Deus Opt^s Max^s donec in aquilone plene reformetur Christus, nobis et Eccl^ae S^tae Suæ, Beat^nem Tuam, incolumem conservet.

Romæ die xxv. Julii, 1604.

Beat^nis Tuæ

Obedientiss^us filius, et

Humilissimus Servus,

JACOBUS VITUS,

Vicarius Apostolicus.

De rebus in regno Hiberniæ gestis a Catholicis utriusque Ordinis statim a morte Elizabethæ quondam Reginæ Angliæ summaria brevis, et vera narratio, per Jacobum Vitum Hibernum, Doctorem Theologum, Vicarium Apostolicum Lismorensem et Waterfordensem in dicto Regno.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

DE RECONCILIATIS VARIIS ECCLESIIS RITU SOLEMNI, ET CATHOLICO HACTENUS POSSESSIS AB HÆRETICIS MINISTRIS.

Quam dura et intolerabilis fuerit conditio Regni Hiberniæ, a tempore quo frontem in Aquilone extulit, effrons, et sanguisuga hæretica pravitas, notius est Urbi, et orbi, quam ut de ea re, sit loqui necesse. Quam pressuram, quoniam ob solius fidei Catholicæ confessionem sunt passi illius regni incolæ; ideo præclarum illud illorum factum statim a morte dictæ Reginæ perpetratum, breviter hic commemorandum duxi. Quæ quidem etsi mortua fuerit in Anglia sub die 24 mensis Martii superioris anni, de ea tamen in Hibernia nihil intelleximus, in diem usque nonum mensis Aprilis immediate sequentis. Quo nuncio, adeo omnes homines attoniti redduntur ut quasi muti, et elingues ad tempus viderentur. Verum, quia in tam ancipiti rerum statu silentium nihil juvare potuit; tandem mentis suæ conceptus non evolvere, et evomere singuli non potuerunt; morte siquidem Principis, mortalitatem suam fateri sunt coacti, ideoque diligenter sibi providendum esse de necessariis ne ex istius vitæ miseriis, in alterius nunquam finiendæ ærumnas præventi et præoccupati a morte irreparabiliter ruerent.

Quocirca cum Ecclesiastici, tum etiam Laici Catholici, eodem pietatis concepto spiritu, avitam, majorumque suorum fidem non amplius dissimulandam, aut pectoris angustiis concludendam, sed propalandam,

publice profitendam, totique orbi manifestandam censuerunt. Nec ulterius morantur, quin unanimiter ad illas ædes, in quibus habitavi accedant, meque eo quo sequitur modo, sunt allocuti.

"Non sine gravi dolore sæpius apud nos cogitavimus, quam injusto, et iniquo titulo templa Dei, patrumque nostrorum tot lustris possideantur a Calvinianis, Lutheranis, et Atheis Ministris: quare cum jure hereditario Catholicorum sunt dicta templa, et oratoria omnia abs te petimus ut ritu solemni et Catholico ea omnia, reconciliare, nobisque tradere digneris, ut in eisdem Dei Patrumque nostrorum fidem profiteamur, aliaque præstemus pietatis et caritatis obsequia quibus hactenus infensum Dominum, per misericordiam suam tandem aliquando nobis propitium reddamus. Quod charitatis obsequium, Deoque dignum munus ne nobis deneges, officii tui esse satis probe nosti cum Pontificis Romani ac Sedes Apostolicæ hoc in loco sis Vicarius. Ne igitur nostris justissimis differas acquiescere votis: alioquin protestamur coram Deo, et Angelis ejus nos Romam oratores missuros contra te acturos quod tu solus in causa sis quod fidei Catholicæ in hoc regno non restituatur, et restauretur exercitium:" hactenus uterque ordo.

Quibus auditis cum ceteris meis confratribus Sacerdotibus Catholicis, prius inito consilio piis supplicantium precibus libenter acquievi, monens ne tumultus aut strepitus fieret, ne ullus arma gestaret, quempiam læderet, convitiis provocaret, aut lacesseret ullum eorum qui adversæ erant religionis aut professionis.

Sub vesperam igitur die undecima Aprilis (quæ Divo Leoni Papæ et Confessori est sacra) Ecclesiam Divi Patricii Apostoli nostri, ritu solemni et publico reconciliare pacificè ingredior, et die sequenti (non sine populi inenarrabili gaudio) solemne feci sacrum, aliaque præstare conatus sum, ex quibus per Christi gratiam, Christiana pietas altius in eorum pectoribus fixit radices: protestatione publicè in Cathedra facta, neque me, neque confratres meos Sacerdotes Catholicos aliud velle, aut prætendere hoc facto, præter Dei immortalis gloriam et fidelium salutem in vitam æternam.

Peracto igitur divino officio famelicus iste populus esuriens, et sitiens justitiam, nihil se obtinuisse asseruit, nisi cathedralem etiam Ecclesiam S[mae] Trinitati sacram, similiter reconciliarem. Quod et factum eodem die hora post meridiem 2[a]; idque in conspectu, et oculis pernobilis viri

Nicolai Valesii Equitis Aurati, banchi Regii judicis primarii, eidemque Reginæ defunctæ è secretiori Regni consilio.

Reconciliata igitur hac S^{mae} Trinitatis Ecclesia ingressi sumus omnes, invenimusque Templum Dei Patrumque nostrorum ab hæreticis factum fuisse non in pomorium, sed quasi in porcorum custodiam, sordiumque et stercoris receptaculum. At piæ Catholicorum mentes toto reliquo illius diei, illud expurgarunt, totaque illa nocte per singula oratoria, altaria nova fieri curarunt, adeoque strenuè, et serio laborarunt, ut postero die manè, ornatissimum oculis videre esset templum. Mane autem facto, pulsantur campanæ, statimque parant se major Urbis, Magistratus, nobiles utriusque sexus, universusque populus, debitaque cum reverentia stationaliter accedunt, præ spiritali gaudio copiosis lachrymis genas rigantibus, eorumque quæ in summis solemnitatibus fieri consueverunt quoad magnificentiam, et exteriorem pompam nihil prætermiserunt.

Hora competenti fit sacrum solemne, concio, aliaque multa, quæ ex natura sua pietatem et pœnitentiam provocare poterant (erat enim dies ista feria 4^{a} Dom. in Passione) addentes nos hac fidei nostræ manifestatione (aderant enim in concione ministri hæretici, Schismatici, Athæi, et Politici) unicè id intendere; ut qui paulo post Rex noster publicandus, et declarandus erat, intelligat, nos omnes, non alios fuisse, aut esse velle, quam professos et sinceros S^{tae} Rom^{ae} Eccl^{ae} Catholicos, idque ipsum Laici omnes Catholici omnibus notum esse voluerunt; qui idcirco valvis Ecclesiarum suam mentem et intentionem scriptis protestationibus, affigi curarunt, cujus scripti transumptum in literis clausis ad Proregem miserunt: in quo sanè nihil fuit, aut continebatur, quod aures, vel oculos adversæ partes offendere posset, illud inserere præ manibus habemus.

Hac ipsa die a prandio magna cum celebritate in foro publico promulgatur Rex noster; Mariæ Reginæ et Martyris filius Ser^{us} Jacobus, quem omnes omnium ordinum lætis animis admiserunt, et approbarunt, vitam longam, et felix ei adprecantes regnum. Qua promulgatione facta exoneratis bombardis æneis, accensis ignibus, dispersa hinc inde per populum copiosa pecunia, evacuatisque carceribus in regalibus Ill^{mi} et Nobil^{smi} Comitis Ormoniæ in triumphi et lætitiæ signum, major, Magistratus, Nobiles, totusque populus ad dictam Ecclesiam

Cathedralem procedunt, quibus ingressis, suisque locis dispositis, in gratiarum actionem musicè decantatus fuit Hymnus Ambrosianus, Te Deum laudamus &c. Postmodum Completorium, subjunctis Litaniis Lauretanis S^mae^ Deiparæ. Quibus in templo peractis, exierunt populi ad tanti festi celebritatem solemnizandam. Nec mirum sane cum omnium festorum hoc fuerit summè expectatum, ideoque supremum et primæ classis, in quo nimirum omnes omnia a minimo ad maximum usque functi sunt officio duplici, mane scilicet religionem suam Catholicam et sanctissimam Eucharistiam Deum nimirum et Hominem, in Templo sancto suo, a prandio vero fidelitatem suam, et Regem suum naturalem agnoscentes Serenis^mum^ Jacobum.

Vere hoc singulare est Festum, et dies ejusmodi, cujus memoria, ut spero, nunquam extinguetur, sed annua celebritate, recoletur, in qua omne bonum (Deus nimirum) corporeis oculis visum est mane; vespere autem Rex ille promulgatus auditur, quem semper desideravimus, et per quem, annuente Christo, expectamus nobis supplendum, quod nobis adhuc deest, collapsi scilicet Regni nostri reparationem, et religionis Catholicæ integram et in solidum restitutionem.

Die sequenti, tanti facinoris per omnem Provinciæ locum dispersa fama, undique fit populorum confluxus ad videndam visionem hanc magnam, adeo ut tantæ multitudinis tota Civitas vix esset capax. Quorum quantum fuerit gaudium, solus ille, qui illud suggessit, enarrare valet. Hinc ex variis civitatibus, locis, et oppidis emittuntur oratores et nuncii, rogantes, ut ad se accederem ad eorum pollutas similiter reconciliandas Ecclesias, quibus (quoniam pauci admodum tunc erant in regno, facultates reconciliandi Ecclesias habentes) libenter acquievi, tot et quot potui propriis manibus pollutas Ecclesias reconciliando, aliisque confratribus meis, ut simile officium hinc inde per regnum ubi opus esset exequerentur, concedendo.

Has sequentes ego ipse reconciliavi, primo in ipsa Civitate Waterfordensi insignem Divi Patricii, et Cathedralem etiam SS^mae^ Trinitatis Ecclesias. Clonmeliæ Diœcesis Lismorensis, Ecclesiam SS^mae^ Deiparæ. Kilkenniæ Ecclesiam similiter Dei genitricis, ibidemque etiam alterius Ministerio Ecclesiam S^ti^ Patricii, et Monasterium Divi Dominici in Diœcesi Ossorensi, Rossiæ in Diœcesi Fernensi Ecclesiam B^ae^ Mariæ, Ecclesias omnes Wexfordiæ Diœcesis Fernensis recon-

ciliavit Dom^us^ Joannes Coppingerus, Ecclesiam Oppidi Divi Thomæ Diæcesis Ossoriensis, Oppidi etiam de Carrick reconciliavit Dom^us^ Thomas Wodlocus; Ecclesiam Deiparæ de Dunkit reconciliaverunt Dom^ni^ Gulielmus Nongle, et Petrus Strang in Diæcesi Ossoriensi. Metropolitanam Divi Patricii Cassellensis et insignem SS^mae^ Trinitatis Fidardiensis Diæcesis ejusdem reconciliavit Dom^us^ Thomas Rachturus, Cathedralem Corcagensem et Cluanensem reconciliavit Dominus Robertus Miagh; Cathedralem Limericensem, omnesque alias civitatis Ecclesias reconciliavit Dominus Richardus Arturus. Multa præterea per universum regnum Divi Francisci Monasteria, et Templa Parochialia (quæ brevitati studens omitto) reconciliata et restituta sunt.

Quæ omnes Ecclesiæ in dictis Civitatibus, locis et oppidis notabilibus reconciliatæ sunt omnium incolarum rogatu et consensu: in iisdemque singulis diebus fiebat solemne et publicum officium non sine eorum inexplicabili gaudio et exultatione. Et sane non sine magno animarum lucro; nam interea plurimi perditæ vitæ viri ac fœminæ ad saniorem convertuntur mentem; nonnulli Schismatici et scandalosæ conversationis Catholici ad Ecclesiæ gremium, et pœnitentiam convertuntur; frigidi etiam et tepidi Catholici igni cœlesti, et religionis amore accenduntur; Sacerdotes concubinarii meretrices expellunt, et a turpitudine abstinent, Hæreticorum Ministri sanioris vitæ rationem ineunt; latrocinia, et furta cessant, et in omnium ore nihil ubique resonat, nisi gratiarum actio in corde et opere, infecta caritas, operumque exhibitio.

Quæ dum ita feliciter ad immortalis Dei gloriam, Catholicorum consolationem et Hæreticorum conversionem gererentur, falsi quidam fratres, et in his præcipuè Richardus Aillward, Miles auratus (equivoce tantum Catholicus) quædam excogitat quæ ex cordatis Catholicis ne unus quidem vel per somnium unquam excogitavit, de quibus per literas certiores reddidit quosdam è consilio Regni privato; quæ cum audisset Exc^mus^ noster Prorex Dominus Carolus de Mountjoy, nunc Comes Devoniæ in Anglia, ad omnes prænominatas civitates omnia etiam loca, et oppida cursores misit summa cum festinatione expressos, cum variis litteris ejusdem tenoris, et argumenti asperitate, et minarum fulminibus refertis, quibus et Ecclesias claudi mandavit, sacra supprimi,

sacerdotes a sacris arceri, eosdem comprehendi, et ut læsæ majestatis reos, captivos teneri, et concludi.

Quas litteras cum recepissent, et legissent locorum magistratus et præfecti, eisdem responderunt, et proregi significaverunt, sacerdotes Catholicos officio suo nihil indignum admisisse, immo vero in Cathedris, et concionibus aliud nihil intonasse, quam Religionem avitam in Deum, et fidelitatem infictam mordicus servandam in Regem suum naturalem seren^mum^ Jacobum, nec quicquam ab aliquo commissum fuisse, unde cujuspiam fidelitas, et obsequium erga Regiam Majestatem in suspicionem veniret; suique officii esse ne aliter fieret, quod si ab aliquo fieret se suo tunc non defuturos officio. Quod verò ad sacerdotum comprehensionem attinet, salva conscientia, et Religione, se hoc facere non posse, cum communem cum sacerdotibus fidem, et Religionem habeant, eoque confidentius se hoc scribere, quod certò ipsis constat Sacerdotes Regi suo esse fidelissimos, et pro ipsius majestate quotidie supplices ad Deum preces et orationes fundere.

Quibus legitimis, et verissimis rationibus, et excusationibus non obstantibus Prorex inito consilio Dublinii, magnoque conscripto exercitu, decrevit Waterfordensem Civitatem evertere omnesque ipsius incolas in ore gladii absumere.

Prorex igitur magno conscripto exercitu, evocatisque ex omnibus præsidiis, præsidiariis militibus Dublinio Waterfordiam versus progreditur in ipsis festis Paschalibus, eoque appulit sub horam tertiam pomeridianam die prima Maii; (quæ tunc incidit in Dominicam in Albis) quod ubi rescivissent Cives Waterfordenses causam suam Deo Opt. Max° qui adjutor est in tribulationibus, suppliciter commendarunt. Quocirca hora diei octavo solemnes fiunt supplicationes, deferturque Venerabile Sacramentum processionaliter per plateas, forum, aliaque civitatis publica loca, devotissimo populo intrepidè dicente, nunc sibi satisfactum esse quod semel ante mortem Regem suum cœlestem Christum Dominum se præcedentem viderint; Eucharistiam itaque quam fidei, et vitæ suæ authorem universus agnovit populus, mira cum devotione comitatur, veneraturque, neque aliud advertere esset in oculis, vultu, et pectore omnium præter recollectas mentes, resonantia suspiria, profusas et abundantes lachrymas.

At ubi circulo facto in Templum S^mae^ Trinitatis ex quo egressi sumus rediissemus, suoque loco in summo Altari repositum fuisset Venerabile Sacramentum; elatis vocibus fatentur omnes in fide Eucharistiæ se vivere, in eademque et mori velle. Quas voces cum audivissem ex parte Dei, sedisque Apostolicæ si ita perseverarent (nisi quid aliud obstaret) omnibus et singulis tali fide armatis, si in ea eos mori contingeret, vitam æternam promisi. Qua promissione ita in fide animantur, ut præter præsentes vix sit qui crederet.

His dictis, inchoatum fuit summum sacrum, hostibus fidei, et Religionis nostræ turmatim interea transfretantibus a manerio quod vulgò vocatur Grenagh ad Castellum ex opposito fluvii positum, vocaturque Gracedieu. Statim vero ab offertorio habita fuit concio, qua ne animo deficerent, Catholici hortabantur; omninoque si alias unquam, tunc opus esse, ut singuli suum in terris Pastorem agnoscerent (si Pastorum Principem, protectorem in cœlis habere vellent), quem a multis annis dubium, et odiosum ipsis quantum potuit reddidit hæretica pravitas.

CAPUT II.

DE PROFESSIONE FIDEI, PRIMATU PETRI, OBSIDIONE URBIS, EMISSIONE ET EGRESSU DUORUM SACERDOTUM CUM CRUCIFIXO AD CASTRA HÆRETICORUM, VICTORIA, ET TRIUMPHO CRUCIFIXI.

SIC igitur ut supra moniti, omnes omnino è Magistratu, viri nobiles, et quot quot maturæ erant ætatis inibi præsentes Archiapostoli Petri successorem Sanctissimum Romanum Pontificem, totius Ecclesiæ Christi in terris, esse verum, unicum, visibile, et indubitatum caput, palam, et ingenuè confessi sunt. Addentes expressius, nulli inter mortales Laico, neque etiam Ecclesiastico quocumque nomine, Apostolici Senatus Principi, et Præsidi succedat, et ab eo jurisdictionem, et omnem authoritatem spiritualem—derivet, hanc capitis dignitatem, prærogativam

et gradum competere. Neque solum sic Pontificis Romani Primatum agnoverunt, sed et insuper in fide salvifica Sanctæ Romæ Ecclesiæ se vivere et mori desiderare protestati sunt. Cujus Ecclesiæ Antistiti, ut puta vero Christi Domini in terris vicario, obedientiam, et subjectionem omnimodam in spiritualibus omnibus spoponderunt, Regi vero nostro Sermo Jacobo debitam, et omnimodam subjectionem, et fidelitatem in temporalibus, aliisque rebus omnibus, quibus subditi Catholici temporali, et naturali suo Principi obtemporare et obedire tenentur; Et hoc suum juramentum singuli obsignarunt osculo, crucifixo exhibito à me inter Missarum solemnia coram summo Altari singulis porrecto. Et huic duplici juramento, etiam pueri, et fæminæ sese obstringere, et obligare voluerunt, quos tamen non admisi virorum adultorum nimia multitudine oppressus.

Talibus itaque tantisque Christianitatis et Catholicæ fidei insignibus devotus iste Waterfordensis populus armatus, Proregem in Urbem admittere statuit, emissis prius oratoribus ad Proregem Excellm Dno. Paulo Scerloco, Paulo Strango, et Nicolao Vuisio qui eum rogarent, ne plures numero introduceret milites, quam quos commodè cives alere, et fovere possent: sed non exaudiuntur hac in parte oratores, Prorege asserente, se nullis interpositis, aut datis conditionibus civitatem ingredi velle.

Sequenti vero die Maij. nimirum 2a, appropinquant castra, ut Civitatem opprimant, promissa siquidem Civitas erat in præda militibus, omnesque incolæ a minimo ad maximum usque gladio perimendi: quocirca, cives dubitantes valde de fide, animoque militum hæreticorum, ne ex improviso aliquam civitatis partem adorirentur, tota illa nocte excubias egerunt, suosque iterum sub nocte emittunt oratores ad castra, Proregem rogantes, eorum causam juridicè examinare, intereaque ne aliam de se quàm quæ fidelibus subditis Anglorum Regi convenit, opinionem concipiat.

Quæ dum ita hinc, inde gererentur, tam in castris, consilio Regni privato (uti audivimus) quam etiam devotis civibus, visum fuit, expedire, ut ego in propria persona ex urbe ad castra egrederer, coramque agerem cum Prorege; cujus verbo innixus, civibusque simul et Clero rogantibus ad Castra propero, comitatus cognato meo, fratre Thoma Lombardo, ordinis Divi Bernardi, nepote Rmi Primatis nostri Archiepiscopi Ardmachani.

Etsi vero ex his quæ sequuntur, in initio nihil dicere proposuerim eo quod nomine meo proprio aliquoties uti pro veritate historiæ sit omnino necesse, et ex hoc, nunc mordendi, nunc carpendi Zoilus facilè, fortassis, occasionem sumet, ideoque hic mihi sistendum, omninoque tacendum foret: ne tamen quicquam historiæ desit, aut altero tantum claudicans incedat pede, eoque maximè, quod quæ dicturus sum Dei gloriam, Ecclesiæ utilitatem et Catholicorum consolationem concernant, ea reticere non potui, at neque debui.

Cum itaque per Exc^m Dnum Richardum Poerum, Baronem de Chorrachmor, et vicecomites comitatus simul et civitatis Waterfordensis, Georgium Scerlocum, et Nicolaum Madanum, Proregis verbum, pro mea et socii mei securitate recepissem, recta é domo civica ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem S^mae Trinitatis, socio meo comitatus, perrexi, et ex Altari summo crucifixum extuli, quem inde manibus per civitatem ferens, tandem cum socio meo, præfatisque honoratis viris, e civitate ad castra egressus sum. Vestis socii mei erat Religiosi sui ordinis, et capite fuit tonsus uti moris est eidem ordini: mea vero vestis, talaris erat, et longa, cum pileo quadrato, et stola ad collum pendente.

Verum ubi ad castra venissemus in risum prorumpunt hæretici, et immodesti milites, eo quod insolitas vidissent, et sine vanitate vestes, nostraque conspexerint rasa capita, ac si Christianus non esset, qui muliebres, crispatos, et setatos non gestaret capillos.

Ex militia viri quidam primarii (et in his nominatim Dominus Richardus Vuyngfeldus Anglus hæreticus excanduerat) scandalizati sunt eo quod idolum (sic enim crucifixum compellarunt isti viri) in castra Christianorum inferre sim ausus, ac si ipsi Christiani non essent (et vere non sunt nisi nomine tenus tantum) unde furore concitatus dictus Vuyngfeldus ad capulum usque me pugione penetrasset, nisi viri quidam cordati, et nobiles, ipsius coleram manumque cruentam cohibuissent. Cum autem prout voluit, me expedire non potuerit, tum demum in contumelias, maledicta, et convicia prorumpit, me turbulentum, seditiosum, publicæ pacis, et tranquillitatis perturbatorem, subditorum perversorem, et evangelii capitalem hostem, compellans. At tunc iræ dandus erat locus et homo extra se ipsum positus patienter audiendus, et patientia superandus.

Ubi autem fulmina contumeliarum cessassent, tunc stetimus ego, et socius meus in centro totius exercitus hæretici; qui nos multis dicteriis, et scommatibus exceperunt, intereaque temporis, Prorex cum suo, et totius Regni privato consilio statuerunt, me in individuo læsæ majestatis reum, idque me audiente promulgare, et publicare, et ita promulgatum in consessu totius exercitus, iterum salvum, et incolumen remittere in Urbem: quod ut fieret in dicto concilio in castris inito decretum fuit scriptum, subscriptumque manu propria Proregis, eorumque omnium de concilio privato qui tunc erant præsentes.

Dum vero Proregis, suorumque assistentium finita esset consultatio a cubiculi Præfecto suæ excellentiæ ad audientiam vocamur. Alacriter pergimus (Deo qui debiles stare facit assistente animumque suppeditante) sequuntur duces, locumtenentes, multique alii primarii milites et nobiles.

At ubi tentorium Proregis ingressi, ipsius Excellentiæ nos præsentassemus, eidemque prout decuit, honorem debitum exhibuissemus, statim a me petiit quid essem? respondi, me esse Christianum et Catholicum irrefragabilem, et Regiæ Majestatis vassalum, et fidelissimum subditum. Cujus responsionis quoad singula verba non rationem tantum, sed et etymologiam a me petiit Prorex; cui, cum prout Deus dedit, respondissem, ille non nihil concitatus me proditorem compellat; quod cognomen tantopere mihi displicuit, ut me cohibere non potuerim quominus sequentia proferrem. Petita igitur loquendi venia, dixi: Me esse Sacerdotem Catholicum, qui ritu solemni et publico quamplurimas reconciliavit pollutas Ecclesias; qui Sacramenta pœnitentiæ et Eucharistiæ quam plurimis administravit; qui missas privatas et solemnes, prout tempora ferunt, assidue celebrat; qui nullis in toto regno unquam nocuit; qui fidelitatem suam erga regiam majestatem argumentis variis demonstravit; qui Cæsari quod suum est, nunquam detraxit. Quod si hæc omnia, aut horum aliquid proditorem constituat, tunc absque ulteriori processu me proditorem confiteri; quod vero unquam peccaverim in legem vel in regem, hoc est quod mordicus nego, et cujus mortalium nullus me convincere potest. Quibus dictis, sedato, et pacato erga me Prorex se ostendit vultu, cartamque illam absque eo quod me proditorem promulgaret seorsim posuit.

Postmodum sermonem convertit ad Crucifixum, quem in Castra

intuli, illudque Idolum compellat, petens, cur in Castra sua Christiana idolum mecum tulissem? dicens, se securitatem non idolo, sed personæ meæ dedisse. Ad quod ego respondi, crucifixum non esse idolum, neque me ipsum idololatrarum amicum, aut fautorem esse, idque velle publicis in Theologorum scholis manifestè ostendere, nihilque mihi gratius aut optabilius obtingere posse, quam si diem et locum sua Excell[ia] mihi præfigeret. in quibus ego cum aliis duobus sociis meis scholasticè congrederemur cum quibusvis ex toto regno deputandis, qui oppositam tenerent sententiam; hac tamen lege interposita, ut in loco, in quo disputatio nobis instituenda erat, adesset carnifex seu justitiæ minister, qui mihi et sociis meis absque ulla misericordia toties articula abscinderet, quoties nos idololatras in negotio crucifixi adversarii convincerent; quoties vero nos adversarios nostros de errore, ignorantia, aut malitia convinceremus, non pœnam talionis sed eorum conversionem ad Deum vivum, et religionem Catholicam exoptare et petere.

Quo audito, dicunt adversarii, talibus conditionibus nos certamen inire non audere; ad quod ego respondi, ex oblatis a me conditionibus me nullam (quantum ad me) rejicere velle; et ex animo disputationem expetere; quam si concedere vellent, ne aut tergiversari, aut fugere viderer, interea donec ad locum, diemque certamini designatam producerer, me captivum et vinctum teneri velle. Sed disputare non sunt ausi; quod ubi liquido omnibus constare potuit, confidenter in Domino dixi, me sociosque meos occidi quidem posse, at superari non posse, eoque fundati fuerimus super illa petra, adversus quam portæ Inferi prævalere non possunt. Quibus dictis, superbiæ et arrogantiæ arguor.

Cum igitur disputationem admittere noluerint, neque in castris coram hæreticis concionari licuerit, uno vel altero verbo ex propriæ conscientiæ et sensus communis testimonio obiter familiariterque eos convincendos opere prætium duxi, dicens, universum exercitum tunc in castris presentem, salva conscientia et sensu communi, non posse summo honore non affici erga crucem et crucifixum. Quod audientibus, et in risum profusis, visum fuit paradoxum, donec res paulo plenius explicata fuisset; eos itaque sic allocutus sum: si me idololatram ideo vobis vocari libet quod crucifixum manibus feram, nonne et vos omnes ejusdem criminis estis rei, qui sub talibus vexillis militiam agitis, in quorum singulis lucidissimè apparet expressa, aut depicta celebris illa

et victoriosa, quæ Divi Georgii crux vocatur? Sine qua cruce in vexillis relucente a primo tempore, quo Anglia Christianam fidem et religionem accepit et admisit, milites Angli ad castra nunquam properant, neque cum hostibus certamen aut prælium ineunt; quo signo a cæteris omnibus copiis et nationibus terra marique Anglorum dignoscuntur et distinguuntur copiæ. Quod si sine summa injuria nemo vos idololatras nominare potest, quod militiam sub honorabili, et victoriosa Divi Georgii cruce agatis: quis, obsecro, justè mihi improperare potest quod Christi crucem feram, venerer, eidemque subsim? cum quiquid divinitatis, aut virtutis habetur in Divo Georgio, aut ejus cruce, a cruce Christi, ac Christo certe procedat. Miles ergo Christi cum sim, ejus improperium et crucem non erubesco. Miretur ergo nemo, me ducis ac regis mei vexillum et insignia gestare, et sub eodem Christiano homine, ac milite dignam militiam agere et profiteri. Uter, obsecro, pro nobis crucifixus est Georgius an Jesus? sanè Apostoli Pauli nulla alia fuit gloria, aut ostentatio, quam in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et hunc Jesum, non quomodocumque, sed crucifixum annuntiavit et prædicavit omnibus gentibus. Quare, cum modo rectè conveniat in cœlo inter Georgium et Jesum, conveniat etiam, obsecro, inter vos et me crucis utriusque cruciferos, deturque primus ordo, supremaque dignitas cruci Jesu Christi. Nam si hoc nomine tantum honoris deferatur cruci Divi Georgii, quod contra draconem victoriam obtinuerit; quanto magis Crux Christi honoranda, in qua de dracone inferni Salvator Noster Christus victoriam tulit, de peccato etiam, morte æterna, et mundo hoc nequam? Vos igitur quotquot huic præsentes estis, hujus controversiæ appello Judices, intereaque loquatur quisque quod cujusque conscientia minimè erronea dicendum suadet, et suggerit. Quibus dictis, mirabile dictu est et incredibile, quantum fuerint tacti corde quamplurimi ex tunc præsentibus.

CAPUT III.

DE QUÆSTIONE QUADAM PROPOSITA EX DAMNATÆ MEMORIÆ NICHOLAO MACHIAVELLO, ITEM QUA AUTHORITATE ECCLESIAS APERUERIM. DE PETITIONE CATHOLICORUM, TOLERANTIA RELIGIONIS, INGRESSU PROREGIS IN URBEM, ET JURAMENTO FIDELITATIS, ET RECESSU EX URBE.

Etsi amplius quam ut supra contra crucifixum non egerint, postmodum tamen sermonem intermiscuerunt de Idololatria quam nos Catholici (ut aiunt) committimus in adoranda SS^ma^ Eucharistia, de cæcitate etiam nostra in honorandis Sanctorum imaginibus, &c. Sed de his, aliisque omnibus, in quibus nos errare asseruerunt, me in scholis uti supra, eisdemque conditionibus et pœnis servatis, rationem velle reddere paratissimum esse, modo diem et locum disputandi assignare et præfigere vellent.

Hinc pergunt ad quæstionem desumptam ex Nicolao Machiavello, et turbulento quodam libro Anglico idiomate descripto, authore scelerato quodam, et perdito viro Watsons, in quo libro multæ quæstiones quodlibeticæ tractantur contra multos sinceros et candidos Catholicos, nominatim vero contra Rev^dm^ Patrem Personium e Soc^te^ Jesu; similiter et contra impuros Puritanos. Quæstio erat talis: utrum in aliquo casu ulli subdito liceat arma sumere contra suum regem naturalem et Principem? Quam quæstionem neque explicare neque solvere volui ob nimiam ipsius generalitatem; quippe quod non Christianos tantum Principes, sed et Ethnicos, eorumque subditos complecteretur. Deinde quod viderim probabiliter quo curiosa illa interrogatio tenderet; Tertio quod non in castris, sed in theologorum scholis talis difficultas examinari debuerit. Quocirca ego petii, ut dignarentur a me petere; an de facto alicui ex subditis et vassallis Sereniss^mi^ Regis nostri Jacobi contra ipsius Majestatem arma liceret arripere? Ad quam sub illis terminis sic propositam, solutionem perfacilem esse; noluerunt tamen sic proponere, neque opportere questioni indefinitè respondere dixerunt; nolui tamen eorum importunitati acquiescere; ne tamen ipsis causa cadere viderer, sic respondi, hoc scilicet supposito, quod si omnis actio

Principis justa sit, et lex ab eo lata omni errore, et fuco careat, quod in tali casu absque gravi peccato, subditi in suum Principem insurgere, aut ei inobedientes esse non possunt. An vero omnes actiones Principum, et leges ab ipsis latæ ea sint rectitudine, ita nimirum, ut quisque teneatur agere prout illi, legibus que ab ipsis latis semper obedire docet Propheta Daniel cap. 6, et Lucas Evangelista Actor[m] 4 et 5° ad quos vos remitto, qui hujus difficultatis plenam solutionem dabunt.

Tunc quidam de concilio privato professione minister superintendens Episcopatus Mediensis in Laginia, argumenta hinc inde pro Principum potestate collegit (quam nec ego, nec ullus Catholicus negat) ex Apostolo Petr° "subditi estote etc. ex Romanorum 13°" qui potestati resistit &c. et Mathei 22. "Quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari &c. Quibus omnibus dixi convenientem respondendi locum scholas, non castra esse. Intereaque me Regi esse subditum, nulli resistere potestati, cum solius regis pacifici armatus fuerim Crucifixo, et Cæsari nolle unquam negare quod suum est: non decere autem, quod Dei est, ulli consignare mortalium, sed suum cuique tribuendum esse, prout lex naturæ, divina, et humana statuit, et decernit.

Rebus ita peractis a me ulterius petierunt qua authoritate Ecclesias aperuerim et reconciliaverim; respondi Romani Pontificis. Jubent ut Ecclesias iterum claudem. Respondi me non habere talem authoritatem quam transgredi mihi non licet. Rationem petunt quare non clauderem Ecclesias. Respondi casum, quo claudere Ecclesias possem tunc non occurrere, meque id solum posse, quod jure possum. Et cum mihi persuadeam, me benefecisse eas aperiendo, contra conscientiam meam male facere nolle eas claudendo. Quidam tamen Catholici, ne tumultus fieret in populo, aut sanguinis effusio, portas clauserunt, et claves ad me tulerunt, quas ecclesiarum procuratoribus viris Catholicis ad majorem et magistratum Urbis deferendas tradidi, rogans ut quantum in ipsis esset Ecclesias absque eo quod ab hæreticis polluerentur servarent.

Postquam igitur omnes utriusque ordinis, prout supra fidem et religionem suam professi fuissent, eandem similiter per oratores suos missos ad castra Proregi significarunt, eo quod præter Catholicam Religionem non aliam cognoverint, neque a patribus acceperint, rogantes idcirco ut suam sibi Religionem ipsis relinquere dignaretur. Eoque

maxime cum exinde tantum abest, ut eorum fidelitas erga regiam Majestatem, vel in minimo violaretur, ut potius in dies magis ac magis augmentum et incrementum acciperet.

Id ipsum et ego ipse (ubi secundo eodem dicto die ad castra vocatus eram) flexis genibus petii, quam expetitam libertatem Religionis nostræ si nobis permittere dignaretur, aut nobis procuraret, per Christi gratiam me effecturum, ut quidquid furto a quocunque auferri contingeret, idipsum læsæ parti restitueretur. Deinde effecturum, ut relicto otio, agriculturæ, aliisque laudabilibus operibus et artibus se dedant, qui occasione otii in varia incommoda labi solebant: tertio, effecturum præterea, ut si quando sua majestate exercitum conscribere esset opus ad jus suum, bellumque justum prosequendum, ut plurimi Hiberni in bello tali, aut jure suo prosequendo libenter et gratis inserviant. Quarto, absque ullis impensis suæ Majestatis me curaturum, ut quotquot læsi aut vulnerati forent ex universo exercitu, omnibus necessariis abundent, tam quoad corporalia, quam spiritualia donec plenè convalescant, vel ex hac vita in aliam evocentur. Quinto, Sacerdotes Catholicos exercitui subministraturum qui periclitantibus præsto, et ad manum semper adsint, qui ipsis verbi Dei et Sacramentorum pabulum administrent. Sexto, hac ratione omnem occasionem exteris nationibus præcludi, et præscindi, Regnum nostrum invadendi quocunque tandem prætextu: nam cum a paucis annis exteri aliquoties ad nos venerint, non alium prætextum effingere potuerunt, quam Religionis, cujus ergo restituendæ se advenisse asseruerunt. Data igitur nobis conscientiæ et Religionis nostræ libertate cur amplius ad nos veniant, nec locus, nec umbra relinquitur: quod si venerint dum ego vixero recta quo appulerint pergam, rationem adventus petam, quam si solam Religionem esse dixerint, dicam nos modo Dei munere, Regisque nostri beneficentia Religionis libertatem habere, proindeque opus non esse, ut in ea nobis restituenda amplius laborent. Quodsi recedere noluerint me omnesque totius Regni Catholicos manibus, ac viribus junctis Regiis Regis nostri copiis nos juncturos, et ad mortem usque cum hostibus dimicaturos. Septimo, cum dicta libertate aliquot diruta Templa ad exercenda munia nostra expetere, quæ propriis sumptibus nos reedificaturos promisimus, annuosque exinde Regiæ Majestati redditus daturos.

Ad quam omnium nostrum petitionem respondit Prorex, Regis esse libertatem Religionis concedere, quam ipsius Majestate inconsulta, concedere non poterat, quam si Rex concedere vellet et (si ipse nequidem Regis mandato interveniente, Papista esse aut fieri velit) se Ecclesias iterum nobis restituturum, et nos contra adversarios nostros in pacifica earum possessione defensurum: Quod verò ad præsens attinet, Regis voluntatem esse, ut omnia eo loco sint, quo erant, tempore mortis Reginæ defunctæ donec aliter statuendum videbitur.

Quoniam autem nullius conscientiam in negotio Religionis et fidei cogendam judicavit; se ideo permittere libertatem Religionis Catholicis omnibus, donec oppositum sua Majestas decreverit. Deinde permisit, ut Sacerdotes clericalibus uterentur vestibus, et ut ubique extra Ecclesias in privatis ædibus facerent missas sine eo quod apparitores, idcirco (uti soliti erant) illis molesti essent, modo in debita erga Regiam Majestatem fidelitate, et obedientia persisterent.

Hince Sacerdotes libere et ritu solemni (etsi in privatis ædibus) missas fecerunt, ad populum conciones habuerunt, aliaque quæ officii et muneris sui sunt exercuerunt, in meum usque discessum ex Hibernia, die scilicet 18ª Novembris superioris anni.

Sic transactis, tractatisque rebus, civitatem Waterfordensem ingreditur Carolus de Montjoy Regni Prorex, Mensis Maii die 8ª, ubi diligenti examine facto, invenit quotquot in Urbe erant omnes Catholicos simul etiam et Regi fidelissimos, in cujus confirmationem totius urbis primarii viri propriis subscripserunt manibus.

Nec solum Laici, sed et Sacerdotes Catholici fidelitatem suam satis testatam fecerunt erga regiam Majestatem et hujusmodi testimonium animi sui proregi ad regem transmittendum tradiderunt.

"Cum jure naturæ, gentium, et scripto, regibus ac Principibus à suis subditis debeatur obedientia, ideo nos infrascripti Sacerdotes Catholici notum omnibus esse cupimus regem nostrum naturalem et legitimum esse Serenᵐ Jacobum, cujus Majestati in omnibus rebus non derogantibus aut detrahentibus honori, obedientiæ, obsequio, et servitio Divinæ Majestati debitis, parebimus, et debitam a Subditis obedientiam præstabimus. In cujus fidem subscripsimus die 5ª Maii 1603.

Quod nostrum testimonium tradidimus viro nobili aurato Equiti Domino Nicolao Valesio (de quo supra) et Domino Giraldo Comer-

fordo Provinciæ Momoniæ secundo judici. Qui duo in præsentia majoris Waterfordensis Domini Roberti Valesii Armigeri nobis iterum ex parte Proregis significarunt, permissum nobis fuisse liberum Religionis nostri usum in locis extra Ecclesias, necnon et vestium sacerdotalium, statui et vocatione nostræ convenientium. Illudque tertio in ædibus suis propriis juxta Ecclesiam Cathedralem SS^mæ^ Trinitatis repetiit, præsentibus tunc Thoma Cocleo et Richardo Boyle Militibus et hæreticis.

Innixi itaque Proregis verbo toties nobis dato, divinum officium in privatis ædibus (solemniter tamen) continuavimus, vestesque sacerdotali gradui convenientes domi forisque semper gestavimus; nec quidquam durius nobis locutus est ullus è præsidiariis Militibus (numero 1200) in civitate relictis, quin potius de religione Catholica nonnulli ex illis bene sentire, et honorificè loqui cœperunt; ex quibus plurimi sacramento pœnitentiæ sese submiserunt, et communioni Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sunt restituti.

Illud tacendum non videtur, quod rapaciores milites vitæ suæ quodam modo tæderet, quod spe sua tandem frustrati fuerint, spoliis nimirum, et exuviis urbis. Notandum etiam et illud, quod etsi universus exercitus una cum Prorege civitatem ingressus fuerit, e civibus tamen ne vel unus tantum injuria affectus fuerit, Prorege et Magistratu rem ita utrinque sapientissimè moderantibus; cum alioquin rapaces milites ad eo fuerint furore succensi ut nesciam utrum magis optaverint spolia nimirum urbis, an innocentum civium sanguinis effusionem. Sane utrumque illis fuit corde: utroque tamen, Deo ita disponente, sunt omnino frustrati.

Cum autem Prorex Waterfordiæ sibi satis fecisset, inde Corcagium et Limericum versus civitates admodum celebres, aliaque loca, quæ publicè religionem Catholicam exercebant et profitebantur pergit cum suo universo Exercitu die 5^a^ Maii. Quæ omnia loca ubi visitasset, tandem invenit, in illis id solum agi ut fidem majorum suorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ se amplecti, et nihil aliud in hoc mundo velle quam Deo, prout decet, et Anglorum Regi prout par est perpetuo subsint, eisdem inserviant.

CAPUT IV.

DE LUCRO ANIMARUM POST RECESSUM PROREGIS, DE ORATORIBUS, ET NUNCIIS TUM PARTICULARIBUS, TUM GENERALIBUS, AD REGEM EX HIBERNIA MISSIS, CAUSA RELIGIONIS CATHOLICÆ.

A DIE igitur prædicto recessus Proregis ab Urbe Waterfordensi versus loca prænominata in diem usque Pentecostem quæ incidit in 12° Junii omnia nobis ad Dei gloriam, et fidei Catholicæ exaltationem feliciter successerunt (ut postea in discursu patebit) in quo festo, solemnia servavimus quanta potuimus maxima? Ad conciones Catholicorum in dies accedunt Angli qui in Urbe erant presidiarii milites, quibus et bene sapiunt Deo Opt° Max° eorum corda interius emolliente, et movente: honorificum de Catholicis eorumque doctrina suis commilitonibus hæreticis militibus testimonium perhibent. Ex quibus quam plurimi accesserunt ad concionem Catholicam habitam super Evangelio feriæ 3ᵃᵉ Pentecostes ubi de ostio ovium, ovili, fure, et latrone. Qua concione finita quidam ex primariis militibus extollens, vocem in auditu omnium dixit, Ecclesias Catholicis Sacerdotibus omni jure restituendas esse, et exinde absque mora expellendos ministros, cum Catholici doceant quæ conscientiam pungunt, et pungant; ministri vero quæ concupiscentiam rabidè accendant, et promoveant; hinc nonnulli ex militibus suam, suorumque ministrorum fidem suspectam habere cœperunt, cum manifestè intellexerint ostium ovium solis patere Catholicis, solos Catholicos in ovili foveri, et a Pastorum Principe Christo Domino cognosci, et pro suis ovibus approbari, ostium vero illud nullo modo Calvino, Luthero (ut puta furibus et latronibus) aut eorum sequacibus coaxantibus ranis, male olentibus hircis, damnatis hæreticis, patere.

Aderant tunc duo milites hæretici Angli præsidiarii, qui totam illius diei concionem scripto exceperunt, quam postmodum officialibus suis majoribus legendam præsentarunt. Hi vero eandem ad quosdam hæreticos ministros examinandam transmiserunt: quorum hæc fuit censura, loca quidem allegata a concionatore Papista verè citata prout habentur in Bibliis et Patribus, verum quia illuminatus non est, et

spiritu caret Evangelico, idcirco nihili facienda quæ dixit. Quod vero Doctores nostros Calvinum, et Lutherum refutare sit ausus, neque vos qui milites estis Regis, neque nos qui Ministri sumus reformatæ Ecclesiæ ferre aut pati debemus. Hactenus ministri.

Ex hac die sæpius inierunt consilium ministri, et milites, tandemque inter se concluserunt in Repª Christiana, me nullo modo ferendum esse, qui temerè os meum prophanum aperire sum ausus, meque opponere sacris Reformatæ Ecclesiæ Doctoribus, Calvino, et Luthero. Proindeque quocunque tandem præcisè medio me tollendum esse. Sed de hac personali persecutione paulo post agemus.

Quoniam vero hoc suo facto in negocio fidei, Hiberni Catholici obtinuerunt permissionem, et tollerantiam Religionis suæ prout supra, hinc civitates, loca notabiliora, tandemque universum Regnum, cum particulares, tum etiam generales oratores, ad Serᵐᵘᵐ Regem nostrum Jacobum mittendos censuerunt, qui ipsius Majestatis pacifico sine vulnere, aut sanguine in sua Regna gratularentur adventui, unicè autem cum ea agerent de negocio fidei. De privatis et particularibus oratoribus quia multi erant numero, onerosum esset loqui: solos generales totius Regni nomine deputatos, et ex Laginia missos nominare libet, sunt autem Dominus Patricius Barnavallus, et Dominus Giraldus Elmerus Equites Aurati; D. Henricus Burnellus et D. Rochfordus Armigeri, in jure municipali ambo versatissimi. Quid præstiterunt, quantumque effecerint in causa Religionis, et fidei, quid passi sint, et quomodo cum illis actum, de morte item unius eorum in carceribus (Domini scilicet Rochfordi) de eorum constantia, animi fortitudine, rebus præclarè gestis eorumque reditu in Hiberniam famæ publicæ relinquo.

Ecclesiastici videntes laicos tam serio fidei causam promoventes per oratores, communi etiam consensu me elegerunt; qui ex parte illorum in Angliam Regem versus transferrem; quibus libenter acquievi, navemque postquam conscendissem, contrario vento, repulsus sum in Hiberniam. Intereaque redeunt ex Anglia oratores omnes, dixeruntque nemini tunc ad Regem esse accessum, ob grassantem pestem, et proditorum in Anglia multitudinem, qui Regi in mense Julio elapso mortem intentarunt. Quocirca desistendum mihi fuit a profectione in Angliam. Qua de re certiores facti milites, et ministri curarunt, ut ea via qua me Wexfordia, Waterfordiam redituram puta-

bant insidiæ ponerentur; at (Deo duce, et Angelo comite) aliam arripui viam. Circa hactenus dicta notandum est feria 2ª Dominicæ de Passione nos reconciliare Ecclesias incepisse, totaque illa hebdomada, majori etiam, nec non et Dominica Resurrectionis illius Octava per totam, et ad diem usque tertiam Maii (quæ Inventioni Sᵗᵃᵉ Crucis est sacra) in plena et pacifica Ecclesiarum possessione fuisse, hac autem die, ratione, et conditionibus quibus supra ex illis amotos, et deturbatos fuisse, ita ut populus luctus, et lætitiæ Matris nostræ Ecclesiæ ob mortem, et Resurrectionem sponsi sui Christi Domini rationes, modosque viderit.

Hæc obiter commemoranda judicavi plura dicturus (Deo dante) suo loco in tractatu de his rebus omnibus fusiori: in quo ea omnia referentur quæ in die coronationis Regis nostri a Catholicis sunt gesta. Similiter quid præstiterint utriusque ordinis Catholici ubi scelus illud inauditum intellexerunt, quod infideles, et scelerati illi subditi in Anglia machinati sunt in personam Regis quam morte afficere, et è medio tollere voluerunt.

CAPUT V.

DE PERSONALI PERSECUTIONE MEA, ET SPECIALI DEI PROTECTIONE.

Nunc tandem ad personalem illam persecutionem de qua paulo superius me dicturum dixeram declarandam ad Dei gloriam venio.

Cum notum satis esset per universum Hiberniæ Regnum me Proregis verbo innixum liberè quo vellem, et quo necessitas urgeret hinc inde deflectere, id videntibus Catholicæ fidei, et vitæ meæ capitalibus hostibus, militibus, et ministris hæreticis: ubi tamen in conciliabulo suo, habito post dictam feriam 3ᵃᵐ Pentecostes isti consiliarii decrevissent, e re sua esse, ne ego diutius vivere permitterer, adjuti ope, et consilio Richardi Aylward militis, et ficti Catholici, nonnullas in me

confinxerunt calumnias, Ministris semper urgentibus, me summum idololatram esse, ex eo quod sine crucifixo nunquam concionarer ad populum. Sed horum judaizantium, et atheizantium sathanæ ministrorum exigua planè est habenda ratio.

Venio igitur ad calumnias quas ope, et arte dicti Aylward in me confinxerunt in ipso profesto Corporis Christi, ad quod festum solemniter celebrandum Waterfordia, Kilkeniam (ob ingentem Catholicorum multitudinem) eo ex variis Regni partibus confluentium ad Smum Lignum veræ Crucis Christi adorandum, evocatus sum. Quod iter ad Dei gloriam arripui pro majori Catholicorum consolatione.

Interea itaque dum Kilkeniæ moror, me læsæ majestatis reum promulgat sæpedictus Richardus Aylward: qua de re per cursorem expressum admonitus, immediatè dictum Christi Corporis sequenti die Waterfordiam versus propero, eoque majori cum festinatione quod turbulentus iste homo dixerit ideo me Kilkeniam tunc temporis ivisse, ut numerosissimum illum populum seducerem, et ad defectionem provocarem. Appuli igitur eodem die Waterfordiam sub horam sextam pomeridianam primusque omnium in navali occurret mihi Aylward iste, meoque gratulatus est adventui. Sed pacem mecum tunc loquens dolos interea tota illa nocte volvebat, et corde cogitabat: nam postero die mane dum eo venissét quo convenire solet major et magistratus urbis, dumque in mensa sedissent (ut inde stationaliter pergerent ad divi Francisci Monasterium, ut diem anniversarium honerabilis viri Domini Nicolai Dobin recolerent) nihil aliud resonabat in ore ipsius toto jentaculi tempore, quam quod Jacobus Vitus sit proditor universoque Regno omnino incumbendum esse, ut ab ejus technis et proditionibus caveat. Cujus calumniæ testem voco majorem urbis, et universum magistratum tunc præsentem. Qui omnes unanimiter asseruerunt se nihil tale in me, aut concionibus meis unquam advertisse, quibus Aylward dixit, vos non nostis hominem. Videns autem malitiosus iste calumniator prudentissimum majorem senatumque urbis, se minime potuisse in suam sententiam trahere: a prandio eodem die accessit ædes in quibus hospitabatur Domnus Richardus Morison Miles auratus, præsidiariorumque in urbe militum supremus sub rege præfectus, et cum eo diu egit, omnibus modis ut ego in judicium raperer, et morti adjudicarer, se vero satis habere unde me læsæ Majestatis

coram judicibus reum astrueret. Quo sanè difficulter induci potuit dictus præsidii Præfectus. Quare iterum a cœna visitatum ab isto calumniatore, eaque peracta ad unam vel alteram horam tripudiare cæperunt, eoque finito tripudio ingreditur Aylward cubiculum dicti Præfecti, et cum eo solus ad mediam usque noctem sermonem produxit, quem eò tandem adduxit, ut me coram Judicibus sequenti die sistendum curaverit.

Ab hoc die qui fuit 26° Junii in diem usque 29 qui sacer est sanctissimis Apostolis Petro, et Paulo vix unquam a latere Morisoni recedebat Aylwardus.

Hinc monuit Morisonus Urbis Majorem, ut in simul collectis senatu, et Præsidiariorum Præfectis, sub horam 2am pomeridianam me per apparitorem sisti curaret pro rebus quibusdam gravissimis Majestatem Regiam concernentibus. Collectis ergo in unum majore et magistratu urbis, venit etiam Morisonus una cum capitaneo quodam Anglo (qui olim hic fuit in sancta Inquisitione et inibi hæresim ejuravit) vocatusque Giosias Bodleus, ac locum tenente quodam cognomento Lytchfild. Jussit itaque Ds Morisonus me coram vocari, misitque major urbis unum ex apparitoribus suis nomine Nicolaum Lombardum, qui me rogavit majoris nomine, ut comparere dignarer. Erant mecum tunc temporis è Societate Jesu Revdi Patres Richardus Fildius ejusdem Societatis in Hibernia Superior, et ipsius socius Pater Patricius Lenanus. Qui duo Patres suaserunt, et rogarunt, ut me subtraherem, nulloque modo comparerem, prævidentes quorumdam e judicibus iniquitatem, accusatorisque improbitatem, quibus haud esse difficile me etsi innocentem opprimere. Quibus respondi, cum gloria Dei, et honor Ecclesiæ, tunc in questionem vocarentur, et si mihi vitæ meæ immineret certissimum periculum, omnino me compariturum: ne si fuga mihi consuluissem, reus presumerer, aut haberer, ideoque hora assignata comparui. In summa parturiebant montes, tandemque prodiit mus ridiculus.

Testes quos paratos habuit accusator meus Aylward erant Nicolaus Poerus, et Thomas Butlerus: quorum iste est accusatoris nepos, ille vero famulus. At veritatis tanta est virtus, ut elinguis sit factus falsus iste accusator; comparere autem non sunt ausi ipsius falsissimi testes. Nam testis est mihi Deus me ne unquam loqnutum fuisse cum testium

alterutro, nisi semel cum Pœro, idque mero casu apud Kilmedam die nimirum Nativitatis Deiparæ Septembris octavo, quando rediens Wexfordiæ destiti a profectione ad Regem in Anglia propter impedimenta superius insinuata.

Longior foret discursus quam ferre potest mihi proposita brevitas, qui tamen dignus est qui verbotenus describatur: describetur autem (Deo dante) idque brevi cum aliis multis lectione et cognitione dignis. Interea hoc tantum hoc loco insinuaverim accusationem duobus istis capitibus innixam fuisse. Primo, si fuga mihi consuluissem (ut accusator, suique conducti testes me facturum judicabant) tunc sese coram judicibus audacter præsentassent, meque proditionis insimulassent, suas assertiones juramento interposito confirmassent, ideoque me comparere non audere quod admissi criminis mihi conscius essem. 2dum. caput hujusmodi erat, quod nimirum contra Regis nostri personam concionatus essem; de quo capite nihil loquutus est accusator meus, neque testes produxit, sed Ds Morisonus præsidii præfectus tunc pro tribunali sedens, illud solum allegavit, idque ex eo quod accusator meus Aylward nocte præcedente se id probaturum promiserit.

Inchoata itaque accusatione a Morisono, expectabat omnino Aylwardum promissis staturum, sed frustra, nam quod diceret omnino nihil habebat, cum universo Regno evidentissime appositum constaret, me semper docuisse Cæsari quod suum est dandum, Deo, autem de suo nihil detrahendum.

Inchoatam sic accusationem, rogavi ut juridice probarent, quam sic probavit Ds Morisonus ex eo quod concionatus fuerim contra Regis Religionem. Ad quod respondi de unoquoque bene semper judicandum esse, de regibus, et principibus maxime nisi contrarium evidenter, aut probabiliter constaret: mihi autem de Rege meo aliud nihil constare, quam quod sit Catholicus maternæ avitæ religionis, et fidei (quam ut plurimum amplectuntur, et imitantur filii) at matrem regis mei fuisse Catholicam, in, et pro fide Catholica mortuam, suppliciumque tulisse extremum abscissione capitis, vobis, urbi et orbi Christiano notius est, quam ut quisquam Catholicus de ea re dubitet. Ad quod replicavit Morisonus Regem esse Protestantem.

Cui iterum respondi, mihi id non constare, intereaque velle in meo sensu, et opinione abundare. Tandem petiit an contra Calvinum et

Lutherum concionatus fuerim. Respondi id mei officii et muneris esse cum uterque sit perniciosus, et damnatus hæreticus, hæresibus et erroribus pestilentissimis refertus: meque ex professo contra utrumque concionatum fuisse dicta feria 3ª Pentecostes, tractans Evangelium diei. An autem impertinenter id fecerim, id, me doctorum relinquere judicio, paratumque iterum esse coram regni primoribus de eadem materia, et contra eosdem hæreticos confidenter concionari. Quibus dictis ulterius non est progressus Dˢ Morisonus dicens rem de qua accusabar non pertinere ad se, sed ad magistratum civilem.

Videns autem Aylwardus se non obtinuisse quod voluit, duo tantum protulit verba, quorum altero cor meum, altero vero vestem meam taxabat (indutus autem tunc erant subtana, et chlamyde ad terram usque) dicens, O cor Hispanicum, O vestis Hispanica, quæ vestis universam infecit civitatem, præsidiumque Papistria replevit. Sed de his rebus alias.

Quocirca priusquam dissolveretur consistorium illud, petita venia ad omnes sic sermonem converto.

"Coram vobis honoratis, ac prudentissimis viris accusatus sum de proditionibus variis præsumptis, at nondum probatis. De primo capite nihil dictum est, quia comparere nolunt, aut non audent malitia moti, aut mercede conducti iniqui testes. De altero capite sic accusor, concionatus es contra Regem: quod sic probant, quia concionatus es contra religionem, quod vero contra religionem ipsius sis concionatus sic ostenditur, quia concionatus es contra Calvinum et Lutherum. Quasi vero utriusque hujus hæretici doctrinam tanquam Catholicam, et inter se convenientem salva conscientia quispiam defendere, et profiteri possit, cum quantum repugnent inter se, et se invicem lacerent isti hæretici, norint theologi qui eorum opera volvunt, et perlegunt.

Quis igitur talibus auditis probationibus a risu abstinere se potest? fortassis me natione Hibernum, subditum et vassallum facere voluerunt non Franco, aut Germano cuicunque, sed stigmatico cuidam, eidemque sodomitico Franco, aut archipotatori Germano, eidemque archiapostatæ sacrilego. A tali regimine, talibusque regibus libera nos Domine. Noveritis ergo viri honorabiles Regem meum neque Francum neque Germanum esse, sed Serenᵐᵘᵐ Jacobum, Mariæ Reginæ et Martyris unicum filium, eundemque castum, et sobrium: quibus virtutibus caru-

erunt Calvinus, et Lutherus, contra quos est mihi duellum perpetuum, et irreconciliabile bellum.

Quibus dictis unanimi consensu me in pace discedere permiserunt. At non tam illi, quam singulares mei patroni Apostoli Petrus, et Paulus, quorum festus erat ille dies, qui non obstantibus machinationibus, perditisque consiliis Aylwardi, ministrorum, et militum a Deo Opt° Max° impetrarunt, ut ego innocens ab horum hæreticorum crudelitate liberarer, uti per gratiam suam ad Ecclesiæ sanctæ perpetuam consolationem eundem Petrum olim vinctum, et catenis constrictum liberavit e manibus, et vinculis Judeorum.

Pergunt nihilominus conjuratores isti malevoli, et quendam locumtenentem Anglum hæreticum nomine Litchfild, expediunt Dublinium versus, ad Georgium Cary militem auratum regni deputatum (cujus genium, et ingenium est de Catholicis pessima quæque facile credere) a quo impetravit literas ut ego caperer, vinctusque per mare cum custodibus Waterfordia Dublinium mitterer. Qua de re admonitus etsi proregis pro mea securitate verbum habuerim, ne in manus crudelium hæreticorum inciderem omnem adhibui diligentiam, et operam.

Hac ratione cum se nihil proficere vidissent, tandem militem quendam sanguinarium nomine Dick Reddish hæreticum Anglum (e cohorte Domini Benjamin Berry militis aurati) mercede conduxerunt, qui opportunitatem inveniens dum nocte vel alias forte infirmos, et moribundos visitarem, me pugione, vel gladio transfoderet. Huic homicidæ mercedem constituerunt tria millia florenorum, id est mille et ducenta scuta argentea. Sed ab his etiam periculis me misericors liberavit Deus.

Videntes autem præfatis modis se nihil proficere aliam excogitarunt viam, maledicta nimirum et convicia, quibus in populi me raperent odium. At cum non facilè, et sine causa justa, populum adduci potuisse, ut regulam charitatis transgrederetur advertissent, decreverunt, me inter missarum solemnia alicubi, ubi celebrarem, cruenta, et collecta manu interficere. Properant ergo Waterfordia Clommeliam versus in profesto Nativitatis Deiparæ Richardus Morisonus, Rafael Conestable, Giosias Bodleus, Litchfellus Nathanel, cum aliquot aliis locum-tenentibus, et sanguinariis militibus existimantes me illo die celebraturum in ædibus fratris mei primogeniti: At revera illo die fui apud Kilmedam

non procul a Waterfordensi [civitate] ibidemque celebravi, et sic manus eorum evasi in nomine Domini.

Re itaque infecta triduo post Clonmelia remearunt Waterfordiam, ibidemque civibus retulerunt, aucupii et venerationis ergo, se Clonmeliam ivisse. Sed hujus figmenti falsitas paulo post innotuit: nam quidam e familia sæpe dicti Richardi Aylward die 13[a] Septembris videns sub vesperum Patrem Nicolaum Laynach e Societate Jesu presbyterum (cui vultu et statura non nihil a longe similis sum) id retulit dicto suo hero qui nulla interposita mora confederatos suos prænominatos aucupes et venatores adiit, dicens, sub noctis medium in lecto illos me facile capere posse dormientem. Post quam igitur vino epulisque se satis ingurgitassent, sub horam noctis mediam cum tribus cohortibus militum præsidiariorum accedunt, et ex omni parte cubiculum meum cingunt et obsident: ad cujus ostium districtis armis venerunt recta dicti venatores cum aliquot aliis ducibus ejusdem intentionis et propositi. Dum autem ad ostium pulsassent, excitatus qui intro erat meus minister petiit quisnam esset celeriterque ad ostium properat, ne forte qui pulsaverat missus fuisset ad evocandum sacerdotem qui subveniret alicui moribundo. Verum non prius aperuit ostium, quam in collo comprehensus ab eo peteretur ubinam ego essem? veritatem dixit famulus, ab integro mense et amplius me in civitate non fuisse. Cui tamen non credunt; eumque ligatum custodibus tradunt, minanturque ipsi vitam auferre, ni fateatur ubinam ego sim. Iterum eis veritatem dicit, et non credunt; nam revera illa nocte (quæ fuit profestum Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis) fui in castello fratris mei Waterfordia plus minus 20[i] milliaribus distante.

Spe itaque frustrati die postero eos stultitiæ suæ pœnituit. Cujus facti rationem (ut ejus ignominiam ex parte excusarent) non omnes eandem reddiderunt, aliis hoc, aliis illud dicentibus. At revera si illa nocte me comprehendissent ad pedes lecticæ meæ absque ulteriori processu in gratiam Calvini et Lutheri suspendissent; ipsis hoc intimo cuidam amico meo asserentibus. Ab illis autem ubi viri quidam graves rationem petiissent cur sacerdotem securitate sua proreges verbum habentem adorti fuerint? Responderunt ex eis aliqui, illa nocte vinum ipsis non nihil imperasse seque gaudere plurimum, quod in manus eorum ego non inciderim; mirum hoc est, quod nocte me

semper aggrediantur et quærant, cum de die me facile comprehendere et interficere potuerint, in locis publicis et plateis, per quæ, urgente necessitate ipsisque videntibus, aliquando transieram: sed cesset admiratio, cum qui male agit, odio habeat lucem, ne ipsius in luce arguantur opera. Cum igitur Dei munere factum esset, ut horum iniquissima dissiparentur consilia, qui coactus ab Aylwardo hujus persecutionis fuit coryphæus (Morisonus nimirum) non multo post in Angliam secessit. Post cujus discessum qui remanserant ex istis venatoribus et persecutoribus aliam attentarunt viam, falsi nimirum cujusdam fratris opera utentes, in cujus laqueos omnino incidissem, nisi per latrinæ orificium (biduo ante festum Omnium Sanctorum) me elabi permissisem, et ita meipsum, Domino protegente, subduxissem. Inveniensque navigii opportunitatem, Burdigallam in Francia navigavi; ex quo loco per literas significavi Illustrissimo viro Nicolao Valesio Equiti Aurato, Banci regii judici primario, vitæ meæ servandæ gratia me ex Hibernia venisse, quantoties ministri et milites subdolis suis artibus et confictis calumniis nunc violenter nunc justitiæ specie conati sunt me eripere; rogans ut idipsum proximis suis literis proregi nostro significare dignetur; addens quam non sint in regno ferendi aut fovendi tales, qui intollerabile temeritate proregis verbum violare sunt ausi: meque omnino non mirari quod vitæ meæ toties tendiculas posuerint, cum et ipsum Regem non ita pridem in Anglia viri hujus conditionis, sortis, et religionis interimere voluerint.

Burdigalla autem huc veni in Urbem (munitus literis Illustrissimi Cardinalis de' Sardis Archiepiscopi Burdigallensis ad Illustrissimos et Reverendissimos Cardinales Aldobrandinum et Baronium) ut ea quæ in negotio religionis et fidei Catholicæ apud nos in Hibernia gesta sunt a morte Elizabethæ quondam Angliæ reginæ, pro certo significem.

Quæ heic summariè recollecta Beatitudini tuæ offero, quo tempestive eæ ad illius populi consolationem (ne forte animo excidant qui in negotio fidei tanta præstiterunt) expediantur facultates et gratiæ spirituales (si tamen ita Beatitudinæ tuæ visum fuerit) quibus in suo sancto proposito confirmentur, eaque incommoda evitent, quæ prudenter et opportunè præmeditata nos exoptatæ et perfectæ religionis avitæ libertati restituant. De qua libertate fiducia et spes mihi magna est

in Domino, cum ob dicta, tum etiam ob incredibilem famem et spiritualem sitim illius populi esurientis et sitientis justitiam; tum denique ob specialem ipsius affectum et zelum ergà Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem et Beatissi^{m} Romanum Pontificem: adeo quidem ut non solum bonorum rapinam tolerare sed vitam ipsam potius profundere, quam ab ipsius communione et paterno pectore de cætero separari.

Cum igitur talis apud nos (Te Pontificatum agente) in aquilone contigerit rerum in melius mutatio; in spiritualibus nobis adsis Pontifex pacifice Beatissime Clemens; de quo subsidio non est quod me elogia et epitheta tua dubitare permittant, quæ scilicet sunt Pater et Pastor, qui filiis et ovibus tuis quæ necessaria sunt ad fidei propagationem et ulteriorem exultationem, pro paterna tua pietate, et pastorali cura providere dignaberis. Quod si ego aut populus ille Catholicus in hactenis dictis et factis ulla in re deliquisse aut minus prudenter Beatitudini Tuæ fecisse videbimur: nostram agnoscere parati sumus culpam condignamque quoad-poterimus reparationem libenter faciemus; homines enim cum simus, nihil humani a nobis alienum putamus, qui Cæsari quod suum, Deoque similiter quod suum est, ex mandato Christi Domini, quoad vixerimus, dare statuimus. Quod ut præstemus, exurgat Deus noster, et dissipentur inimici ejus; floreat sancta Romana Ecclesia, corruatque hæresis, bonorumque omnium capitalis hostis maledictus Sathanas.

Omnia ad Dei Opt^{i} Max^{i} gloriam et honorem.

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